

A PARAPHRASE
AND
ANNOTATIONS
UPON ALL THE BOOKS OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT,
BRIEFLY EXPLAINING
ALL THE DIFFICULT PLACES THEREOF.

BY H. HAMMOND, D. D.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη· ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

Luke ii. 14.

Χριστὸς γενῶται, δοξάσατε,
Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑψώθητε,
Χριστὸς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, ἀπαντήσατε,
Ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ.

Greg. Nazianz.

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ANNOTATIONS.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
THE ROMANS.

Annotation on the Title.

OF the Epistles of St. Paul and other the apostles, it is first sufficiently known, that being written to whole churches (or single persons) of Christians, they do presuppose the Christian faith planted among those to whom they write, and were not designed to plant it any where, and consequently that it is not to be expected of them that they should set down all the necessary doctrines or the foundations of Christianity any otherwise than by way of intimation sometimes, as appeared necessary for the confuting some false doctrines, which heretics had superinduced and scattered in the churches. Secondly, then the true reason of the writing all the Epistles to the several churches (and of those to single persons, to Timothy and Titus, they were the same also) being to confirm the churches, to fence them against the invasions of heretics, to reprove the false doctrines or vicious practices that were crept in, and to supply all their wants, it is consequently to be resolved, that the best way to interpret the difficult parts of all these Epistles, is to learn and consider by the stories of those times, what was the state of those churches, what the oppositions which they then met with, what the dangers that were most cautiously to be prevented. And of these sorts two eminent parts of story are most known, and most useful to be taken notice of, in order to this end.

First, the great scandal taken against the apostles, especially St. Paul, by the Jews, which also diffused itself to the Christians that were of that nation, and continued zealous for the law of Moses, viz. the apostles' conversing with and preaching to the Gentiles, and (either by their practice or their doctrine) asserting the abolition of circumcision, and other parts of the Mosaical law; this brought upon the Christians very heavy persecutions in every place where the faith was received. And as it was necessary for the apostles to defend and vindicate their practice herein, and to answer all the objections that were brought against any part of it; so it was very seasonable to fortify the poor

persecuted Christians in their constancy, and to encourage them to the bearing of persecutions, and that not only by proposal of that eternal reward in another world, and of the advantages that were reaped in this exercise of their Christian virtues, (of both which none that were Christians could be ignorant,) but, as an antidote to the present pungency of their distresses, by remembering or advertising them particularly of the promise of Christ to own and protect and secure those who should cleave fast to him, and to that end to come in an eminent and notable manner, and that speedily, to the destruction of the obdurate Jews, and, at the same time, and by that means, to the deliverance of all his faithful servants the persecuted Christians. From hence is it, that there is so often mention (under divers phrases) of the approach of this coming, as that which would support their patience, and help them cheerfully to persevere, as expecting an issue ere long out of all their troubles. And although the future eternal reward in the resurrection were an excellent motive to this end, yet that being supposed and presumed to be believed and acknowledged by all Christians, as it was not necessary that this foundation should again be laid, so it was not unseasonable to superadd to this (and so often to inculcate) that other consideration of temporal destruction upon these persecutors, and deliverance to the faithful, even in this life, the contrary to which being more probable to the eye of the world, and more believed by carnal gospellers, was then the great engine used to shake the Christian's constancy. And upon this observation are founded many interpretations of several passages, as in the process will appear. And this was a theme fit to be insisted on and inculcated to the Christians not only in Judæa, but in all other parts where the faith was planted, in Asia, and at Rome itself, because of the dispersion of the Jews in all those parts, and so of the persecutions caused by them on the Christians. To which it was consequent in the divine justice, and by the rules of sympathy, which are ordinarily discernible in the suffering of members of the same body, that not only in Judæa and Palestine, but in all other parts, in Syria, and Asia, &c., these destructions should follow them: and so it fell out, according to Christ's words, that *wherever the carcass was, thither the eagles should be gathered together*; wherever the Jews were, the Roman armies or interdicts found them out and destroyed them. And consequently, as this destruction of the Jews was, among other ends of just vengeance, designed also to rescue and free the Christians in all parts from their pressures, so it was reasonable for the apostles in their Epistles to them in all parts, wheresoever the gospel was received, to comfort them with this assurance, that it should shortly come to pass. To this purpose (as we now discern in their writings, so) Lactantius testifies of their preaching, l. 4. c. 21. *Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt, et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta remansit. In qua cum multa alia mira, tum etiam hoc futurum esse dixerunt, ut post breve tempus immitteret Deus regem, qui expugnaret Judæos, et civitates eorum solo adæquaret, ipsos autem fame sitique confectos obsideret, tum fore ut corporibus suorum vescerentur, &c.* "Peter and Paul preached at Rome, and that which they preached remained written for a memorial. In which as they foretold many wonderful things, so this among others, that after a short time God would send a king, who should destroy the Jews, and make their cities

level with the ground, besieging them straitly, when they were brought low with a famine, so that they should feed on one another's bodies," &c. And so, saith Lactantius, it fell out, soon after their death, Vespasian extinguished the name and nation of the Jews, &c.

The second thing which is known in story, and useful to be here premised, is the rise and growth of the heresy of the Gnostics, the followers of Simon Magus, which in a short time, while the apostles lived and preached, overran all their plantations, and in a greater or less degree infested all the churches of those times; and by the two baits which they used, liberty of all abominable lusts, and promises of immunity from persecutions, attracted many unto them; and wheresoever they came, began with opposing the apostles and governors of the churches. And accordingly these Epistles being adapted to the present urgencies and wants of those churches, it cannot be strange that there should be frequent admonitions intermixed in all of them, to abstain most diligently and flee from these. And from the several parts of that character which belonged to these heretics, many passages of some difficulty will be explained also.

Beside these, many other particular matters there were, either wherein the apostles were themselves concerned to vindicate their authority or practices, or which had been proposed by the churches to obtain satisfaction in them, which occasioned several discourses on those subjects, as will be discernible also when the particulars are surveyed. And then, though by analogy and parity of reason these may be extended very profitably to the general behoof and advantages of other churches of God, and particular Christians of all ages, yet, for the right understanding of the literal and primary sense of them, it will be most necessary to observe these, or the like particular occasions of them, and accordingly to accommodate the interpretations. And this was all which I thought necessary to premise in general by way of entrance on the Epistles of the Apostles.

Of this Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans these few things will be fit to be premised.

First, what is the reason of the place which it hath in the canon, before all the rest of his Epistles? And this will be defined, 1. negatively, then positively. 1. Negatively, that it is not to be taken from the order of time wherein it was written; for most of the other Epistles are anciently affirmed, and by some characters do seem to have been written before it. And although the defining the time and the place of writing them be but conjectural and fallible, no way deducible from scripture story, (there being so great a part of Paul's time whereof the book of the Acts, which ends at his first being at Rome, saith nothing,) yet because, as Eusebius saith, the story of those years after the Acts is not written by any, and consequently whatever different account be pitched on, that will be merely conjectural also, I shall therefore by keeping (in this matter of time and place) to the ordinary road, rather choose to adventure erring thus (in matters of no greater importance) than to attempt any new way, which will be equally if not more uncertain.

Thus then it is commonly acknowledged, that the first to the Thessalonians was written at his first being at Corinth, A.D. 50. The second to the Thessalonians probably while he stayed there the next year

after. The first to the Corinthians in the third year of his being at Ephesus, A. D. 54, wherein accordingly he mentions his design to *tarry at Ephesus till Pentecost*, ch. xvi. 8. The first to Timothy from Macedonia in the same year. That to Titus, from Greece, A. D. 55. The second to the Corinthians, from Philippi, as soon as he had received news by Titus what success his first Epistle had found among them; which appears by 2 Cor. ii. 12, and by the fresh mention of his danger at Ephesus, ch. i. 8, to be soon after the first. And perhaps about the same time the Epistle to the Galatians also. After which, coming again to Corinth, he wrote this to the Romans, a little before the emperor Claudius's death, which is placed by chronologers in the 55th year of Christ. That he wrote it at this time may appear by his own words, ch. xv. 19. 23. 25. For there, ver. 19, he saith he had *preached the gospel through Greece round about to Illyricum*, (agreeable to what we find, Acts xx. 3, where, after his departure from Ephesus, &c. he came and *stayed three months in Greece*, meaning thereby the region from Achaia to Illyricum,) and ver. 23, that he *had no more to do in those parts*, but was at the present, at the writing hereof, ver. 25, a going to Syria and Jerusalem, to carry the alms to the Christians there. This journey we find him ready to undertake, Acts xx. 3, though because of the Jews laying wait for him, (not only to kill him, but to seize upon the money which he carried with him,) he diverted through Macedonia. By which it is manifest that this was the point of time wherein this Epistle was written, after his coming to Illyricum, and before his going up to Jerusalem with the collection, and so about the death of Claudius, and after the writing those other Epistles. The reason then of this precedence is to be taken (positively) from the dignity of the city to which the Epistle was addressed, viz. Rome, the imperial seat, which, as afterward it gave precedence to the bishop of that city, and seat of majesty, before all other cities, though earlier planted with the faith, so in the forming of the canon of scripture, it brought the precedence to this Epistle before those which were more anciently written.

Secondly, that this Epistle was written to the Romans before this apostle's having been among them. This appears very probable from several passages in the first chapter, ver. 10, 11, 13, but especially ver. 15, *So as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are in Rome also*; joining them with the Greeks and Barbarians, to whom he was a debtor, ver. 14, that is, had not yet paid that charity of preaching the gospel to them. If this be rightly concluded, it will then follow, that a church being before this time planted there, and that in an eminent manner, so as to be taken notice of in all the provinces, ch. i. 8, some other apostle, and particularly St. Peter, must before this time be supposed to have preached there, by force of that known affirmation of the ancients, that the church of Rome was *θεμελιωθεῖσα καὶ οἰκοδομηθεῖσα*, "founded and edified" by those two apostles Peter and Paul. So saith Irenæus of the apostles indefinitely, and Epiphanius of these two by name. And so Gaius, (in Euseb. l. 2. c. κ'.) speaking of their monuments, calls them *τροπαῖα τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων ἐκκλησίαν*, "the trophies of them which built that church." And so Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, (in the same place of Eusebius,) affirms the churches both of Rome and Corinth, *τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυνταῖαν γενεθῆσαν*,

"to have been the plantation" of both these, the one laying the foundation, or first preaching the faith there, the other confirming them, ver. 11, especially the Gentile part of them.

Thirdly, That St. Peter, being the apostle of the circumcision or Jews, (as St. Paul of the uncircumcision or Gentiles,) the church which was now at Rome consisted much of the Jews that were dispersed from their own country, and dwelt there, but withal of some Gentile Christians also, to whom especially this Epistle is addressed, as appears ch. i. 13, 14, where the *ὑμεῖς*, *you*, to whom he writes, are joined with the other heathen nations, and the *Ἕλληνες καὶ Βάρβαροι*, "Greeks and Barbarians," ver. 14.

Fourthly, That the Jewish Christians here, as in other places, Acts xv. 1. and xxi. 20, though they had received the faith of Christ, were yet very zealous for the upholding the Jewish law, the Mosaic rites, and consequently opposed the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, unless they first became proselytes of the Jewish covenant of circumcision, and so submitted to their whole law. And this they did especially upon two arguments: 1. That the Gentiles being idolaters, and so great sinners, and by them styled and counted *ἁμαρτωλοὶ*, *sinners*, by way of eminence, were utterly incapable of the favour or mercy of God, and consequently of the benefits of the gospel. 2dly, That circumcision being the seal of God's covenant of mercy, none were capable of mercy from God that were not circumcised. This doctrine of these Jewish converts was directly contrary to that which was every where practised and taught by St. Paul; for as he freely preached the gospel to the Gentiles, and in every city, where the Jews resisted, forsook them, and professedly betook himself to the Gentiles, Acts xiii. 46, so he taught the no-necessity of circumcision and other Mosaic observances, (as of an abrogated, abolished law, see Rom. vii. 1.) even to Jew Christians, Acts xxi. 21, much more to those that from the Gentiles should convert to Christ, whose past sins, how great soever they were, yet if they should now, upon the preaching of Christ, forsake them, and accept the faith and obedience of Christ, they should freely be forgiven them; whereas on the other side, without the receiving the faith, the law of Moses (circumcision and sacrifices, &c.) would not be able to justify any (whether Jew or Gentile proselyte) from any wilful sins against that law. This was the sum of St. Paul's doctrine at Antioch, Acts xiii. 38, 39, that *through Christ is preached unto them remission of sins, and by him all that believe are justified from those things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses*, that is, from the guilt and punishment of known, deliberate sins of the greatest size, even idolatry itself, (for which the law afforded no mercy, no place of repentance, but inflicted present death,) in case of sincere reformation. As when, Heb. ix. 15, Christ is said to be *mediator of a new covenant, to redeem us by his death from the transgressions that were under the law*, that is, from those sins for which the law afforded no pardon upon repentance and reformation. And the same is the theme and subject of a considerable part of this Epistle. And because the objections of the Judaizers, both in the gross and in every branch of them, being familiarly known to the writer, are not so distinctly and formally set down by him to receive their several answers, but proceeded to covertly, and so as might least interrupt the thread of the discourse, this is

one chief cause of the difficulty of the Epistle, which may be lessened by this premonition.

Fifthly, That before the time of writing this Epistle, Simon Magus and the Gnostics (the darnel which in those first times the devil constantly sowed wherever the Christian faith had entered) were come, as to other places, so to Rome also. For in Claudius's time it was that a statue was erected at Rome, "To Simon the holy god;" and to that this apostle refers, 2 Thess. ii. 4, which Epistle, as hath been said, was written four years before this. From whence, as it will be easy to believe that many passages in this Epistle refer to, and are purposely opposed against that heresy of the Gnostics, so when we remember the character of these men, that they were great assertors of the Mosaical rites, opposed and condemned all that neglected them, and yet lived in all the foul villainies of the Gentiles, we shall the less wonder that a great part of this Epistle, being addressed to Christians at Rome, is yet set distinctly to reprehend those Gentile practices, ch. i. and ii. and to answer the Jewish objections against the Christians, there being so many unclean Judaizing Gnostics, which had crept in among the Christians, and every where brought disturbances among them, that the apostle, that desired to defend the faith, and confirm the weak seduceable professors of it, could do nothing more worthy of his apostleship; meaning, as he saith, when he came among them, to withstand these opposers of both sorts with all boldness, ch. i. 16, 17, 18, and particularly to justify and vindicate his practice of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, (who neither by their former sins, nor their want of circumcision, were prejudged or excluded from receiving benefit by it,) at which the Judaizers were so much offended. That this was the occasion of this Epistle, and that this was the theme accordingly set upon, ch. i. 16, *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to the Jew first and also to the Greek*, and pursued from thence to the conclusion, at the end of ch. xv, will appear in the explication of it; wherein as we shall find much of difficulty in many places, as particularly in that of ch. xi, (the passage which St. Peter seemed to have pointed at, 2 Pet. iii. 16.) so our having this grand scope of the apostle in our eye (the vindication of this act of God's providence, as in calling the Gentiles, so in leaving the obdurate incredulous Jews) will be very useful to extricate the reader out of those difficulties, which the abstruseness of the writing, and the (unobserved) concise passing from one Jewish objection to another, (rather glancing by the way at their known objections than solemnly proposing and answering them,) have first caused, and then some inconvenient prejudices and prepossessions have improved and enhanced, and at length made appear so insuperable. In order to which it is that I have in this Epistle taken liberty to enlarge the paraphrase to a great length in many places, by inculcating, and, by way of parenthesis, interserting those heads of discourse, which I conceive are chiefly referred to, and from the observing of which the explication doth principally proceed, conceiving this length and circumlocution the shortest way to my designed end, the clear understanding of this Epistle, and that which hath superseded the necessity of multiplying the Annotations on all the dark passages, which would much more have lengthened the work, and have been less intelligible by the vulgar reader.

The prime things that must here be taken care of are, first, that the occasions of the several parts of the apostle's discourse be adverted to, viz. some objections of the Judaizers against his doctrine and practice, which are secretly insinuated, and require great and diligent care to discern them. And then, secondly, that the rational importance of every part of this Epistle, the relation it hath to the conclusion which it is designed to infer, and the connection of one part with another, be weighed, and permitted to have its due influence on the interpretation, and then the bare sound of some few incidental passages will not be of force to misguide any.

CHAP. I.

4. [a] *resurrection from the dead*] Ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν is the general word which contains under it *the rising again of every dead body*, and is applicable to every such particular that riseth, and so here denotes the resurrection of Christ, being by the context particularly determined to that, as in other places it may denote the *resurrection* of any one or more men, as the context shall enforce.

17. [b] *righteousness*] For the explaining of this verse, the first thing to be examined is the notion of δικαιοσύνη, *righteousness*, and with the addition of Θεοῦ, *the righteousness of God*. Δικαιοσύνη, *righteousness*, signifies not always the virtue of just dealing, but sometimes, by a metonymy, the matter about which that is conversant, the things which by law are required of any, and in performance of which his righteousness consequently consists. Thus when, Matt. iii. 15, Christ saith to John, *Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness*, by *righteousness* are meant all those things that under that more imperfect ministry of John were prescribed men, and required of them to do, to their being approved by God. Thus those things which are required of Jews to perform under the Mosaical law are called δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐν νόμῳ, *the righteousness which is in the law*, Phil. iii. 6. And there being two sorts of proselytes of the Jews, one, of those which undertook the whole law of the Jews, were circumcised, &c. the other, of those which only received the seven precepts of the sons of Adam and Noah, the former of these were called indifferently גרי ברית, *proselytes of the covenant*, and גרי צדקה, *proselytes of righteousness*. Where *righteousness* signifies all those commands and ordinances which in that Mosaical covenant were required of the Jews, and without submission to which no stranger was permitted to come into their inner court of the temple, and join with them in the worship of God. To this purpose it is observable what was the prime occasion of this Epistle, the great charge which by the Jews was laid on Paul for preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, and thereby promising them acceptance and mercy from God for all their past sins on condition of their embracing the gospel, and living for the future according to that rule, without any performance of the ritual laws of Moses, circumcision, &c. This the Jews violently opposed, as that which was an apostatizing from the law of Moses, and the setting up a new righteousness, a new summary of performances, a new law, to the prejudice of the Mosaical. What Paul had thus done he here asserts and stands to, as that which was now the declared will of God, under the gospel, though distant from that which had before been required of Jews under the law. And as now

he sets up the faith of Christ, νόμον πίστεως, *the law of faith*, the summary of those things which Christ from God requires of all men, against the ordinances of external obedience in the Mosaical law, so he thinks fit to style one *the righteousness of God*, as the other was the Jews' righteousness, and this *righteousness of God ἐκ πίστεως*, *of or by faith*, that is, that which Christ hath now revealed or declared to be our righteousness, that which is required of us now under the gospel, to our being justified in God's sight, in opposition to the δικαιοσύνη ἐν νόμῳ, that sort of legal performances, circumcision, &c. by observation of which the Jew and the Judaizer pretended to be acceptable and justified before God, and without which they contended that there was no justification to be had, and consequently that the uncircumcised Gentiles could not be justified or acceptable in the sight of God; the contrary to which is by St. Paul here undertaken to be proved, and is after enlarged on, ch. iii. and iv. &c. Thus much for the occasion of this phrase, and the general importance of it, to note that way of economy of saving and justifying men under the gospel. As for the more particular nature of this way of God's dealing in Christ, that is also contained in the ἐκ πίστεως, *by faith*, as *faith* signifies the embracing and obeying of Christ, after a former life of sin and ignorance, such as the heathens had lived in. For whatsoever their former lives had been, against which the Jews objected, that they were idolatrous and vile, and neither capable of God's favour nor fit to be conversed with by any pious person, yet Christ, that *came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance*, came particularly, though not primarily, to call and offer place of repentance to them, and upon reformation to allow them pardon; which though it were not δικαιοσύνη ἐξ ἔργων, *a righteousness by or from works*, a way of economy, whereby only just or worthy persons are called and received, yet it is *a righteousness by or from faith*, whereby through God's mercy and pardon of sin in Christ, those that come in to him, and give up themselves to sincere obedience for the future, are accepted and justified by God, as Abraham was, which is styled God's *justifying the ungodly*, because those that have been most impious have yet place of repentance given, and are accepted by God upon repentance. In this sense we shall oft find this word δικαιοσύνη, *righteousness*, in the ensuing chapters. So ch. ix. 30, ἴθνη κατέλαβε δικαιοσύνην, *the Gentiles laid hold on righteousness*, that is, on this evangelical way; and ch. x. 3, ἀγνοοῦντες Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην, *the Jews not knowing this course of justifying sinners* set down in the gospel, *sought to establish their own* (Judaical) *righteousness*, and were not subject to God's *righteousness*. So again, ver. 6, ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη, (the same phrase as here, in this placing and construction of the words,) *the righteousness from or by faith*, that is, this evangelical way, which is by the faith, or the gospel, and is opposed to the διακονία θανάτου, the promulgation of the law, which brought nothing but death to every act of wilful sin. So the apostles are called διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης, 2 Cor. xi. 15, *ministers of righteousness*, viz. of this way of justifying men in Christ, which elsewhere are called *ministers of the new covenant*, noting righteousness in this notion to signify this new covenant, (as *righteousness and covenant*, and צדקה, and ברית, were said to be all one,) or this evangelical way under it, explained ver. 24, by δικαιοῦμενοι δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, *our being justified freely by his grace or mercy*, without

any such precedent obedience of ours that may any way challenge it. All that remains is, to inquire, first, why *ἐκ πίστεως*, *from or by faith*, should in the construction be joined with *δικαιοσύνη*, *righteousness*; then why *ἐς πίστιν*, *to faith*, should signify, *that we may believe*. For the first, it is but an ordinary *ἐπέβατον*, both in these and other authors, thus to transpose words on the like occasion; and that it is so here, is evident by the ensuing citation out of the prophet, *as it is written*, (which notes these two to be parallel,) *the just by faith shall live*, and by the like phrase, ch. iii. 22. and x. 6. And for the second, *ἐς πίστιν*, *that we may believe*, that will be very agreeable also to many other places in this book; for so *ἐς σωτηρίαν*, *to salvation*, ver. 16, is, that they may be saved; so *ἐς καύσιν*, *to burning*, Heb. vi. 8, that it may be burnt; and so Wisd. xi. 23, *Παροῦς ἀμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων ἐς μετάνοιαν*, *Thou passest over the faults of men to repentance*, that is, that they may repent; and so here, ch. vi. 16, *ἐς ὑπακοήν*, *to obedience*, is, that ye may obey; and ver. 19, *ἐς τὴν ἀνομίαν*, *to iniquity*, is, that you may commit all villainy, as in the conclusion of that verse, *ἐς ἁγιασμόν*, *to purification or sanctification*, is, that ye may live pure and sanctified lives.

18. [c] *hold*] The word *κατέχω* signifies two things, (very distant,) *to retain and hold fast*, and *to obstruct or hinder*. *Κατέχω*, *κρατεῖν*, *κωλύειν*, *συνέχω*, saith Hesychius, it signifies, *to hold fast, to hinder, to compress*. In the notion of *hindering* it is taken, 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7, and in the other in divers places. By this means it is become uncertain what it should signify here, especially when either way the sense is very commodious: for even they *that retain the truth in unrighteousness*, that under the acknowledgment and profession of the truth, veil and join all manner of impious living, do thereby hinder and obstruct the truth, viz. the force of it on themselves, and the propagation of it to others by that impious living of theirs. But the former is the more likely sense of it, and most agreeable to the consequents, of their knowing the truth and becoming unexcusable thereby.

20. [d] *from the creation*] The phrase *ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου* is here joined with *ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ*, *the invisible things or attributes of God*, his power and Godhead, *from the foundation or creation of the world*, that is, ever since the creation; so doth *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως*, *from the beginning of the creation*, signify, Mark x. 6, and xiii. 19, and 2 Pet. iii. 4; so *κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, Matt. xiii. 35, *the things hidden from the foundation of the world*, and ch. xxv. 34, Luke xi. 50, Heb. iv. 3, where it clearly signifies *from*, that is, ever since the creation; and so ch. ix. 26: so Rev. xiii. 8, and xvii. 8, *names written and not written in the book of the Lamb from*, that is, ever since, *the foundation of the world*. By which it appears that there is no necessity of understanding God's *ποιήματα*, *doings or actions* here, of the works of the creation, but of all things that from that time to this inclusively have been done in the world by him; and so it will be extended to all the doctrines and miracles and actions of Christ, the whole business of the gospel.

21. [e] *knew God*] The phrase *γινώσκοντες τὸν Θεόν*, *knowing God*, here seems to refer the whole present discourse to the Gnostics, who were so called from their assuming to themselves so much of the knowledge of God and the mysteries of religion. And these being a sort of heretics in that first age under the apostles, who affirmed Simon to be God the Father that appeared in Mount Sinai, as also God the Son that

appeared in the flesh, and the Holy Ghost, who was promised to come, were the darnel sown by the envious person wheresoever the gospel was planted; and this as in other places, so in Rome, where Simon Magus, the founder of them, (contended after this time with St. Peter, but) before the writing of this, in Claudius's days, had a statue erected to him, as to the supreme God. These Gnostics pretended to be great zealots for the law of Moses, particularly for circumcision, thereby to avoid the persecutions which the Jews raised against the Christians, Gal. vi. 12, and on the other side thought it lawful to offer sacrifice to idols, 1 Cor. viii. (to comply with the heathens,) because, as they said, *an idol was nothing*, and yet further worshipped the images and pictures of Simon and Helena; and so, as Eusebius saith, τὴν σὺν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ διὰ καθαρότητα βίου βεβηγμένην παρὰ πᾶσι Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, ἥς μὲν ἔδοξαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα δεισιδαιμονίας, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἐπιλαμβάνονται, "pretending to have turned Christians, and so to have changed the idolatry and superstition that before they lived in for the pure and sober rules of life taught by Christ, they fell nevertheless back again to all that which they seemed to have forsaken," καταπίπτοντες ἐπὶ γραφᾶς καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Σίμωνος, καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δηλωθείσης Ἑλένης, θυμιάμασί τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ σπονδαῖς τούτους θρησκεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, "falling down to the pictures and images of Simon and Helen, worshipping them with incense, and meat and drink offerings. Τάδε τούτων ἀπορρητότερα—" but for their more secret and hidden actions they were such as would astonish any to hear them," δι' ὑπερβολῆς τῆς αἰσχρουργίας καὶ ἀρρητοποιίας, "for the superlative impurity and abomination that was in them." This, I suppose, will be a key of entrance into the design and meaning of this Epistle, wherein the apostle, willing to fortify the Roman converts against the danger of these superseminations, confutes these doctrines of the Gnostics, especially that of complying with the Jews concerning the necessity of observing the Judaical law, and here first gives a character of them, as they agree with the heathens in idolatry, and all kind of wickedness, and unnatural uncleanness, ver. 29, &c. and by their living so contrary to the law, shew what little reason they have to pretend to the observing of it, when indeed it is the inward purity of the heart and actions, and not the outward circumcision of the flesh, which the law principally aimed at. That these Gnostics are the men here referred to may further appear by comparing this place, especially ver. 27, with the discourse of the Gnostics in St. Jude, directly parallel to this, (see note [d] on Jude,) and so by their character here, ver. 29, the πορνεία and πλεονεξία, (*fornication and inordinate desires*,) compared with many other places of the Epistles, Gal. v. 19, Eph. v. 3, Col. iii. 5, and the *pride*, &c. ver. 30, with 1 Tim. vi. 4, and the like in the other particulars.

23. [f] *glory*] The word δόξα, *glory*, here seems to refer to the notion or use of it, Exod. xxiv. 16, where it is said of God's presence and appearance there in the Mount Sinai, וישכן כבוד יהוה על הר, *the glory of the Lord abode upon the mount*. From whence it is that the word *schechinah*, "abiding," is ordinarily used to signify this or the like glorious appearance, or presence of God, and is directly parallel to δόξα, *glory*, here. Now of God's appearance on Mount Sinai it is to be observed, 1. that God did not there exhibit himself in any bodily shape;

only glorious appearances there were, ver. 16, as it were a *paved work of sapphire stone*, &c. and the sight of the glory of the Lord was like *devouring fire*, ver. 17; but, saith Moses, Deut. iv. 15, *ye saw no manner of similitude in the day that the Lord spake to you in Horeb*. And this is there pressed by Moses to enforce God's commandment, that they should *not corrupt themselves, and make them a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast, of any winged fowl, of any thing that creepeth on the ground, of any fish*, &c. Now of these followers and worshippers of Simon, (the Gnostics,) it is sufficiently known, first, that they affirmed Simon to be the supreme God, distinctly he that appeared in Sinai; so saith Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. 5'. speaking of Simon at Rome, *πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ἑαυτὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἐν ὄρει Σινᾶ ὡς Πατέρα φανέντα*, "he presumed to say of himself that he was he that appeared on Mount Sinai as the Father." Secondly, that he had a statue erected to him at Rome, inscribed, "To Simon the holy god," and so also his whore Helena, saith Eusebius, (see note [e].) and both of them worshipped by them. Nay, moreover, thirdly, that the Gnostics complied with the other heathen idolaters, partaking of their sacrifices and feasts, and so were guilty of all kind of idolatry. Of these therefore the apostle may be believed to speak here particularly, and to lay to their charge, first, that they *changed the glory of God*, that is, the glorious appearance of his in Mount Sinai, wherein yet there was no similitude seen, *into an image or similitude of a man*, viz. of Simon Magus, a bodily shape of a mere mortal man; whereas the immortal God, that appeared in Sinai, was never seen in any such shape. Secondly, that in doing this they are guilty of that great sin of idolatry, (there forbidden upon this ground of their seeing no similitude in Sinai,) viz. of worshipping the image of a man, and of flying, and four-footed, and creeping things, which are here repeated, as the very things that had been there interdicted. And though it be true of the Gnostics, that by their joining with the heathen idolaters they were literally guilty of worshipping every one of these here named, yet their worshipping of Simon and Helen alone is sufficient to own all the charge that is here laid on them. The worshipping of one sort of the things forbidden, the likeness of the male and female, being as direct a breach of the commandment, which forbade that and others also, as the worshipping of all and each of them would be. This is after set down more succinctly, ver. 25; *They turned the truth of God into a lie*, that is, either the true story, Exod. xxiv, where no similitude was seen, into this false story of Simon there appearing, or else transformed that infinite invisible Deity into an image or idol, and, *παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, above and beside the Creator of heaven and earth*, worshipped also *τὴν κτίσιν, this creature*, vile sinful creatures of his, Simon and his whore. This phrase of *turning or transforming the glory*, &c. seems to be borrowed from Psalm cvi. 20: *They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped a graven image: thus they turned their glory into the similitude of a calf that eateth hay*, &c. As they there that saw no similitude in the mount, yet made one presently, viz. the similitude of a calf; so these Gnostics here making Simon to have appeared in Sinai, as the Father, make him an image and statue to worship him in it. Of the word *δόξα, glory*, somewhat hath been said before, note [k] on Matt. iii, and more will be added, Rom. ix. [b].

25. [*g*] *more than the Creator*] Of the use of *παρὰ* for *above* one instance will suffice in the ^a Epistle of Eleazar the high priest to Ptolemy, telling him by way of great acknowledgment and gratitude, Πάντα ὅσα σοὶ συμφέρει, καὶ εἰ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν, ὑπακουσόμεθα, "All things that are profitable to you, though they be above nature, we will obediently perform." Thus Luke xiii. 2 and 4, ἀμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ πάντας, *sinner above all others*; though, Luke iii. 13, it be more fully expressed by πλεον παρὰ, *more besides or above*. As for the other notion of *παρὰ* for *contrary to*, (which here may have place also, for he that worships any thing above or beside the one true God, doth it in opposition to him, and to the wronging and robbing him,) we have an express testimony for it, Acts xviii. 13, παρὰ τὸν νόμον, *contrary to the law*.

28. [*h*] *reprobate*] The word ἀδόκιμος hath two notions especially, one among the *metallists*, the other belonging to the *agones*. Any metal that will not bear the δοκιμή, or *trial*, or which, being tried, betrays itself to be adulterate, is ἀδόκιμος, *reprobate*. But the notion that seems most peculiarly to belong to it in the New Testament is the other, taken from the *agones*, where, as he that strives as he ought, and conquers, is δόκιμος, *approved*, 2 Tim. ii. 15, and James i. 12, δόκιμοι καὶ ληψόμενοι στέφανον, *approved, and such as shall receive the crown*, and in other authors, εὐδόκιμοι, *well approved*, (and of other creatures, ἵππος δόκιμος, *an approved horse*, in the Ἱππιατρικά,) so he that loses the game and prize, that doth not run or strive, νομῖμος, *according to the laws of the game*, and so overcome, is said to be ἀδόκιμος, *to miscarry in the race*, and so to lose the reward of it. Thus in Democrates, Δόκιμος ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀδόκιμος οὐκ ἐξ ὧν πράσσει μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν βούλεται, "A man is approved or rejected not only by what he doth, but by what he wills." So in the Sibylline Oracles,

Ἄγνος γὰρ Χριστὸς τούτοις τὰ δίκαια βραβεύσει,

Καὶ δοκίμους στέψει—

"Christ will crown the approved." Thus 1 Cor. ix. 27, it is at the conclusion of an agonistical discourse of running and cuffing, &c., the close of which is, that the apostle uses all his most earnest endeavours, lest, (being a κήρυξ, *preacher, crier, officer*, in the *agones*, to propose the laws and rewards of the *agones* to others, which is ἀνακηρύττειν and ἀποκηρύττειν, *to proclaim* such a man conqueror, such a man to have lost,) he himself should ἀποκηρυχθῆναι, *be rejected*, found incapable of the reward by all aspired to, that is, fail of that crown of eternal life. So 2 Tim. iii. 8, ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν, *in the matter of faith*, such as were found unworthy of reward by God, proposed to Christians. So Titus i. 16, ἀδόκιμοι *to every good work*, that do nothing fit to be approved by God or man: where yet, as in all the former places, the figure λιτότης is to be observed, the word being used, not for him only that deserves no reward, or that misses it, but for him that is most contrary, the most vile and wicked, that deserves the contrary punishment, (as ἀσεβής, and ἀνομος, and ἀρχαίος, and ἀσχημοσύνη, *ungodly, without law, unprofitable, uncomeliness*, signify the most wicked, the most unfaithful servant, most violent opposer of the law, the greatest impurities, and many other the like,) and therefore is interpreted by βδελυκτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπειθεῖς that went before, *being abominable, and dis-*

obedient or contumacious. So Heb. vi. 8, of the ground that brings forth nothing but briars and thorns, that it is ἀδόκιμος, and κατὰρας ἔγγος, *reprobate, and nigh to a curse.* And so saith Hesychius and Phavorinus, ἀδόκιμος, ποιηρὸς, it signifies “a wicked man.” And so it is here taken in this sense of extremely ill, as appears by the effects that follow, the μὴ καθήκοντα, all the abominable sins that were in fashion among the Gentile idolaters and Gnostic Christians. And the same may be said of that place, 2 Cor. xiii. 5, 6, 7, which we will explain when we come to it. There is one thing more here observable, the answering of ἀδόκιμος here to οὐκ ἰδοκίμασαν in the beginning of the verse, *they approved not, thought not good to have God in their acknowledgment, and answerably God gave them up to a mind, such as neither God nor any else will approve of:* which manner of speaking is very frequent in the scripture, especially in setting down God’s punishments on sinners, in which the sacred writers delight to observe some correspondence. As psalm xviii, *With the froward thou wilt shew thyself froward.* And, *Because you have walked contrary to me, I will walk contrary to you.* And, Matt. v. 19, *Whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, the same shall be the least in the kingdom of heaven.* And many the like, which have formerly been observed.

29. [i] *covetousness* The word πλεονεξία in this and many other places of the New Testament, which we generally render *covetousness*, signifies *excessive or unnatural lusts*, (not *desire of money* only,) and is ordinarily set down among the basenesses of the Gnostic heresy, as I here suppose it is. So Eph. iv. 19, οἵτινες ἀπηλγηκότες, *who giving over all labour*, (as idleness was the mother-sin of the Sodomites,) *gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ, in inordinate unnatural desires.* Thus in Photius Epist. 168, ἡ βάρβαρος πλεονεξία signifies “such lust as was among barbarians or heathens,” (and had been before exemplified in Joseph’s Egyptian mistress,) τὸν ὀχληρὸν ἔραστην κτησαμένην, “which possessed the disturbed lover,” as there it follows. So in ^b St. Chrysostom, speaking of these unnatural lusts, Ὅρας, saith he, ὅτι ἀπὸ πλεονεξίας τὸ πᾶν, “You see that it comes all from this inordinate desire, ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἀνασχομένης εἴσω τῶν οἰκείων ὅρων μένειν, lust not enduring to stay or be contained within its own bounds.” So in Antiochus λογ. ξα’. ἐπιθυμία γυναικῶν καὶ πλεονεξιῶν, “desire of women, and such like inordinations.” For as to the nature of the word, it is known to come from πλεόν ἔξω, and to signify any *immoderate desire* of any thing above one’s portion. So in Aristotle it is opposed ἰσότητι, to *equality*. So in Hesychius, Πλεονεξία, τὸ πλεόν τοῦ δέοντος ἐκ τινὸς λαμβάνειν, “to take more than is due or meet of any thing.” So in Lucian de Cal. the calumniator is described to be one that will have and enclose all his auditors to himself, will let no man else be heard, and for this he calls him πλεονεκτὴν, one that assumes more than belongeth to him. And so Democrates in his Γνωμ. defines πλεονεξία to be speaking all, and not enduring to hear anybody else. And in Themistius’ Paraphrase of the first book de Anima, πλεονεκτεῖν is taken for any kind of exceeding, πᾶσαν γνώσιν τιμίαν εἶναι, πλεονεκτεῖν δὲ ἑτέραν ἑτέρας, “one exceeds or excels the other:” and in ^c Isocrates,

^b Tom. 2. p. 24. l. 13.

^c In Nicocl.

speaking of monarchies, τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ πλεονεξίας πάσας περιεῖλψας, "They comprehend," saith he, "all the advantages that are in war." And so in ^d Ecphantos, βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ κοινῇ φύσει πλεονεκτῶν κρέσσονι, "A king hath a great eminence or excellence over the common nature of men." And in Alex. Aphrod. πε. εἰμαρμ. σωματικά πλεονεκτήματα are "the faculties of the body wherein beasts exceed men;" and so φυσικὴ (perhaps it should be read ψυχικὴ) πλεονεξία, "the excellence of the mind of men above beasts." And the notion of which now I speak, though it differ in the object and matter about which it is conversant, is the same in effect with these, a desiring and usurping that which is not agreeable to his condition, sex, nature, &c. τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, "those things that are not meet," which Alex. Aphrodis. more distinctly expresses in his Schol. on Arist. de An. Ὁ ἀδικος αὐτῷ πλεόν τῶν ἡδέων νέμει, "The wicked man allows himself too large a proportion of sweet things or pleasures." So Asterius Hom. Cont. Avarit. Πλεονεξία ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήμασιν ἐπιμαίνεσθαι—ἀλλὰ γενικώτερον εἰπεῖν, τὸ ἐπὶ παντὸς πράγματος πλεόν ἔχειν βούλεσθαι τοῦ ὀφειλομένου καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντος, "It is not used only for the mad love of money and other possessions, but in a more general acception, to desire to have more of any thing than is due and convenient." So Hierax, in his book of Justice, (of which we have a large fragment in ^e Stobæus,) makes ἀδικία and πλεονεξία all one, and then exemplifies it in Milo and Lais: and as it is one branch of it in Milo, διαρπάζειν ἀσθενεστέρων χρήματα, "to snatch away the estates of those that are weaker than he," so it is another καὶ τὰς τούτων γυναῖκας, "to force their wives from them." And so in Lais, as it is one act of it, πλείστον εἰσπράττειν παρὰ τῶν ἑραστῶν, "to require and gain immoderately by her lovers:" so it is another, ἐνὶ ὄντι γυναικῶν καὶ γάμους διαλύειν, "to dissolve the marriages of some women," to get away their husbands from them. And of this we have a grammatical ground in the Hebrew word נָצַח, which signifies both *covetousness* and *lust*, and being by the Septuagint often rendered πλεονεξία, *covetousness*, is once rendered μiasμός, *pollution*, Ezek. xxiii. 31; and to that notion of the word the place agrees, if we compare it with ver. 29; where the cause of their desolation is the abominations committed by them, and those joined with *defiling the neighbour's wife*, ver. 26. Thus in an ancient prayer of Ephraim Syrus, appointed for confession, and the sin chiefly insisted on being that of uncleanness, (as appears by ἐμὲ τὸν αἰσχρὸν, τὸν φλυαρὸν, τὸν μαῖοντα τὸν αὐτὸν ἀέρα ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ ἀτόπων ἔργων μου, τὸν μαῖοντα τὸν ναὸν τοῦ σώματος μου, &c.) ἀτίμοις καὶ πονηραῖς φιληδονίαις μου, πᾶν μέρος μου ἐμίαντα ἐφθειρα, &c. he prays, Σπλαγχνίσθητι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις μου, ταῖς ἀδικίαις, ταῖς πλεονεξίαις, ταῖς μοιχείαις, ταῖς πορνείαις, ταῖς καταλαλαῖς, ταῖς αἰσχυρολογίαις, &c. "Have mercy on my sins, my iniquities, my unnatural lusts, adulteries, fornications, idle and filthy speakings;" where, if we may judge by the attendants, the word is used in this sense. Thus I conceive Plato used the word, de Rep. l. 9, where, speaking of sensual men, he compares them to the beasts, χορταζόμενοι καὶ ὀχεύοντες, "full fed and lascivious;" and further adds, ἐνεκα τῆς τούτων πλεονεξίας κυρίττοντες καὶ λακτίζοντες, &c., where the πλεονεξία τούτων must refer to the fullness of lust and flesh together. To these may be added the Gloss of Phavo-

rinus, Πλεονεξία ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πλείονος βλάβη, (for which he cites the apostle,) "the hurt of immoderate lusting." And so the word τρυφή, which signifies this very thing, and which he expresseth by λιχτεία φιλήδονος, "voluptuousness," he expresseth also by πλεονασμός περιεργός πρὸς ἡδοναβαίαν ἀεὶ μὲν ὄν, "an excess which is always very curious, busy, importunate to fetch in pleasures," πλεονεξία and πλεονασμός being but little different from one another. Thus it is used in the Epistle of Barnabas, p. 231, where, giving the reason why hares were forbidden under the law, to intimate that we should not be παιδοφθόροι like them, he adds, ὅτι ὁ λαγῶδός κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖ τὴν ἀφοδενσιν. And in the fragments of Polycarpus's Epistle, speaking of Valens, an elder of Philippi, and his having committed somewhat utterly unworthy of that calling, by his example he admonisheth others to abstain *ab avaritia*, (that sure was in Greek ἀπὸ πλεονεξίας,) "from inordinate desires," *et sint casti*, "and that they be chaste," adding that whosoever did not thus abstain, ὁ μὴ ἀπεχόμενος πλεονεξίας, *ab idololatria coinquinabitur, et tanquam inter Gentes judicabitur*, "will be contaminated with idolatry, and judged as among the Gentiles." And so there is little reason to doubt but that when Bede on Matt. v. 32, speaking of divorce, saith, *Non hic intelligitur tantum fornicatio in stupro, quod in alienis viris aut feminis committitur, sed omnis concupiscencia, vel avaritia, vel idololatria*, &c. "It is not only adultery that is here understood, which is committed on other men's wives, but every concupiscence, or covetousness, or idolatry," he means by *avaritia*, "coveting, unnatural lust," having no question translated that note out of some Greek commentator, who had used πλεονεξία in this sense. And so when Holkot out of Papias observes that the scriptures call by the name of fornication *omnem illicitam corruptionem*, all unlawful or interdicted corruption, (*sicut est idololatria et avaritia*, such are idolatry and coveting,) it is evident that *corruptio illicita* is the ἀβίμετος φθορά, "abominable villainy," as φθορά signifies, (see note on ch. viii. 1.) "and idolatry and covetousness," the unnatural sins used by the heathen worshippers, the πλεονεξία, which is idolatry. And so when Theophylact on 1 Cor. iii. 12, in the highest rank of combustible matter, (that is, of sins,) reckons ἀκαθαρσίαν, εἰδωλολατρείαν, πλεονεξίαν, in all reason it is to be understood of unnatural lusts, so as to agree with uncleanness and idolatry. Thus in all reason the word is to be taken here, where these four, πορνεία, fornication, πονηρία, villainy, κακία, naughtiness, and πλεονεξία, inordinate desire, are put together, πονηρία and κακία in the same notion that, Gen. xix. 7 and 9, πωηρεῖσθαι and κακῶσαι are taken, that is, to signify the sin of Sodom there described, and in all probability πορνεία and πλεονεξία in the same sense also. So Col. iii. 5, in relation to the Gnostics, he bids them mortify fornication, uncleanness, πάθος, (that is, as the Syriac render it,) passivity, evil concupiscence, and πλεονεξία, inordinate desire, which is idolatry. So Eph. v. 3, *Let neither fornication, nor uncleanness, nor πλεονεξία, inordinate desire, be named among you*, putting them in the number of the nefanda, sins not to be named; and so ver. 5, *Every fornicator, or unclean person, or πλεονεκτής*, (not covetous, but inordinate luster,) who

† Lect. 173.

is an idolater: as when Maimonides, Mor. Neb. l. 3. c. 38, speaking of the unnatural sins used by the Gentiles, and having named one abominable custom of theirs, *Propter hoc, saith he, prohibita est incisio arboris in aliam speciem, ut elongemur a causis idololatriæ et fornicationum.* To the same sense is *πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφόν*, 1 Thess. iv. 6, as shall there (note [a]) be explained. So 1 Cor. v. 11, *ἢ πόρνος ἢ πλεονεκτὴς ἢ εἰδωλόλατρός, either fornicator, or inordinate luster, or idolater*, speaking of the Gnostic Christians again; as in Barnabas's Epistle, p. 252, in the beadroll of destroying sins there is *εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία Θεοῦ*, "idolatry, sorcery, magic," (in reference to the Gnostics' witchcrafts,) "inordinate lusts, fearlessness of God." So the *καρδία γυμνασμένη πλεονεξίας*, 2 Pet. ii. 14, by the matter of that whole chapter is confined to this sense, a heart exercised with inordinate lusts, which renders them *κατὰρας τέκνα, children of a curse*, sure to be destroyed: and all this makes it reasonable to pitch upon this notion of this word *πλεονεξία* in this place. So when St. Paul, 2 Cor. vii, after an exhortation of *coming out from among them*, (as out of Sodom,) and of *not touching the unclean thing*, ch. vi. 7, and of *cleansing themselves from all filthiness*, ch. vii. 1, subjoins, ver. 2, *Receive us, οὐδένα ἡδικήσαμεν, we have injured no man, οὐδένα ἐφθείραμεν, we have corrupted no man*, and adds, *οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν*, it may very fitly be rendered in this sense, of foul unnatural lusts, referring all the three words to their Gnostic false teachers, that debauched those who entertained them, brought them to all *ἀδικία, wickedness, injustice*, (which is used for that sin, Gen. vi. 5, and here, Rom. i. 18.) *φθορά, corruption*, (used for that sin, Gen. vi. 11, 12, and 2 Pet. ii. 12; see note [b] on 2 Pet. i.) and *πλεονεξία, inordinate lusts*, in the same sense: not that St. Paul had any reason to vindicate himself from these sins, (no more had he, whatsoever other notion they could be interpreted in,) but to intimate the vast difference betwixt him and the Gnostic teachers or seducers, which had these designs upon them; which the rather appears by his next words, ver. 3, *I speak not to condemn you*; which implies that what he last said was by way of reproach to their new leaders, though not to the condemning of them to whom he wrote. In the same sense it is that he tells the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 5, that he was not with them *ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας*. See note on that place.

30. [k] *despiteful*] The word *ὑβριστὰι* may here most probably denote those unnatural lusts also. And so is it manifestly affirmed and defined by ῥ Plato, *Ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἀλόγως ἐλκούσης ἐπὶ ἡδονάς, καὶ ἀρξίας ἐν ἡμῖν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὕβρις ἐπωνομάσθη*, "When desire draws us irrationally to pleasures, and gets dominion over us, this is named *ὕβρις, contumely*." So ^h Dio in *Œconomico*, *Κλαίων οὐδεὶς προὔτρεψατο ὑβριστῇ*, "By weeping none ever incited the contumelious," that is, the unlawful lover. So in ⁱ Phintys's book of the woman's sobriety, the adulterous wife is said *ἀδονᾶς ἕνεκεν ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ ὑβρίσειν*, "to be for pleasure's sake guilty of sin and contumely." And so in ^k Nicostratus, *παῖδες ἐξ ἀκολασίας καὶ ὕβρεως γεγονότες*, are "adulterous brats." So in Philostratus *de Vita Apoll.* l. i. c. 11, *ὑβριστὴς ἄνθρωπος* is presently said to be *κακὸς τὰ ἔρω-*

ῥ In *Phædro*.

^h Ap. Stobæ. p. 443.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 444.

^k Ibid. p. 447.

τιὰ, "wicked in his loves or lusts," and of him it follows, that he fell in love with Apollonius for his beauty." So in ¹Charondas, proem to his Laws, speaking of marital chastity, and prescribing the care of procreation, not of pleasure, he adds, μηδὲ τὸ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ τίμιον, ἀνόμους ἀναλίσκῃτω καὶ ὑβρίζῃτω, using ὑβρις for any "inordinate or unlawful act of impurity." And this agrees most aptly with many former passages of this chapter, and the character of the Gnostics here set down, who disliked marriage, and used all unlawful liberties and pollutions.

31. [I] *without understanding*] Ἀσυνέτους, τοὺς ἀσυνειδήτους λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος, saith Phavorinus, "The apostle means those that have no conscience;" *knowledge* and *conscience*, σύνεσις and συνειδήσις being all one, and so the want of that is the want of conscience. This, it seems, was the judgment of that learned grammarian of this place, to which, no doubt, he refers by the word ἀπόστολος. Hesychius renders it only ἀφρων, *foolish*, but so as *foolish* signifies unreasonable actions, and as ἀνοία, Luke vi. 11, signifies designing malice and mischief against Christ, and as Titus iii. 3. Ἀνόητοι signifies those that were *guilty of unreasonable practices*. And this according to the use of σύνεσις, which is sometimes *the mind, the understanding*, Mark xii. 33, with which God is to be loved as well as known; and so the not knowing him thus may be set for the greatest impiety. Of σύνεσις see more in note [e] on 1 Cor. i.

[m] *covenantbreakers*] Ἀσύνθετος, ὁ ἀσύμφωνος, καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις μὴ ἐμμένων, "not apt to agree with others, one that stands not to pacts, bargains," saith Phavorinus; and so Hesychius, being rightly pointed, ἀσυνθέτους, μὴ ἐμμένοντας ταῖς συνθήκαις, and ἀσυνθετάτων, ἀπιστάτων, καὶ ἀβεβαιοτάτων, *unfaithful and unconstant*.

CHAP. II.

1. [a] *whosoever thou art that judgest*] Ὁ κρίνων, *thou that judgest*, here and in the end of the verse, and ver. 3, is clearly the Gnostic Judaizer, who teaches the observation of the Mosaic law, and accuses the orthodox Christians, who are not circumcised, for breakers of the law; and yet himself runs riotously into those sins, for the abstaining from which, circumcision was designed and instituted by God. This judging and condemning of the Gentile Christians was by them taken up from the Jews, who having themselves guilt enough of sins, as well as the Gentiles, would yet discriminate themselves from all others by this or the like character of legal observances, as by that which should justify them, or free them from judgment, under which the Gentiles, which knew not the Mosaic law, and were not circumcised, were to lie, and be accursed. This was the thing that John Baptist warns them of, to *bring forth meet fruits of repentance, and not to say within themselves, We have Abraham to our father*, which they were apt to believe should stand them in stead in the absence of all those fruits. This was the great error of that people, consequent to their opinion of their absolute election, whereby they resolved that it was not their just or pious performances that were looked on by God, or required to their justification, but their being Abraham's seed, within the covenant,

and having the sign of the covenant in their flesh, which they looked on as engagements (if not allurements and motives) of the favour of God to them, howsoever they lived; by this means making God a *προσωπολήπτης*, one that chose or accepted or favoured *πρόσωπα*, persons, that is, men barely considered, with some outward advantages to set them off, without any intuition of their qualifications or demeanors. Which was the thing that is distinctly disclaimed here, ver. 11, and which St. Peter discerned to be so false, by the revealing of the gospel to the Gentiles, Acts x. 34. Thus is the word *δ κρίνων* used, ch. xiv. 4, of the Jewish Christian that abstained from some sorts of meats, ver. 2, and though he doth that either out of weakness, as that signifies *disease*, erroneous seduction, or at least out of infirmity and ignorance, as thinking himself bound to it by the Mosaical law, (which he believes still to oblige,) and so ought not to be despised or set at naught by him that understands Christian liberty better, yet doth very ill in judging all others that do not abstain as he doth. For this is the very same error that is here reprehended in the Jews and Gnostics, of judging all others as men out of God's favour, because they do not what they do or pretend to do, that is, observe not the ritual parts of Moses's law. And this being an error which the Jews and Gnostics were so guilty of, (and consequently of this sin attending it, of judging and condemning all but themselves,) is particularly marked in the Jews, Matt. vii. 1, and beaten down by Christ (as here in the Judaizers by the apostle) as an irrational sin, the grounds of which were quite contrary to the prime attribute of God, his justice, and rewarding all that *diligently seek him*, Heb. xi. 6, and *every man according to his works* here, ver. 6, and *justifying the doers, not hearers of the word*, ver. 13.

2. [b] *truth*] The Hebrew *תְּנוּמָה* signifies both *truth* and *justice*, and is rendered by *ἀλήθεια* and *δικαιοσύνη*, and here one of them is put for the other, *ἀλήθεια*, *truth*, for *δικαιοσύνη*, *justice*, so as on the other side *ἄδικον μαμμωνᾶ*, *the unjust mammon*, is opposed to *the true riches*. See note [f] on Matt. xxiii.

15. [c] *their thoughts the mean*—] The *λογισμοὶ μεταξύ ἀλλήλων* here are the practical *κοινὰ ἔννοιαι*, *common notions* of good and evil, which are among the generality of men, even heathens, without any light from the Mosaical law, and are called *λογισμοὶ*, *reasonings*, because reason, when it comes to a maturity, if it be not precorrupted with false doctrines and prejudices, will be able to conclude that this ought to be done, and not that, and so give us the principles of all moral actions.

16. [d] *my gospel*] Paul's preaching every where whither he came, is literally to be styled his *εὐαγγέλιον*, or *gospel*; and so it seems to signify here. So in the Epistle of Clemens Romanus (contemporary to that apostle) ad Corinth. after the mention of blessed Paul's Epistles, he bids them mark *τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψε*, "what he hath first written to you (Corinthians) in the beginning of the gospel," that is, at the time when the gospel was by him first preached among them.

17. [e] *called a Jew*] *Ἐπονομάζεσθαι* is somewhat more than *ὀνομάζεσθαι*: it signifies an addition to one's proper name, and so it was here. The Gnostics assumed to themselves the name of Jews, pro-

fessing to be of that religion, great friends to Moses's law: λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι, Rev. ii. 9, *they say that they are Jews*, when indeed many of them were not such, either by birth or observation of the Judaical customs, being not themselves circumcised, (see Gal. vi. 13. and note [e] on Rev. ii.) and those that were, living (not according, but) quite contrary to the Mosaic law.

18. [f] *approve*] That δοκιμάζειν, *to prove or try*, signifies so to examine and prove as to approve, appears by some other places where the word is used. So 1 Cor. xi. 28, *Let a man prove or examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, &c.* where it is certain that if upon examination he find himself unworthy, he must not so eat; for if he do, *he eats damnation to himself*, ver. 29; and therefore it must signify the approving himself to God and his own conscience. So Rom. xiv. 22, *Happy is he who doth not judge or condemn himself*, ἐν ᾧ δοκιμάζει (not, *in what he examines himself*, but) *in what*, upon deliberation, he so likes, approves, as to think fit to act accordingly; that is, happy is he that, when he is resolved of the matter of the action, that it is lawful, doth it with such care that he hurt not others, that he hath nothing to blame in himself when he hath done it. So Gal. vi. 4, *Let every man δοκιμάζειν, prove his own work*, that is, so prove, examine his own actions, as to approve them to himself, his own conscience, and to God, and *then he shall have glorying or rejoicing* (that is, he shall be able to comfort himself) *eis ἑαυτὸν μόνον, toward himself alone*, that is, by looking on himself absolutely, and not only in conjunction or comparison with other men, which is meant by καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον, and not towards another, to which belongs the reason rendered in the next verse, *For every one shall bear his own burden*. So Eph. v. 10, *Walk as children of light*, δοκιμάζοντες τί ἐστιν εὐάρεστον τῷ Κυρίῳ, *examining, proving what is acceptable to the Lord*; but this so, that they also approve themselves to study and pursue it, or else they do not *walk like children of light*, like Christians. The truth is, this is not so familiar a phrase, the *proving what is acceptable to God*, as the former is, of *proving and approving himself or his own works*: yet because the examining and the approving of God's will is a direct undertaking and obligation to practise it, and because it is a ridiculous thing, and that which will never stand in any stead, to *examine what is well pleasing to God*, and, when he hath done so, to act or practise the contrary, therefore the apostle, that exhorts to this as to a duty which will stand them in some stead, and as an evidence of their *walking as children of light*, (not as the partial condition or a means to perform God's will, but as the knowing God's will in the scripture, when it is looked on as a good thing, is the practising of it,) must be supposed to contain in this phrase of *proving*, the *approving* also, and not only so, but also the performing (at least in endeavour and study) *what is acceptable to the Lord*, and shall to them appear to be so, and not only the examining what is thus acceptable. And then one other place, Rom. xii. 2, will by the same reason be clearly intelligible also in this sense, where they are exhorted by all *the exceeding mercies and compassions of God to present themselves to God a living and well pleasing sacrifice*, and instead of conformity with the world, to be *transfigured*, that is, eminently and visibly changed, *by or in the renovation of their mind*, εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν, (which notes this to be an effect, if not the end, of this renovation of mind,) *that they may*

prove what is the will of God, the good, the acceptable, the perfect, which is directly the scheme or form of speaking used to the Ephesians, (only with the addition of some more words, not to alter but enhance this notion of it,) so to search into the will of God what is good and acceptable to him in the highest degree, as to practise and pursue it, and approve themselves to God and their own souls to have done so. And by this means the meaning of δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα, both here and Phil. i. 10, will be more intelligible also than otherwise, if it were not compared with these two last places, it would be. In that to the Philippians, thus: *I pray that your love may abound*, &c. your great forwardness to the advancing and propagating the gospel, ver. 4, *εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς*, (as an effect again of their abundance of Christian charity or zeal to the gospel,) *that you may examine first*, and then approve or like, and then set yourselves to the pursuit of τὰ διαφέροντα, *the things that excel*, that are eminently good, (proportionably to the abounding of their charity going before,) that is, do as much good as you can possibly; or as Theophylact interprets διαφέροντα, by τὰ καθήκοντα ἐκάστω, *the things that belong to every man*, and τὰ συμφέροντα, *profitable*, those things which are proper and expedient for you to do. And then this will without question belong also to the same phrase in this place, where of the Gnostic Judaizers he saith, Γινώσκεις τὸ θέλημα καὶ δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα, *Thou knowest* (that is, pretendest to know above all others, and therefore art called *Gnostic*, *knowing*,) *the will* (that is, the will of God,) *and provest*, that is, examinest with all acuteness and diligence, and having by examination found out what is most excellent, most acceptable in the sight of God, thou likest, choosest, approvest it, (that is, pretendest and assumest to thyself to do so,) and practisest accordingly, κατηχούμενος ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, *being first*, for thy foundation, *instructed in the law of Moses*, as all pious men ought to be, to lay their foundation there; and thus assuming to thyself this high perfection above all others, (the orthodox Christians,) *πείνοίθας*, &c. ver. 19, *thou hast confidence to thyself that thou art a guide to the blind*, &c. that none are so fit to be διδάσκαλοι, (see note [a] on James iii.) *instructors*, and to be heeded, as you. Thus in Ignatius's Epistle to the Smyr-næans, speaking of the reverence due to the bishop's judgment, ὃς ἀν ἐκείνους δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον, "what he shall," upon examination, "approve of, this is also well-pleasing to God."

20. [g] *form*] Μόρφωσις, σχηματισμός, εἰκὼν, saith Phavorinus, (out of Hesychius,) "a scheme" or "image" of a whole matter; but this, saith he, ἐπίπλαστον, οὐκ ὄν δέ, "that which is feigned," or believed, or pretended to be so, "but is not;" and for this he cites this place of the apostle, and so indeed very pertinently, the Gnostic here thinking that he hath a scheme or complete form of all knowledge, and truth, and mysteries of religion, when he hath it not, but is far from it. Theophylact hath another notion of it for ζωγράφησις, "painting to the life," and interprets the place of the Jewish doctor, who ζωγραφεῖ καὶ μορφοῖ τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ταῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ψυχαῖς, "forms and draws to the life the knowledge of good and the truth in the hearts of disciples."

27. [h] *by the letter*] The notion of διὰ is here to be observed, and is best expressed by *in*. So in Pausanias, διὰ φόβων γίνεσθαι, *in metu versari*, "to be in a condition of fears or dangers." So here, ch. iv. 11,

οἱ πιστεύοντες δι' ἀκροβυστίας, *those that being in uncircumcision, that is, in the Gentile state, do yet believe*; and so here, τὸν διὰ γραμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου, *thee, who being in the law and circumcision, that is, in that external condition of Mosaical economy, art yet a transgressor of the law*. Of this, or the like use of διὰ, see note [d] on 2 Pet. iii.

CHAP. III.

2. [a] *chiefly*] Πρῶτον here clearly denoteth a form of enumeration, answerable to our *imprimis*, and signifies that the apostle was about to reckon up all the advantages of the Jew in this place, and accordingly began with one, resolving to have proceeded, had not an objection here diverted his purpose for many chapters together, not permitting him to return from that digression till ch. ix, where again he falls to the same matter, and enumerates the remainder of those privileges, particularly ver. 4, &c. The only privilege which here he begins with is, *ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *their being intrusted with the oracles of God*. What is meant by that phrase it will not be amiss to explain in both parts of it; and first, the *λόγια*, *oracles*. Beside the four garments used by the priest when he officiated, there were four more proper to the high priest. The first of them was called *pectoral*, because it was fastened about the neck, and came down hanging upon the breast, תכשיט כננגר הלב, saith Sol. Jarchi on Exod. xxviii. 4, "it hangs before or near the heart." In the scripture it is called the *pectoral of judgment*, because by it the high priest received the responses of God in all matters of difficulty, as when they should make war or peace, &c. This is called by Josephus *ἑσσην*, Antiq. l. 3. c. 8, the very Hebrew word, the *ן* being not pronounced; and of it he saith, that in the Greek language it signifieth *λόγιον* (not *rationale*, I suppose, but) *orationale* rather, because the word or oracle of God was revealed thereby. And from this use of the word *λόγιον* for that *pectoral*, by which all the responses and oracles of God were received, it comes that the word *λόγια* in the plural is used to signify those *oracles* and *responses*, all the revelations of God's will by this means vouchsafed unto men. (Of the other ways of revelations among the Jews, see note [a] on Acts xxiii.) If it be demanded how these responses or oracles were given and received, the most probable way, (though there be some uncertainty among the Jewish writers in this matter,) and that which is most agreed on, is this: the Hebrew names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve tribes, with this addition, כל אלה שבטי ישראל, *all these are the tribes of Israel*, were written on the pectoral; and in these words every letter of the alphabet is to be found, out of which all other words may be composed. Then when any response was to be received, the high priest set his face toward the *שכינה*, *the ark*, the testimony of God's presence, and he that was concerned in the response set his face toward the high priest; and the letters which were prominent, or which shined in the pectoral, being put together, made the response. And whereas some difficulty is conceived to have been in understanding the order wherein the shining or prominent letters were to be taken, (whereupon some of the rabbins have been fain to say that the high priest heard a voice to direct him in that matter,) I suppose that difficulty will be removed by conceiving

that the letters of which the response consisted did not shine or stick out all together, or at once, (for some of the letters of the alphabet being but once to be found in all those words which are supposed to be written on the pectoral, it is possible the response might have in it some of those letters more than once, and consequently in that case it could not fully be expressed by the pectoral, if the manner were for all the letters that made up the whole response to shine or stick out at once,) but that first one, then another letter shone or stuck out, and so on, till the response were distinctly and completely delivered: and this shining or thrusting out of these letters, of which the response consisted, is that which is called *Urim* and *Thummim*, שֹׁהַן וְתוֹמִים, *because they perfected the way before them*, that is, shewed them the right way wherein they should walk, which therefore is rendered ἀλήθεια, *truth*; and both together, because by this means they were instructed in all doubtful things concerning either knowledge or practice, especially whether such a thing should come to pass or no. As when David asks whether the men of Keilah would deliver him up or no, and the oracle answers that they will, if he intrust himself to them. And of these responses it is the observation of Gemara Babyl. that it is not in the power of repentance to alter what is thus delivered: גִּזְרֵת נְבִיא חוֹרֵת, *the decree of a prophet returns*, that is, is rescinded, and not performed sometimes, but גִּזְרֵת אִינָה חוֹרֵת, *the decree of Urim and Thummim never returns*, because it is called the *judgment of Urim*. This being the notion of the word λόγια, *oracles*, here, it will easily appear what is meant by λόγια ζῶντα, *living oracles*, Acts vii. 38, which Moses is said to have received from God, viz. the Ten Commandments from Mount Sinai, which being significations and revelations of God's will, are, by analogy with the responses from Aaron's pectoral, fitly called λόγια, *oracles*; and then ζῶντα, *living*, either because, being written in tables, they were more to the life, and more lasting and durable, than those other which were produced by the temporary shining or prominence of the letters in the pectoral: or again, because they were delivered immediately by the voice of God, as we call that a *living testimony* which is received from the mouth of the party, in opposition to *records*, which are dead witnesses. So when, Hebrews v. 12, we find στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the elements of the beginning of the oracles of God*, τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the oracles of God*, signify God's will, revealed to us, the Christian doctrine. Ἀρχὴ τῶν λογίων, *the beginning of the oracles*, is the first part of that Christian doctrine, the things which Christ first revealed and preached to them, ch. vi. 1, viz. repentance and faith; and the στοιχεῖα, *elements*, may refer to the letters in the pectoral, of which responses there consisted. Then for the ἐπιστεύθησαν, *they were intrusted with*, that is certainly the due rendering of it, as will appear, not only by the plural number, which is here used, which would not regularly belong to it if it agreed with the neutral λόγια, *oracles*, (and therefore it must in the construction be joined with the masculine Ἰουδαῖοι, *Jews*, implied and understood, though not named here, from the word περιτομή, *the circumcision*, ver. 1.) but also by the clear use of the word in this manner, Gal. ii. 7, πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, *I have been intrusted with the gospel*. One thing more may be yet observable of this word, from the nature of it, which denotes being *intrusted* for the use and good of

some others, and not only for theirs who are so intrusted. Thus it is ordinarily known of coffees in trust, that they are to employ that which is deposited with them for the use of those to whose advantage their trust was designed and specified. So in that place, Gal. ii. 7, where St. Paul is said to be *intrusted with the εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας*, *gospel of the uncircumcision*, and St. Peter with the *εὐαγγέλιον τῆς περιτομῆς*, *gospel of the circumcision*, the meaning is evident, that they were intrusted with that jewel for the use of others; St. Paul to preach it to the Gentiles, and St. Peter to the Jews. And so here, *the oracles of God* were deposited with the Jews, not to keep them to themselves, but to publish them to all the world besides. And indeed therefore may this place seem to be pitched on by God, as the heart of the earth, the middle of the world, that it might be fitter for that turn of dispersing and communicating it to others. Hence is it that the temple of Jerusalem is said to be *the house of prayer to all people*; and when it was to be reedified, Hag. ii. 7, it is expressed by *the desire of all nations shall come*: and so we know many proselytes were attracted by the splendour of God's actions for and among this people, to come in and receive their religion. But because this did not do the work sufficiently of converting and reforming the Gentile world, it is Christ's appointment to his apostles, that they should disperse themselves unto *all nations*, and so bring them to the knowledge of his will. To this sense of the word *ἐπιστεύθησαν* the words of Athanasius are observable, De Incarn. Verbi, Οὐ διὰ Ἰουδαίους μόνους ὁ νόμος ἦν, οὐδὲ δι' αὐτοὺς μόνους οἱ προφῆται ἐπέμποντο, "The law was not for the Jews only, nor were the prophets sent for them alone," (the two things meant by *the oracles* here,) πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν διδασκαλεῖον ἱερὸν τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ γνώσεως καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν πολιτείας, "but this nation was the sacred school of the whole world, from whence they were to fetch the knowledge of God, and the way of spiritual living." Wherein yet there was an eminent difference betwixt this and the evangelical economy. Under the law, they that would learn God's will must come up to Palestine to fetch it; but under the gospel, the law of Christ itself goes out, and takes the journey to all nations, and comes home unto them; which is far the greater advantage, and makes them more unexcusable which do not receive and embrace it.

4. [*b*] *judged*] *κρίνομαι*, *δικάζομαι*, it signifies "to have a suit in law," saith Hesychius; and again, *κρινόμεθα*, *μαχόμεθα*, any civil "controversy or contention." The Hebrew in psalm li. 4, whence it is cited, hath *יִשְׁפֹּט*, in *judicando te*, "when thou judgest," literally, but then that word *שָׁפַט*, though it signify *judicare*, "to judge," signifies often *litigare*, "to contend," also "to plead or manage a cause for one against another." So Ezek. i. 4, *Wilt thou judge them?* that is, *Wilt thou plead for them?* So ver. 7, and oft in these Epistles, 1 Cor. vi. 1, *Τολμᾷ κρίνεσθαι*, *Dares any wage a suit at law, implead another?* So in Demaratus Arcadicor. 2. *Φόνον κριθεὶς ἀπελύθη τοῦ ἐγκλήματος*, "Being impleaded of murder, he was freed from the accusation:" where *κριθεὶς* must signify, not *judged* or *condemned*, for it is added, "he was absolved," but *accused* or *impleaded*: and again, it was by his mother that he was *κριθεὶς*, not by the judge, another evidence that it signifies

accused, prosecuted, not condemned. And agreeable to this will be that notion of κρίμα, Rom. v. 16, for *charging* of sin upon us, *indictment*, *impleading*, after which follows the κατάκριμα or *condemnation*. From this notion of κρίνεσθαι, *to contend*, in the forensical sense, for *pleading* or *managing the suit in law*, will appear also what is the original notion of the word δικαιούσθαι, *to be justified*, which is so often used in these Epistles. For the phrase ὅπως δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, *that thou mightest be justified in thy sayings*, in the former part of this verse, is visibly of the same importance with νικήσης ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαι σε, *that thou mightest overcome when thou pleadest*, in the latter; and then, as λόγοι must signify *pleadings*, so must δικαιούσθαι *the good success or victory of the pleader*, being acquitted by the judge, as in that known place of Solomon, Prov. xvii. 15, *justifying* is set opposite to *condemning*. From hence it is justly resolved by divines, that though Rev. xxii. 11, (and perhaps in some other places of the Greek of the Old Testament, as Eccclus. xxxi. 5. and xviii. 22.) δικαιούσθαι is opposite to ἀδικεῖν, and so signifieth *to live or do righteously*; yet there is this other notion which belongs to the word, and must constantly be affixed to it in almost all the places of the New Testament. For the due understanding of which these three things will be necessary to be remembered. First, that the word being juridical, must always, when it is used in this sense, imply a legal proceeding, and therein a judge, a client, and a law, or somewhat proportionable to each of these. Thus, when a man is said to be *justified by the deeds of the law*, or by *the faith of Christ in the sight of God*, as the man is the client, (supposable to be impleaded by Satan, the ἀντίδικος or *adversary ἐν δίκῃ*, in *judicature*,) and God the judge, and the law of Moses on one side, or the Christian law, the law of faith, on the other, the rule or law by which the judgment is made; so he that is said to be *justified*, must be supposed to be acquitted by the rules of that law by which he is tried and judged, whether it be that given by Moses or this by Christ. Thus in that eminent place, Acts xiii. 38, 39, (the summary of the whole gospel, and from which the notion of this word in the Epistles may most fitly be taken,) *Be it known unto you, that by this person (Christ) remission of sins is declared or preached unto you, and through him every one that believeth is justified (δικαιούται) from all those things from which you could not be justified in or by the law of Moses*. Where, as it is evident that the law of Christ allows pardon and remission for those sins for which the law of Moses allowed no mercy, viz. in case of repentance and sincere returning to the obedience of Christ, after one or more acts of presumptuous sins, (for which the law of Moses admitted no sacrifice, no expiation, but inflicted death without mercy on the offender, were he never so penitent, Heb. x. 26. 28, and though there were hope of pardon for such in another world, yet this was not by the purport of Moses's but of Christ's covenant,) so the justification which is now declared from Christ, and consists in God's pardoning such sins, acquitting the penitent believer that now comes in to the obedience of Christ, whatsoever his past sins have been, is a judicial act of God's, proceeding according to this rule now in force, this law of Christ, this covenant under the gospel; which because it is an act of mere mercy in God through Christ, the purchase of which cost Christ his blood, but cost us nothing, (*by his stripes we were thus healed*,) and because the condition

of new life required of us to make us capable of this remission, hath nothing of virtue or merit, of natural or moral efficiency in it, towards the purchasing remission, therefore it is here affirmed that we are δικαιούμενοι δωρεάν, &c. ver. 24, *justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is by Jesus Christ.*

The second thing to be observed in this matter is, that the gospel, or the faith of Christ, being now that rule by which God either acquits or condemns, justifies or not justifies any, whensoever justification is mentioned, it must be understood with this reference to that rule which is sometimes mentioned explicitly, (as when we read of his *justifying him that is of the faith of Jesus*, ver. 26, *justifying by faith and through faith*, ver. 30, that is, according to that evangelical rule, the law of faith, which gives place for repentance and remission upon sincerity of new life,) and is to be supposed and implied whensoever it is not mentioned. The promises of mercy and pardon in the gospel, though general, being yet conditional, and no ground allowed for any to hope for his part of it but upon performance of that condition, which again must not be confined to any one notion of any one Christian virtue, faith, or the like, but to sincere obedience to the whole law of Christ, and that comprehends all the particulars required by him, in the retail, or as it is in the gross set down by the most comprehensive words, either of repentance or conversion, *without which we shall all likewise perish, and we shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of God, or of holiness, without which no man shall see God.* The not observing of which is the αἴτιον ψεύδους, the procreative mistake of the many great and dangerous errors in this matter.

The third thing is, that the Hebrew צדקה, *righteousness*, signifies two things, either a lower or a more eminent degree of righteousness, these two differing one from the other, as justice and charity appear to differ, one superadded to and superstructed on the other: and as it is the part of a judge to consider these severally, and as well to reward the higher degree of the one, as to acquit the innocence and reward the lower degree of the other, so there is a double notion of *justifying* in scripture: the one, for acquitting and pardoning, accepting and rewarding in a lower degree, which upon repentance and forsaking of sin, and converting sincerely to God, is afforded every one, through the satisfaction and bloodshedding of Christ, under the gospel; another, for an higher degree of approving and commending, and adjudging to reward, and that proportioned to some eminent act of faith or obedience, in case of extraordinary trial; such was Abraham's *believing in hope and above hope*, and his obedience to the highest commands, *leaving his country, and sacrificing his only son*; and such were the several acts of faith mentioned Heb. xi, and the ἔργα, *works*, James ii. And thus there seems to be a difference betwixt God's *imputing no sin*, and his *imputing to righteousness*; the latter being his adjudging to a high reward, the former only the forgiving iniquity, and accepting in a lower degree; the one upon some eminent act of faith or obedience, the other upon undertaking new life, answerable to these two sorts of justification. And accordingly, ch. iv, that which is expressed, ver. 4, by *it was accounted for righteousness*, is, ver. 5, *the reward was reckoned*, noting an eminent reward of some eminent act to be comprehended in that phrase. And so sometimes it is in the word

justified, and when it is so to be interpreted the context will generally determine.

7. [c] *lie*] As ἀλήθεια, *truth*, signifies also *fidelity* or *faithfulness*, so ψεῦσμα, on the contrary, signifying a *lie*, imports also *infidelity* or *unfaithfulness*, and is here set to signify that *sin* of not making good use of the oracles of God intrusted to the Jews, called their ἀπίστια, *unbelief*, ver. 3, and ἀδικία, *unrighteousness*, ver. 5. So ver. 4, *Let God be true*, and *every man a liar*: that is, the *unfaithfulness* of men, in neglecting to do their part, doth no way *prejudice*, but rather *commend* the *fidelity* of God, in allowing them those *mercies* which they make so ill use of.

8. [d] *And not rather*] The placing of the words in this verse hath some harshness and consequent obscurity in it. The learned Hugo Grotius is inclinable to believe a transposition of μὴ ὅτι for ὅτι μὴ, and then renders ὅτι, *cur, why*, thus: *And why not*, (the rest being read in a parenthesis,) or, *Why should we not do evil that good may come?* But I suppose the more obvious and simple way ought here to be preferred, and the τί, *why*, from the former verse to be repeated; or else the sense so to hang, as that the τί, *why*, there shall have an influence here upon the μὴ, *not*, and be thus rendered: Καὶ μὴ, *And why not*, as we are calumniated, &c. or, *And why should we not say*, as we are calumniated, and as some say that we say. If this latter be it, then λέγομεν, *say*, is to be understood from the λέγειν following. But if the former, then the whole oration, placed ordinarily in a parenthesis, (καθὼς βλασφημοῦμεθα, καὶ καθὼς φασί τινες ἡμᾶς λέγειν, as we are calumniated, and as some say that we say,) is, as it were, the verb to the τί μὴ, *why not*: thus; *And why should not we say what Paul is affirmed to say*, (but that is calumny, saith Paul:) and in either way the ὅτι that follows will be taken in the sense that hath been noted of it, Matt. vii. [d] for *scilicet* or *videlicet*, “to wit,” only as a form to introduce the speech following: thus; *Why should we not say*, as we are calumniated—to say, to wit, *Let us do evil that good may come*—And so this will be a perspicuous rendering of the verse.

13. [e] *Their throat is an open*—] These three verses that here follow are evidently taken out of several places of the Psalms and other scriptures, and by the apostle accommodated to his present purpose. And by occasion of their being annexed to three verses taken out of the fourteenth psalm, it hath come to pass that some ancient Latin copies of that psalm have taken them in from hence, and added them to that psalm; and accordingly the translation which is used in the Liturgy hath three verses more to that psalm than the translation in our Bibles doth acknowledge.

14. [f] *bitterness*] The Hebrew word מרמות, signifying *deceits*, was by the Septuagint mistaken for מרוות, and so rendered πικρίας, *bitterness*, and continued here from thence in this citation; as indeed in most citations of Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, (who generally used the Septuagint,) and of Luke also his companion, (see note [e] on Acts viii.) the Hebrew text is not made use of, but the Greek translation retained, even when it differs from the original Hebrew.

23. [g] *the glory of God*] The word δόξα, *glory* or *praise*, being here joined with Θεοῦ, *of God*, signifies not that glory which accrues to God, the glorifying or praising of his name, but that which accrues to man from God, and that may be either in this world or in the next; the

approbation and acceptance of any work here, or the reward of it hereafter. God's acceptance or approbation here is called *δόξα Θεοῦ, the praise or glory of God*, John xii. 44, *they loved δόξαν ἀνθρώπων, the glory or praise of men more than of God*; and so God's testimony is *δόξα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, praise from God*, John v. 44. And so it seems to denote here that reward which belongs to unswerving obedience, in which boasting is founded, ver. 27, and to which grace, as it signifies pardon of sins, is opposed, ver. 24; and therefore of this *all men* are said to *come short*, who are found to be sinners in the beginning of the verse. Thus is *glorying towards God* set down as a consequent of justification by works, ch. iv. ver. 2.

25. [A] *propitiation*] Some difficulty there is in this verse, which must be explained by surveying the several parts of it. The Hebrew כפר signifying two things, *to cover* and *to expiate*, (see note [d] on Heb. ix.) the noun כפרה, which is used for *the covering of the ark*, is indifferently rendered in the Old Testament *λασθήριον, propitiatory*, and *καταπέραςμα, covering*: and indeed very fitly and properly both, because as that place where the cherubim or angels of God's presence were placed was the covering of the ark, so Exod. xxv. 22, God promised that in that place he would talk with Moses, and give responses, and shew himself propitious to the people. Thus (beside the many places in the Old Testament) it is used in the New, Heb. ix. 5, where *the cherubim of glory*, that is, the pictures of the angels in the manner wherein they were wont to appear, that is, in the resemblance of a bright cloud or glory, are said to *overshadow the λασθήριον*, that is, *the covering of the ark or propitiatory*. And in proportion to this must the word here be rendered, not *propitiation*, (that is, *λασμός*, 1 John ii. 2.) but *propitiatory*, Christ being now the antitype, (prefigured by that covering of the ark, either, as Theophylact conceives, in that our human nature in Christ *πῶμα ἦν θεότητος*, "was the covering or veil of his divinity," or because God exhibited and revealed himself in Christ, as the propitiatory was the place where God was wont to exhibit himself peculiarly,) he by whom God spake to us, Heb. i. 1, in whom *the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily*, and on whom the angels descended with that voice, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. and by whom God gave his responses to the world, shewing himself propitious to them, (which is the meaning of *ἡνδεῖξεν δικαιοσύνης, demonstrating of his righteousness or mercy* that here follows,) or shewing a way by which he will be propitiated, viz. through faith in his blood, (not by any legal performances,) the condition required on our part to be performed. This condition is here introduced by the word διὰ, (with a genitive case,) *through*, which is the note of a condition, (as with an accusative it is of a cause,) and it is *πίστις ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, faith in his blood*, where the blood being the object of the faith, it must signify *in concreto* Jesus Christ, who thus shed his blood, (shed it to propitiate and satisfy for our sins, and shed it to redeem us from all iniquity,) in or on whom we are to believe, and that is styled, ver. 22, (in that simpler phrase, yet to the same sense,) *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, the faith of Jesus Christ*. Beside this, the blood is also the foundation or motive of the Christian faith, that which persuades us to believe and obey Christ, because what he hath taught us, as the will of God, he hath

thus confirmed to be so, by signing it with his blood; and so *the blood of Christ* is said by St. John to be one of those which *testify* or *bear witness on earth*, and to induce our faith of the gospel, thus testified by the effusion of his blood. And in both these notions this faith is the condition on our part, parallel to Christ's being proposed a propitiatory on God's part: for as God exhibits himself to us in Christ, demonstrates his righteousness or mercifulness, and reveals himself propitious to us, in putting us in a way of finding mercy, entering a new covenant with us; so must we believe on him thus exhibiting and revealing his Father's will to us, and observe those rules of repentance and new life, upon which he promiseth to be thus merciful to us. And accordingly this condition is here immediately subjoined to God's proposing Christ as a propitiatory, as the condition on our part on which he so proposeth him.

25. [i] *declare his righteousness*] *Ἐνδειξίς δικαιοσύνης* will here best be rendered *demonstration of his righteousness*; and accordingly, as the method of demonstrating is wont to be by the cause, so here follows *διὰ*, which, with an accusative case, is a note of a cause, *διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν*, *because of the passing by* (not taking notice) of *past sins*, the sins, whether by Jews or Gentiles, formerly committed, that is, before the revealing and manifesting of God's will unto them by Christ: according to that of Acts xvii. 30, that *God ὑπερίδων, looking over, not taking notice of, that time of ignorance, doth now command all men every where to repent*; and Wisd. xi. 23, *παροπᾶς ἀμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων εἰς μετένοιαν, thou lookest another way, and beholdest not the sins of men, that they may repent*. The *ὑπερίδων* and *παροπᾶν* there is the direct interpretation of God's *πάρεσις* here, differing from *ἄφεσις*, *pardon*, as preterition doth from remission; as *passing by*, not yet laying to their charge for punishment, doth from absolving, acquitting of them. For though in order to their repentance and change, God doth at the present so pass by their forepast sins, as not to forsake them, or shut up all ways of mercy against them, but reveals Christ to them, with promise of pardon for what is past, if they will now obey him, (this is the meaning of *πάρεσις*,) yet unless that change be wrought, and for the future approved to him, there is no *ἄφεσις*, *remission* or *pardon* to be expected from him. This *πάρεσις* then consists *ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ Θεοῦ*, *in God's forbearance* or *longsuffering*, (so the word signifies, ch. ii. 4,) in his not proceeding so swiftly and severely with sinners, as to cut them off, or forsake and leave them helpless and hopeless in their sins, but treating them gently, giving them space to repent and amend, and using all effectual means to win them to it: all one with God's *μακροθυμία*, *slowness to punish*, mentioned oft in the case of Pharaoh, and elsewhere. And this being now God's dealing in Christ, is here mentioned as the *medium* to demonstrate God's *righteousness*, that is, that evangelical way revealed by Christ, wherein it consists, not in the purchase of pardon and forgiveness absolutely, or for any but those that do sincerely return from their wicked lives, and embrace the faith and obedience of Christ, but to give space and to admonish and call to repentance, and use means on God's part effectual, if they be not obstinately resisted or contemned by us, to bring us to new life. And that is the meaning also of the *ἀπολύτρωσις*, *redemption which is in Christ*, ver. 24,

his freeing men from that necessity of perishing in their sins, calling them to repentance, using all probable means to redeem and purify them from all iniquity, which is expressed by *λυτροῦσθαι*, *redeeming*, Titus ii. 14, and *ποιεῖν λύτρωσιν*, *to work redemption*, Luke i. 68. And so sometimes also *forgiving* signifies, as when Christ saith, *Πάτερ ἄφες*, *Father, forgive them*, Luke xxiii. 34; for there he prays not for final or actual, present, absolute forgiveness to them, but for the giving them space to repent, and means to convince them of their sin, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the apostles' preaching to them the resurrection of Christ from that death which they had inflicted on him. And so must we understand *the remission of sins*, which in the Creed is proposed to all to believe.

26. [k] *just*] That the word *δικαίος*, *just* or *righteous*, signifies a *merciful* or *charitable person*, hath been shewed from the Hebrew notation of צדקה, *righteousness*, for *ἐλεημοσύνη*, *mercy*, note [g] on Matt. i. And accordingly it may be observed, that the word seldom in these books, if ever, belongs or is applied to the act of vindicative or punitive justice, but (as there in the case of Joseph, who would not offer his wife to legal punishment, and therefore is called *δικαίος*, *righteous*) for the abating of the rigour of exact law, and bringing in *ἐνείκεια*, *moderation* or *equity* or *mercy* instead of it. Accordingly it is here to be resolved, that this phrase being used of God, *εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον*, *that God may be righteous*, must be understood to denote his mercy and goodness and clemency, in pardoning and forgiving of sins, that being the thing looked on in the many foregoing expressions, our *being justified freely by his grace*, ver. 24, *the propitiatory*, ver. 25, God's means of exhibiting or revealing his covenant of mercy, God's *righteousness*, that is, his merciful dealing with men under this second covenant, vv. 25 and 26, and *the remission of sins* and *forbearance*, ver. 25. It is true, indeed, that the satisfaction made and the price paid for our sins by Christ, being the meritorious cause of this remission and justification, may fitly denominate God *δικαίον*, *just*, in that other respect; and it is most certain that God, to give a great example to his hatred to sin, and his wrath against sinners, was pleased to *lay on his own Son the iniquities of us all*, rather than let sin go utterly unpunished. But the word *δικαίος*, *righteous*, being so commonly taken in that notion of mercifulness, and so seldom in this of vindicative justice, there is no reason to interpret it thus in this place.

28. [l] *conclude*] *λόγος* signifies *ratio* or *rationcinium*, not only in the notion of the logician, but also of the arithmetician, not only *reason* or *arguing*, but also *reckoning* or *counting*; and so you shall find it ch. ix. 28, whose art is called thereupon *λογιστική*, *counting* or *reckoning*; whence Phavorinus, *λογίζομαι, ψηφίζω τῇ χειρὶ*, *casting accounts with ψηφοί*, which we therefore call *counters*, or those by which we cast account. Hence *λογίζομαι* is *to perfect* and *make up an account*, and *to conclude* or *sum up*; and so it is here used *to conclude*, not in the logicians' but arithmeticians' notion of concluding. Of this word *λογίζομαι*, see note [f] on 1 Cor. xiii.

CHAP. IV.

1. [a] *What shall we say then*—] The understanding of the apostle's discourse in this chapter depends much on a right understanding of this verse, which contains the question to which the satisfaction is rendered in the following words. And in this verse four things must be observed: 1st, that the *τί οὖν ἐποῦμεν*, *what say we then?* is a form of introducing a question, and though not here, (in the ordinary printed copies,) yet in other places hath a note of interrogation immediately following it, as ch. vi. 1, and vii. 7. This being supposed, the second thing is, that the remainder of the verse is the very question thus introduced, *that Abraham, &c.*, that is, *do we say that Abraham found according to the flesh?* And this interrogation being not here formally answered, must itself be taken for an answer to itself; and as interrogations are the strongest negations, so will this, and must thus be made up by addition of these or the like words, *No certainly he did not*. Then for the third difficulty, viz. what is here the meaning of *εὕρηκται*, *hath found*, that will soon be answered, 1. that *to find*, agreeably to the Hebrew *נצח*, signifies *to gain, obtain, acquire*, as *to find life*, Matt. xvi. 25: 2dly, that there must be some substantive understood, somewhat which he may be said to have found, and that is either indefinitely *δ εἶπε*, *that which he did find* or *obtain*, or else more distinctly *δικαιοσύνην*, *righteousness* or *justification*, which had before been named *favour, approbation* with God. So we have *εἶπες χάριν*, *thou hast found favour*, Luke i. 30; and it seems to be a proverbial form, and will then be the same with *being justified*, ver. 2. And so the illative particle *for* concludes, *Do we say he hath found?* (or, *Certainly he hath not found;*) *for if he were justified*, that is, if he had thus *found*—, which notes *finding* and *being justified* to be all one: 3dly, then it must be examined what is meant by *κατὰ σάρκα*, *according to the flesh*. And first, it appears to connect with the *εὕρηκται*, for so it lies, *εὕρηκται κατὰ σάρκα*, *found according to the flesh*, and is not joined with *Abraham our father*, as in reason it would have been, (and not *εὕρηκται* interposed,) if the meaning of it had been, *our father according to the flesh*: which being supposed, it will likewise follow that *κατὰ σάρκα*, *according to the flesh*, must signify the same with *ἐξ ἔργων*, *by works*, ver. 2, in like manner as *found* and *justified* import the same. And this again is evident by the laws of reasoning. For this second verse being by the *for* in the front evidenced to be the proof of what was set down in the first, and this proof being in form of an hypothetical syllogism—thus, *If Abraham were by works justified before God, then he hath matter of boasting before God: But Abraham hath not any matter of boasting before God: Therefore he was not justified by works*—it must follow necessarily that this conclusion, *Abraham was not justified by works*, was the same with that which was set down in other words, ver. 1, or, if not of the same latitude and extent with it, was comprehended, as a part, under it: which it cannot be, unless *κατὰ σάρκα*, *according to the flesh*, and *ἐξ ἔργων*, *by works*, be either of the same force directly, or the latter contained in the former: any greater (though never so small) difference that should be admitted being of necessity to affix four terms to the apostle's syllogism, and so to evacuate all force in his argument. From hence it follows, that the way of discerning what is meant by *ἐξ ἔργων*, *by works*, will be the most

probable means of interpreting *κατὰ σάρκα*, according to the flesh. And this we have from vv. 4 and 5, in these words, *To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness.* Where it is evident, that *working* is that to which *reward* is by debt, or just wages, to be adjudged, and that in opposition to God's *reckoning of grace or favour, and justifying the ungodly.* From whence it follows, that *being justified by works* in this place (in St. Paul's, and not St. James's dialect) signifies that innocence of the former life, and those eminent performances wrought by a man's self, that may challenge from God as due unto them God's acquittance and special reward, without any intervening of pardon as to an offender, or of grace, in giving him any thing that is not perfectly due to him. Whereas on the contrary, *God's imputing righteousness without works*, ver. 6, is God's pardoning graciously the sins that the man hath been guilty of, (viz. upon repentance and reformation,) which he might most justly have punished, vv. 7, 8, and rewarding some mean imperfect act or acts of fidelity, or obedience in him, which could no way challenge impunity, much less such a degree of reward, did not God out of mere mercy thus improve and enhance the value of them. So that *ἔργα*, *works*, are the man's own performances, first blameless in not sinning, and then meritorious, as the eminent difficulty of the commands wherein his obedience is tried and exercised, is apt to enhance the value of them; and he that were supposed to be justified by them must first have lived blamelessly all his former life, and then have done eminent, rewardable actions also, at least the former of these. And Abraham having been *ἁμαρτωλός*, *a sinner*, ver. 5, having lived in idolatry for some time, and all that he did, upon which he was *justified*, Gen. xv. 6, being but *obeying God's call*, Gen. xii. 4, and *believing his promises*, Gen. xv. 5, it is clear he was not, nor could be thus justified, but only by the way mentioned by the Psalmist, psalm xxxii, by *God's forgiving, covering, not imputing of sin.* And so this must be the meaning also of his *not finding according to the flesh*, viz. being not justified by any thing in himself, abstracted from the mercy and gracious acceptance of God. Thus Rom. ix. 8, *the children of the flesh* are opposed to *the children of the promise*, and signify literally Ishmael that was begotten by the strength of nature, (as Isaac was a work of God's promise and special mercy,) and mystically the Jews considered with their own performances, whereby they expected justification, without any respect to the pardon and mercy of Christ. And thus, Gal. iv. 29, Ishmael is said to be *κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθείς*, *born according to the flesh*, and Isaac *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, *according to the spirit*, in the same notion, *the spirit* and *the promise* signifying the same thing in that place, as appears by ver. 28. The words being thus interpreted, are a confutation of one part of the objection of the Jews against the apostles' practice of preaching the gospel to the gentiles, viz. that taken from the sins of the gentiles, which here by the example of Abraham is proved to be of no force against their justification, they being as justifiable as Abraham a sinner was, by God's free pardon of sins past, upon forsaking of them. And this is insisted on and proved in the eight first verses. In the ninth verse the apostle proceeds to the confuting the other part of their objection, (see note [b] on the title of the Epistle,) viz. that if the hea-

thens would be capable of any part of the benefit of God's promise, they must then be proselytes of their Mosaical covenant, or righteousness, be circumcised, &c.: which again is proved false by the example of Abraham, who was justified before he was circumcised, and before the giving of the law, by faith, not by circumcision, by God's pardon and mercy, not by any legal performances. The only matter of doubt and uncertainty is, whether these objections which are thus in the ensuing chapter confuted, were both proposed in the first verse, (for if they were, then ἐξ ἔργων, *by works*, ver. 2, will not be of the same latitude with κατὰ σάρκα, *according to the flesh*, but contained under it, as a part under the whole,) or whether the first only were there comprehended, and the second severally subjoined, ver. 9. The latter of these seems most probable, and accordingly the explication of the chapter hath proceeded, though if the former were true, it would be of no greater concernment than only this, that κατὰ σάρκα, *according to the flesh*, should refer to circumcision and Mosaical observances, as well as to the blameless and meritorious performances wrought by a man's own natural strength, abstracted from God's pardon and favourable acceptance.

17. [δ] *before him*] The importance of κατέναντι Θεοῦ is not ordinarily observed, and must be fetched from the use of כנגד in Hebrew, as it is used Gen. ii. 18, where God saith he will make Adam *an help*, we render it *meet for him*, and the vulgar, *simile ei*, *like*, or *agreeable*, or *answerable to him*; where the Septuagint have κατ' αὐτόν, *by him*, or *on the side of him*, or *answerable*, *parallel to him*. And to this Hebrew the Greek κατέναντι bears exact proportion, the word נגד signifying *coram*, *ex opposito*, and yet used to denote that which is *like* and *answerable*. Thus it is certain St. Chrysostom understood the word in this place; for so saith he, κατέναντι οὐ ἐπίστευσε Θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἔστι μερικὸς Θεός, ἀλλὰ πάντων πατήρ, οὕτω καὶ αὐτός, "the meaning is, as God is no partial God, but the Father of all, so Abraham:" and again, "if he were not the Father of all that dwell on the earth," τὸ κατέναντι οὐκ ἔχει χώραν, "this word should have no place," ἀλλ' ἡκρωτηρίασται ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεὰ, "but God's gift would be maimed;" and in express words, τὸ γὰρ κατέναντι ὁμοίως ἐστὶ, "the word signifies, in like manner." And so Theophylact from him, Κατέναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοίως τοῦ Θεοῦ, "before God, is instead of, like God."— This observation may possibly be useful to the finding out the full importance of some other places. As when the commandment is given to Abraham of *walking before God, and being perfect*, Gen. xvii. 1, which in this notion of *before* will be all one with, *Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect*.

20. [c] *staggered*] Διακρίνεσθαι is ἀμφιβάλλειν, ἀπιστεῖν, saith Phavorinus, *to doubt*, *demur*, *dispute*, and be incredulous. So is the word used Matt. xxi. 21, Acts x. 20, and xi. 2. 12, Rom. xiv. 23, James i. 6, and ii. 24, Jude 9 and 22. See Paulus Fagius on Pirche Aboth, p. 82.

CHAP. V.

9. [a] *justified*] Having formerly given the notion at large of δικαιῶν, *to justify*, note [δ] on ch. iii, all that is here necessary to be added will be by way of inquiry, whether the passive δικαιωθήντες, *being justified*,

here, be only a nominal or real passive, that is, whether it only note the action, as far as concerns Christ's part, in meriting and obtaining God's pardon and acceptance for us, and God the Father's part, in admitting sinners to pardon, giving them place of repentance, which is no more in effect, but the offering pardon and acceptance on the conditions of the gospel; or whether to this action of the Father and Christ, it further superadd the reception thereof in the patient, the actual partaking of it. For these two (somewhat distant) notions the word is capable of, either, 1st, that we are, as far as belongs to God's and Christ's part, justified, (the price being paid by him, and accepted by his Father,) and that if we be not now actually so, it is through our own default, our nonperformance of the condition; or, 2dly, that we have the benefits of Christ's death bestowed and conferred actually on us, pardon of sins, &c., that is, are actually justified. That the former is the meaning of the word here, may appear, 1st, by the general drift of this chapter, which is to set out the love of the Father and of Christ towards us, ver. 8, &c. *God commendeth his love towards us*, &c., where therefore the matter is determined to that which Christ doth for us toward our justification, that is, to his death, the sole meritorious cause of it, without looking to that which is extrinsic to it, our performance or nonperformance of the condition, which is required on our parts to make us capable of the benefit thereof, that having been formerly (and often) mentioned, ver. 1, *δικαιοῦντες ἐκ πίστεως, being justified by faith*: 2dly, by that which is said, ver. 8, *we being yet sinners Christ died for us*; where, 1st, his *dying for us* is all one with our being *justified by his death*, as appears by the circumstances of the context, the 8th, 9th, and 10th verses compared together; and 2dly, by *sinners* meaning habitual gross sinners, which is also expressed by *ἀσθενῶν*, ver. 6, not *weak*, but *sick*, even to death, (see note [b] on 1 Cor. viii,) it is certain that to them, continuing such, actual justification belongs not; so again, ver. 10, *We, when we were enemies, were reconciled to God by the death of his son*; where, as *death* is all one with *blood*, so is *reconciled to God with justified*, and that belongeth to enemies while they are such, to whom yet we know, by many other places, that actual pardon, and so actual justification or reconciliation, belongs not: 3dly, by comparing of this *justification by Christ* with the *condemnation by Adam*, ver. 16, where *Adam's condemnation* belonging to *all*, the *justification* spoken of must be that also which belongs to *all*, and so not the actual pardon, which doth not belong to all, or to any but those who perform the condition. All which being supposed, it is from other places manifest that some condition there is required of us to make us capable of this benefit of the death of Christ, the nonperformance of which is that which restrains and limits the number of men actually justified to a far narrower compass than that which is here spoken of; and this condition being to be performed by us, by the means of the resurrection and grace of Christ, it is therefore said, ch. iv. 25, *that he rose again for our justification*, that is, to make us capable of those fruits and benefits of Christ's death, as well as *died for our sins*. See note [h] on ch. iii.

12. [b] *Wherefore*] *Διὰ τοῦτο* here being an illative form, and most fitly rendered *wherefore*, makes it here necessary to inquire how that which follows is inferred from what went before; and the satisfying

that inquiry will prepare for a right understanding of the remainder of this chapter. The former chapters had maintained the right of the apostles' preaching to the gentiles, by shewing that God was an impartial judge, both to punish impenitent foul sins, and to reward penitence and good living, without any partiality, whether in Jew or gentile, ch. i. and ii, but most discernibly ch. ii. 6, to the end. Then in the third chapter follow objections against this, and answers to them, and on occasion of one of them, taken from the sinfulness of the gentiles, is inserted a discourse of justification under the gospel, shewing how that is no way prejudiced by past sins, if they be sincerely forsaken, nor hindered by want of circumcision and Mosaical observances. And this is insisted on, and exemplified in both parts by the story of Abraham, ch. iv, and then brought home to all believers in the former part of this chapter. From all which, as so many premises or mediums of probation, the conclusion is here inferred, but withal by comparing the justification by Christ with the condemnation by Adam, further confirmed and illustrated in the remainder of this chapter, viz. that the mercy of God under the gospel belongs unlimitedly or indefinitely to all sorts of men, the gentiles as well as Jews. For the discerning of which, it will be needful that through the remainder of the chapter an emphasis be laid on the universal forms of speech, τὸν κόσμον, *the world*, and πάντας ἀνθρώπους, *all men*, ver. 12, ἐν κόσμῳ, *in the world*, ver. 13, οἱ πολλοί, *the many*, and εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, *toward the many*, ver. 15; and again, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, *toward all men*, twice ver. 18, and οἱ πολλοί, *the many*, twice ver. 19. By all and each of which are meant in the widest latitude, without exclusion of any, all mankind, to whom (Jews and gentiles) the mercy and life introduced by Christ belongeth, (only on condition of new life required of them,) as the condemnation or death in Adam did to all his posterity. The other difficulties in the chapter (caused by ellipses, vv. 15, 16, 18, by a parenthesis of two verses 13 and 14, by a comparison, divided one part from the other by that parenthesis, and the second part of it rising higher than the former, and so necessarily changed from the form of a comparison or equality, to that of an argument *a minori ad majus*, "from the less to the greater") are explicated in the Paraphrase, and need not here further be insisted on.

CHAP. VI.

6. [*a* the body] The phrase τὸ σῶμα, *the body*, &c. hath a peculiar use in St. Paul, when it is joined with a genitive case following, for then it passes into the signification of that which is joined with it, and itself loses its force; the *body of sin* signifying nothing more than *sin* here, and Rom. vii. 24, σῶμα θανάτου τούτου, *the body of this death*, no more than *this death*, this sad miserable kind of death. So σῶμα αὐτῶν, Ecclus. vii. 24, *their body*, signifies *them*, and σῶμα Χριστοῦ, *Christ*, Rom. vii. 4, and σῶμά μου, *me*, Gal. vi. 17, and Phil. i. 20; so, τὸ σῶμα ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, Phil. iii. 21, and σῶμα δόξης αὐτοῦ, *the body of our humiliation*, and *the body of his glory*, is no more than simply *our humiliation* and *his glory*. So Col. ii. 11, ἀπένδυσιν τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκὸς, *the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh*, is the putting off the *sins of the flesh*, or carnal sins. And perhaps 1 Cor. ix. 27, ἡκομιζῶ τὸ σῶμά μου, *I beat or cuff myself*, for so the matter of the

discourse before, concerning the use of Christian liberty, doth most incline us to interpret it. And all this seems in St. Paul to be an imitation of the Hebrews' form of speech, among whom the word *עצם*, that signifies a *body*, frequently signifies no more than *being* or *identity*, so that *עצמו*, *his body*, signifies no more than *idem ipse*, *the same he*. So Jos. ix, *עצמכם*, *your body*, that is, *your very selves*, or as the Targum reads it, *קרוביכם*, *your near kinsman*, and Job ii, *עצמו*, *his body*: the Targum reads *לגורמיה*, *himself*, the former touches having been on his family and goods, &c. And that place of Col. ii. 9, *ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς*, *in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, may seem capable of the same sense, that *the fulness of the Godhead dwells in Christ by identity of his very essence*, and so directly in the notion of *עצמו*. As for the *καταργηθῆναι τὸ σῶμα*, *abolishing the body of sin*, it is a phrase to signify reformation of life. Of which sort many other phrases there are in scripture which signify the same thing, some of them referring to the new life, to which the change is made, others to the old course that is forsaken. I shall set down some of them: *to repent*, *to be converted*, *to be transformed*, *to be washed*, *to purify hands and heart*, James iv. 8. *himself*, 1 John iii. 3: *to be purified with the laver of regeneration by the word*, Ephes. v. 26: *sprinkled in the heart from an evil conscience*, Heb. x. 22: *to be renewed in the mind*, *to put on the new man, created according to God*, Ephes. iv. 24: *a new creature*, *to be born of the Spirit*, John iii. 6: *to be spiritually minded*, (in opposition to being born of the flesh, and minding fleshly things,) *to be regenerate*, or *to be born again*, or of water and of the Spirit, *to be begotten by the word of truth*, James i. 18: *to be enlightened*, *to revive*, and *be risen with Christ*, *to rise from the dead*, *to be circumcised with the circumcision not made with hands*, Col. ii. 11: *the circumcision of the heart*, (explained by putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, that is, carnal sins,) *to escape from the wicked generation*, and simply, *to escape*, or *to be saved*, Acts ii. 47: *to go out from among them*, *to grow sober*, 2 Tim. ii. 26: *to awake out of sleep*, Rom. xiii. 11, 1 Cor. xv. 34: and (in a special scripture sense of the phrase) *to be reconciled unto God*, 2 Cor. v. 20; that is, to lay down all that aversation and enmity which they had had formerly to God, or by their wicked works (Col. i. 21.) had expressed toward him: *to put off all filthiness*, James i. 21; *works of darkness*, Rom. xiii. 12; *the old man*, &c., Ephes. iv. 22, 24; and *to put on Christ*, Gal. iii. 27; *to depart from evil*, 1 Pet. iii. 11; *to deny or renounce ungodliness*, Tit. ii. 12; *to draw nigh unto God*, James iv. 8; *to become servants to God*, Rom. vi. 22; *to take Christ's yoke upon us*, Matt. xi. 29; *to yield our members weapons of righteousness to God*, Rom. vi. 13; *to be freed from the law* (that is, the empire or dominion or command) *of sin*, Rom. viii. 2; *to suffer in or to the flesh*, 1 Pet. iv. 1, (referring to sins;) *suffering or dying to*, and so ceasing from, *sin*: see note [a] on that place. So, *to be crucified with Christ*, Gal. ii. 19; *to crucify the old man*, Rom. vi. 6; *the flesh with affections and lusts*; and *κρίνεσθαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους σαρκί*, *being judged or condemned according to men in or to the flesh*, 1 Pet. iv. 6; that is, judged and executed to carnal fleshly actions, so customary among men, that they may live according to God, (in imitation of, or compliance with him,) to the Spirit, after a sanctified spiritual manner. So, *the world being crucified to me, and I to the world*, Gal. vi. 14, *mortifying by the spirit the actions of the body*,

(Rom. viii. 13.) and the members on the earth; *to be dead to sin*, Rom. vi. 11, and here, being *planted together with Christ in the likeness of his death*, ver. 5.

19. [b] *speaking after the manner of men* 'Ἀνθρώπων λέγειν here is thought to signify his taking expressions out of common life, διὰ ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν, *in respect of the weakness of their gross or carnal understandings*, his using allegories and figures; and as before he had used proofs from sacred types, the death and resurrection of Christ applied to his purpose of mortification and new life, so now proceeding to vulgar known similitudes, taken from masters and servants, as Gal. iii. 15. And thus it may fitly be interpreted; but it may otherwise be rendered also, that *the weakness of their flesh* be taken in respect of strength to perform God's will, (and not to understand Paul's language,) and consequently the ἀνθρώπων λέγειν be, *speaking or requiring* from them, *most moderately*, by way of condescension to their infirmities, requiring the least that in any reason could be required of them, so as ἀνθρώπου, 1 Cor. x. 12, signifies that which hath nothing extraordinary in it, that which is common among men; so St. Chrysostom there, ἀνθρώπου, τούτεστι μικρὸς, βραχύς, σύμμετρος, "it signifies little, short, proportionable to their strength." So in Demosthenes contr. Midiam, ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ μετρίᾳ σκέψει, "a human and moderate consideration." So in Horace, lib. 2, humane commoda signifies *parum commoda*, "little profitable." And if it be here considered how moderate and equitable a proposal it is which here follows, it will be acknowledged that this of ἀνθρώπων λέγω in this notion may very well be the form to introduce it.

CHAP. VII.

1. [a] *the law hath dominion over*—] The construction and meaning of these words, ὁ νόμος κυριεύει ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ, which are commonly rendered, *the law hath power over a man as long as he liveth*, is somewhat uncertain; and for the determining of it, the first thing to be considered is the design and matter of the discourse in this chapter, which is discernibly this: to vindicate his doctrine, (charged on him Acts xxi. 21, it is not certain whether then truly or no, but without doubt now professedly taught by him,) that the Judaical law was abolished by the death of Christ, Ephes. ii. 15, 16, Col. ii. 14, and so now was not obligatory to a Jew. This he now thinks fit to declare to the Jewish Christians at Rome, as in the former chapters he had vindicated the liberty of the gentiles from the obligation of it to them, and justified his preaching the gospel to them, both which together did, by way of interpretation, and necessary consequence, contain under them this of the obligingness of the law to a Jew. For the law of the Jews, commanding a strict separation from the gentiles, all that were not their proselytes, and circumcised, and Paul and other the apostles being Jews, their conversing with, and preaching to the gentiles, could not be allowed upon any score but that of the abrogation of the Jewish law, which accordingly was of necessity to be revealed to St. Peter in a vision, Acts x, (and so seems to have been to St. Paul, Ephes. iii. 3.) before he durst *preach* to Cornelius, who, though a proselyte of the Jews, yet was not a proselyte of their covenant, or *righteousness*, that is, was not circumcised. This abolition of the law *to you*, that is, to his

brethren the Jews, ver. 4, and to the *ἡμᾶς, us*, ver. 6, that is, to St. Paul, and those he speaks to, that is, *to them that know the law*, ver. 1, and so still the Jew-Christians at Rome, is here evidently proclaimed, vv. 4 and 6. And therefore in all probability that must be the importance of these words, which may most directly prepare and contribute to the inferring of that conclusion. To which end, first, it is necessary, that *εἰς ὅσον χρόνον* (ἧ must be rendered, *as long as he (the man, not as it) liveth*. This appeareth by the instance, ver. 2, by which that which is said ver. 1. is exemplified, *ἡ γὰρ ὑπανδρος γυνὴ τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ, the woman which hath an husband is by the (conjugal) law bound to the living husband*; where the husband is the person whose life is considered in this case, who, as long as he lives, hath power over his wife, and so long the wife by law is bound unto him; but if he die, she is free, &c. By this also it is manifest, in the second place, that the man which is meant in the latter part of this first verse, *as long as he liveth*, cannot be the person on whom the law hath power or force, but some other, who by law hath power and authority vested in him. For it is apparent, vv. 2 and 3, that the life or death of the person under subjection is not the thing taken into consideration, and if it were, it would not tend to the inferring of the designed conclusion; for the Jews could not be supposed to be dead, but the law that had power over them, and though, ver. 4, the word *θανατώσῃτε, you are put to death*, may make that seem possible to be here meant, yet the contrary being so evident by the whole drift of the discourse, it is certain that *θανατώσῃτε τῷ νόμῳ* there, *you are put to death to the law*, must be interpreted as a figurative speech, to signify *the law is put to death to you*; as when *καταργεῖσθαι* signifies to be made *ἀργόν, void, to be evacuated or cancelled*, and so is all one with *being put to death*, (and is so used Ephes. ii. 15, *καταργήσας νόμον, having cancelled the law*, all one with *ἐξαλείψας, having blotted it out*, Col. ii. 14, and *προσηλώσας τῷ σταυρῷ, having nailed it to the cross*,) we read of the woman, ver. 2, *κατηργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός*, which would literally be rendered, *she is cancelled from the law of the husband*, but indeed signifies, *the law of the husband is cancelled*, or ceaseth to be in force, *to her*; and so, ver. 6, *κατηργήθημεν τῷ νόμῳ, we are cancelled to the law*, signifies, *the law is cancelled to us*. Which being thus far deduced, it remaineth, in the third place, that the former part of the words, *ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, must either thus be rendered, *the law of the man hath power, or force, or remains valid*, (joining *τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, of the man*, to *νόμος, law*, not to *κυριεύει, hath power*,) or else (because the word *ἀνθρώπου* is otherwise placed, being affixed to *κυριεύει*, and indeed *κυριεύει* properly governs a genitive case, and is used with one, Luke xxii. 25, just as here it will be, if *τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* be governed by it) it is possible that the word *man*, which is the *he* in the latter part, may be implied and understood (though not specified) in the word *ὁ νόμος, law*, thereby signifying not law in general, but more specially any law which conveyeth a right, or giveth power or dominion to one man over another; according to the primitive notion of *νόμος, law*, from *νέμω, distribuo*, noting an assignation or distribution of every man's right unto him, (and so *νόμος*, ver. 2, evidently signifies *the conjugal law*, which subjects and binds the wife to the husband,) for of such a law it will be truly said, that *κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, it is in validity or force over the man* (meaning the sub-

ject) *as long as he*, that is, the owner or the lord, *liveth*. That this is the true sense and aim of the words is unquestionable, and the latter way of expressing it seems to be the most commodious and easy, though the former may possibly be it, (by an easy and ordinary *ὑπέρβατον*;) and then νόμος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, *the law of the man*, will be a fit phrase to signify any such law, wherein men's interests are concerned, municipal or human laws, which are in force till they be abolished legally.

4. [b] *dead to the law*] That ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ, *you are dead to the law*, signifies the law's being dead to them, being abolished, having no power over them, hath been said (note [a].) and may further appear by ver. 6, where the ground of their freedom from the law is expressed by ἀποθανόντος ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα, *that being dead by which we were held*; where the law being by an ordinary *prosopopæia* (as when *sin* is said to reign, ch. vi. 12) used for a person, is said to be *dead*, (and to be *nailed to Christ's cross*, Col. ii. 14,) and so, under the fiction of a person, is more fitly answerable to the husband, whose death frees the wife from all obligation to him, that she may lawfully marry and subject herself to any other; and so in like manner may Jews to Christ, upon the abolition of their law. As for the διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *by the body of Christ*, by which the Judaical law is abolished, that sure notes the crucified body, the death of Christ, and is accordingly expressed in this very matter, Ephes. ii, both by ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, *by his flesh*, ver. 15, and διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, *by the cross*, ver. 16, and so Col. ii. 14, by προσηλωσας τῷ σταυρῷ, *nailing to the cross*.

5. [c] *were in the flesh*] That ὅτε ἦμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, *when we were in the flesh*, signifies the Judaical state under the law, appears by the whole discourse in this chapter, which is of the state of men considered under the law, (see note [d].) and particularly by the opposition here betwixt this and κατηγορήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, *we are freed from the law*. For so it is manifest the opposition stands, *For when we were in the flesh—But now we are freed from the law*,—and it is thus styled in opposition to ἐν πνεύματι εἶναι, *being in the spirit*, used for them that have received the gospel, and are partakers of the grace which is afforded there, to which they that have not attained, but are only under the pædagogical law, they are only *in the flesh*, have no other but that weak and corrupt principle of their own nature (which is so prone to carnality) abiding in them. And thus it is used, ch. viii. 8, *they that are in the flesh cannot please God. But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwelleth in you*, that is, if, as ye are outwardly professors of the faith, baptized Christians, so ye are sincerely so, such as in whom the Holy Spirit of God may vouchsafe to inhabit, which will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in. And accordingly Christianity is called *the law of the Spirit of life*, ch. viii. 2; and here, ver. 6, *the newness of the Spirit*, in opposition to *the oldness of the letter*, the Mosaical law. And a peculiar propriety there is in this phrase for this matter in many respects; 1st, in respect of the nature of the Mosaical precepts, which were external, washings, circumcision, bodily rests, &c., (all which are seated in the flesh,) and so proportionably carnal promises and threats; whereas the precepts of Christ go deeper to the mind and spirit, require the purity of that, and accordingly are backed with spiritual promises and terrors: 2dly, in respect of the as-

sistance that Christ affords toward his obedience by giving of his Spirit, to assist (if it be not *grieved* and *resisted*) our spirits, in opposition to which the state under the law having none of that strength joined with it, may justly be called the *being in the flesh*. To which may be added, that one eminent effect of the Spirit's descending was the commissioning of the apostles for their office of preaching to the gentile world remission of sins upon *repentance*, and in opposition to that, the law allowing no place for repentance for any presumptuous sin, but inflicting present punishment on the offender, that state may be fitly styled *being in the flesh*. Meanwhile, as there is a difference betwixt the weakness of the natural estate considered without any other aid than what the law affordeth, and the sinfulness of carnal acts and habits continued and indulged to, and on the other side, betwixt the state of a baptized Christian, afforded the grace and strength of Christ, and of him that makes use of that grace, and leads a pure Christian life; so the *being ἐν τῇ σαρκί*, in the flesh, differs from *living* or *walking κατὰ τὴν σάρκα*, after or according to the flesh, and on the other side, *being in the Spirit*, or *being in Christ*, from *walking after the Spirit*: all which phrases are to be met with here and in the next chapter. Here, and ch. viii. ix, we have *being in the flesh*, and *κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες*, *they that are after the flesh*, ver. 5, that is, under the law, not elevated above the flesh, or rescued out of the power of it by Christ; and ch. viii. 1, *walking after the flesh*, (and so vv. 4 and 12 all in the same sense,) for going on in a carnal course, obeying and following *the flesh in the lusts thereof*. And so ch. viii. 9, *being in the Spirit*, or *having the Spirit of Christ*, and *being in Christ Jesus*, ver. 2, all to the same sense, of having the Spirit of Christ bestowed on us, which, as it enableth, so it obligeth us to walk and lead a Christian life, and if we do so, then that is *περπατοῦν κατὰ Πνεῦμα*, *walking after the Spirit*, vv. 3 and 4. All which must thus nicely be distinguished, or else they will be apt to betray to some mistake.

7. [d] *I had not known* It is an ordinary figure to speak of other men in the first person, but most frequent in blaming or noting any fault in others; for then by the putting it in this disguise, fastening it on one's own person, it is more likely to be well taken by them to whom it belongs. So saith St. Chrysostom of this apostle, 'Αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰσίου προσώπου γυμνάζει, "when he mentions things that are any way grievous or likely to be ill taken, he doth it in his own person." And St. Hierome on Daniel, *Peccata populi enumerat persona sua, quod et apostolum in Epistola ad Romanos facere legimus*, "Confessing the sins of the people, he doth it in his own person, which we read practised by the apostle in the Epistle to the Romans," that is, most probably in this place. Thus when, 1 Cor. iv. 4, St. Paul had spoken in his own person, *I know nothing by myself, but hereby I am not justified*, he tells them plainly, ver. 6, that he had in a figure transferred these things unto himself for their sakes, that they might not be puffed up, as counting such schemes and figures as these the most profitable and efficacious on the reader. Thus the same apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 12, *All things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient*; that is, those things which are by you looked on as indifferent, if they be yielded to, may be very hurtful in you; and 1 Cor. xiii. 2, *If I have all faith, and have not charity*, that is, if ye want charity to your other gifts. So Gal. ii. 18, *If what I have destroyed I build the same again, I*

make myself a transgressor, that is, whosoever doth so, or whensoever ye do so, it must needs be a fault in you. Thus, Rom. iii. 7, *If the truth of God have abounded by my lie unto his glory, why am I also judged as a sinner?* Which words are certainly the personating of an impious objector, which speaks or disputes thus, not of the apostle himself. And the same scheme or fashion of speaking or writing is very frequent among all authors. And that it must be so taken here may appear by these evidences: 1st, by ver. 9, *Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων ποτὶ, I indeed once lived without the law*, which can with no appearance of truth be affirmed of Paul's person, who was born and brought up a Jew in the knowledge of the Mosaical law, and must therefore be the personating of a man first considered without, then with the law, to whom because the law is given in the second person, *μὴ ἐπιθυμήσεις, Thou shalt not covet*, ver. 7, therefore he to whom it is given is in the following verses fitly set down in the first person, *I* being relative to the *thou* antecedent: and so Marcus Eremita, De baptism. p. 921 E, οὕτω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς, &c. "Thus do men pervert other scriptures. Read the chapter from the beginning, and you shall find that St. Paul speaks not of himself after his baptism," ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπίστων Ἰουδαίων πρόσωπον λαμβάνει, "but assumes the person of unbelieving Jews." And so Theophylact distinctly affirms, ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ προσώπῳ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει λέγει, "In his own person he speaks of human nature;" and again on ver. 15, "he speaks of men before Christ's coming, though he sets it in his own person:" 2dly, by the severals affirmed in this chapter, which cannot belong to St. Paul. For that Paul was at the writing of this a reformed, regenerate person there is no doubt, and they which would have it spoken by him in his own person make that advantage of this chapter, by reconciling those things which are here mentioned to a regenerate state. But if we compare the severals which are here mentioned with the parts of a regenerate man's character, given by the same apostle in other places, we shall find them directly contrary. Here in the 8th verse he saith, that *sin had wrought in him all manner of concupiscence*, whereas of the regenerate man it is affirmed, Gal. v. 24, *they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts*. Here in the 9th verse it is said, *sin revived, and I died*; whereas of the regenerate man it is said, ch. vi. 2, *How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein?* Here in the 14th verse it is said, *I am carnal*; whereas of the regenerate man it is affirmed, ch. viii. 1, *that he walketh not after the flesh, but after the Spirit*. Here again, in that 14th verse, it is said, *I am sold under sin*, (of which see note [f],) whereas of the regenerate it is affirmed, ch. vi. 18, *that he becomes free from sin, and becomes the servant of righteousness*. Here, ver. 20, *sin dwelleth in me*, and κατεργάζεται, *accomplisheth, worketh that which I will not*, like not with my mind or conscience; and so it is said, vv. 23, 24, *that the law in the members carries him into captivity to the law of sin, and, who shall deliver him from this body of death?* and so that he is under the power of the law of sin and death, that he obeys the law of sin, ver. 25; whereas, ch. viii. 2, of the regenerate it is affirmed, *that the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made him free from the law of sin and death*. Nothing can be more contrary and unreconcilable to a regenerate state in these so many particulars than what is here affirmed of the ἐγὼ, *I*, the person here thus represented. And indeed, unless

sinning against conscience be the only way of alleviating (and not aggravating) sin, it is impossible that *the doing that ill he would not, and the not doing that good he would*, vv. 19, 20, can be deemed a fit ingredient in the character of a regenerate man: it is certain this was, in the person of Medea, made by the heathens the highest pitch of villainy, to "see and like that which was good, and do the direct contrary," (see note [f].) and therefore cannot in any reason be thought to be the apostle's description of a regenerate man, or good Christian.

[e] *lust*] That by ἐπιθυμία, *coveting*, here is meant the sin forbidden in the tenth commandment of the Decalogue, appears by the end of the verse. But how the apostle can truly say that he *had not known* it had been a *sin*, if the law had not told him it was, will be all the difficulty. To which may be answered, 1st, that the apostle doth not speak particularly of himself, (see note [d].) but in the person of a Jew, or man in general; and then it is not only true of this, but of all other the commandments (of which this one may be set as the instance,) that the knowledge of sin is by the promulgation of the law that forbids it. But then there may from the Jewish doctrine appear some reason why the apostle should rather instance in this commandment than any other. For the Jews before and under Christ's time, seeing that there was no punishment judicially appointed for thoughts or desires, whether unclean, or of getting any thing from their neighbours, had resolved this to be no sin, and consequently that the tenth commandment was but a moral proverbial essay or counsel, like that of Menander,

οὐδὲ βελόνης,

Δαμόνιε, ἐπιθύησον ἀλλοτρίας ποτιέ,

"not to covet so much as a pin of another's," but not any precept of God or of nature, affirming that, unless it be in case of the worship of false gods, no sin is committed by the bare will, without some actual commission following it. Thus saith Aben-Ezra in the beginning of the Decalogue, Kimchi on Psalm lxvi. 18, and Josephus concerning Antiochus's designed sacrilege, Τὸ γὰρ μηκέτι ποιῆσαι τὸ ἔργον βουλευσάμενον, οὐκ ἔστι τιμωρίας ἄξιον, "To have consulted only, and not acted, doth not deserve punishment." According to which St. Paul might well say of any Jew brought up under such masters, that he had not believed coveting to be a sin, had not the more exact consideration of the direct words of the law assured him that it was.

14. [f] *sold under sin*] The phrase *sold under sin* signifies as it doth when it is said of Ahab that he was *sold to work wickedness*, or of the revolting Jews, 1 Mac. i. 15, as a slave or captive sold from one master, one sin, to another: and so here it is joined with σαρκικός, a *carneal man*, and is further expressed by the character of him following, that *the evil that he would not, that he doth, and the good that he would, that he doth not*; just like that which the poets say by way of aggravation of that wicked condition of Medea the witch,

Καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακὰ,

Θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων. Eurip.

"I understand the evils that I am about to commit, but my passion overcomes my reason:" and of him in the tragedy,

Δέληθεν οὐδὲν τῶνδε μ' ὧν σὺ νοθεύεις,

Γνώμην δ' ἔχοντα μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται.

"I am ignorant of none of those things of which thou admonishest me,

but my nature (or custom) forces me contrary to my opinion." Which is so far from being matter of alleviation, or lessening of the sin, that, as Euripides saith of it,

Ὅσπερ μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν βροτοῖς,

"It is the author of the greatest evils unto men," so it is by Plutarch set down for the greatest aggravation; for citing that in the tragedy of Atreus,

Αἱ Αἱ, τόδ' ἤδη θεῖον ἀνθρώποις κακόν,

Ὅταν τις εἶδῃ τ' ἀγαθόν, χρεῖται δὲ μή·

that "it is an evil that falls on men from God, to do evil when they see their duty," he corrects it thus, *θηριώδες μενοῦν καὶ δλογον καὶ οἰκτρὸν, εἰδὸτα τὸ βελτίον ὑπὸ τοῦ χειρόνος ὑπ' ἀκραςίας καὶ μαλακίας ἀγεσθαι*, "it is the most bestial, irrational, miserable condition for a man that knows what is best, to be led by incontinency and effeminacy from it." And so Xenophon from Socrates, *ὅστις μὲν τὰ κράτιστα μὴ σκοπεῖ, τὰ ἥδιστα δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖ ποιεῖν, τί ἂν διαφέρει τῶν ἀφρονεστάτων βοσκημάτων*; "he that considers not the best things, but by all means seeks the most pleasant, how differs he from the foolish beasts?" And so Simplicius upon Epictetus, c. 11. p. 74, upon occasion of those verses of Medea, resolves, *χρὴ οὐ μὴ δοξάζειν μόνον ὀρθῶς, καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι, καὶ ἐκκλίνειν ἐπὶ πολλὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα σύμφωνα ταῖς ὀρθαῖς δόξαις ἀποδιδόναι*, "we ought not only to think right, and be affected accordingly, but to conform our works to our right opinions." And till we do so, the best that he can say of us is, that perhaps we are *ἀρχόμενοι παιδεύεσθαι, beginning to learn*, are come as far as the knowing of the law, which notwithstanding *ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ ἐαυτῶν ἐγκαλοῦσι*, men *sin and accuse themselves* for sinning; *οὐκ εὐθὺς γὰρ τὰ δλογα πάθῃ μετρεῖται καὶ ῥυθμίζεται καὶ ὑποτάσσεται τῷ λόγῳ*, "for irrational affections are not presently brought within measure and proportion, nor suddenly subjected to reason."

23. [g] *another law*] For the understanding the sense of the apostle in this whole chapter, it is useful to compare this passage with Gal. v. 17, *The spirit lusteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, &c.*, which is thought to be parallel, and to import the same sense with this. Of these two places therefore it must first be remembered, that the difference which is between these texts ariseth not from the distinction between *the spirit* in the one, and *the law of the mind* in the other, nor consequently is it to be placed betwixt the *lusting of the flesh against the spirit*, simply taken, and the *warring of the law in the members against the law in the mind*, as that is no more than a war; but betwixt the former simply taken, or with the addition of the *spirit lusting back again against the flesh*, or with the circumstances mentioned Gal. v. 17, (none of which imply a yielding to the *lusts of the flesh*,) and the latter, taken with that addition here mentioned, of *bringing the man into captivity to the law of sin*. And this indeed is all the difference that can be assigned betwixt a regenerate and unregenerate man, that in the one the spirit prevails, in the other the flesh is victorious; that is, the will of the one is led by the spirit, chooses and acts the deeds of the spirit, (the will of God,) but the will of the other follows the carnal dictates, *τελεῖ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς, performs the will of the flesh*, and so falls under the condemnation which belongs to such: *ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη κατάστασις*

ὑπόκειται πάντως τῇ κολάσει, πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἁμαρτία ὑπὸ τὸν ᾄδην ἐστίν, saith Dorotheus διδασκαλ. ι'. "such a state is altogether subject to punishment, for every sin that is acted is under hell," and ὑπὸ τὸν ᾄδην εἰσὶ πάντες ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνεργοῦσιν, "they are all under hell in that they act." And if it be suggested that the consequents in the place to the Galat., *ἵνα μὴ ἂν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιεῖτε*, so that *what things you would, ye do them not*, seem parallel to οὐ δ θέλω ποιῶ, *what I would, that I do not*, here vv. 15, 19, and so neither of them signify this carnal state; to this it must be answered, that these two are not parallel, but on the contrary that passage, οὐ δ θέλω ποιῶ, *what I would, I do not*, is really equivalent with the *captivation to the law of sin*, (as by the whole context appears,) though indeed there is some obscurity in it, which till by the context it be explained, may mislead one to think otherwise. The truth is evident, these two things are conjoined in both those verses, *what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that I do*, ver. 15, and *the good that I would, I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do*, ver. 19. And being so conjoined in the same person, the subject of the discourse, and but equivalent phrases with those other of *captivation to the law of the members*, and *being carnal*, and *sold under sin*, the meaning must be, that he neglects to do the good that the law of God and his own mind dictates to him, and doth commit, on the contrary, the evil that, according to his mind and the declaration of God's will in the law, he disliketh and hateth, and so evidently acteth in opposition to conscience, commits the sins of the flesh willingly and knowingly, *non obstante* the contrary dictate and solicitation of conscience. But then this is much more than is contained in that *lusting of the flesh against the spirit*, Gal. v. (styled by Nemesius, πε. φύσ. c. 37, μάχη τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, "the strife of the reason and lust," στάσις καὶ φιλονεικία, "a dissension and emulation betwixt them.") For as there *the flesh lusteth*, so *the spirit lusteth* too, and it is not affirmed of either of them that it *leads* the other captive. All the event that is taken notice of is, *ἵνα μὴ ἂν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιεῖτε*, *that what you would that you do not*; which being the effect of the double ἐπιθυμία or *lusting*, must have such a sense proportioned to it as shall be founded in that double ἐπιθυμία, and that can be no other than this, that θέλει, *to will*, be taken in the sense of ἐπιθυμεῖν, *to lust*, and so not for an act of the elective faculty which to one matter is but one, either choosing or refusing, but for an act of some kind of woulding or appetite, and that is constantly twofold to the same matter; the flesh hath one woulding, and the spirit hath another: the flesh desires, and would have a man yield to the pleasant proposal, the spirit would have him resist it; and both these are evidently mentioned in that verse, one called *the lusting of the spirit*, and the other *of the flesh*. From the contrariety of which it necessarily follows, that whatsoever (in matters of this nature, good or evil) any man doth, he doth against one of these wouldings, and consequently he doth not ποιεῖν δ θέλει, *do what he would*. Whereas if θέλει were taken for the elective faculty, which we ordinarily call *the will* of man, it is evident every voluntary agent doth ποιεῖν δ θέλει, *do what he will*, his actings follow his will or choice, and whensoever he doth not so, he acts by violence, or rather is acted, and to that is required that he be conquered by some other; and yet of any such con-

quest there is no mention in that place of Gal. v. 16, which mentions only an ἐπιθυμία, *lusting* equally on both sides: and so the result is, that Gal. v. 16 there is no more said but this, that which way soever a man act, he acts against some ἐπιθυμία, *desire* or *lusting* of his; if he act according to the flesh, he acts against the solicitation of the mind and spirit; and if he act according to the spirit, he doth not τελείν ἐπιθυμίας σαρκός, but acts contrary to all its importunities: and he that doth the latter of these is far from being led *captive to the law of sin*, which is in the flesh or members, being indeed a conqueror over it, though he have not eradicated or extirpated it. For the yet fuller clearing of this, take the plain importance of those two verses, and set them severally, and then you will soon see how no correspondence there is between them. Gal. v. 16, the apostle sets down this plain aphorism, that *the desires of the flesh and spirit are one contrary to the other*, and consequently that to whichever of them the will of man consents, it must needs reject the other. But Rom. vii. 15, 19, the apostle sets down the state of a particular man, which deliberately chooses and acts the evil which he knows he should not do, or which the law of God in his own mind tells him distinctly he ought not to do; as when Nemesius περὶ φύσ. ἀνθρ. ch. 33, speaks of an intemperate man, that he is κρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ πράττων ταύτην μὴ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀντιβαίνει γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ προαίρεσις τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, "his election is contrary to his lust, yet he is overcome by his lust, and acts what that suggests." And so St. Augustine Confess. l. 8. c. 5. *Lex peccati est violentia consuetudinis, qua trahitur et tenetur etiam invitus animus*, "the law of sin (in that place) is the violence of custom, by which the mind is drawn and held against its inclination;" plainly signifying the state of the person spoken of Rom. vii. to be that of an habitual sinner. What agreement now is or can there be betwixt these two verses? It is true indeed that they which *do what they hate*, and *would not*, may well be said *not to do the things which they would*, and so are included in those words, Gal. v. 17, but that proves not that those places, Rom. vii. and Gal. v. are parallel; because Rom. vii. it is determined to *doing the ill which he hates*, whereas Gal. v. the speech lies open to both parts, to the *doing the good which the flesh hates*, as well as *the evil which the flesh loves*. Now this being spoken of men indefinitely, is very distant from defining it on one side, and applying it to a particular person, as it is evidently done, Rom. vii. when he saith, *Non quod volo bonum, hoc ago, sed quod odi malum, illud facio: I do not the good that I would, but the evil which I hate, that do I*: and consequently, though the flesh's disliking the virtuous actions, and liking the vicious, be perfectly reconcilable with *walking in the spirit*, and so with a regenerate state, and so the place to the Galatians, (though not spoken particularly of the actions of regenerate men, but delivered as an aphorism indefinitely, applicable to men's actions whether good or evil,) may be applicable to the actings of such; yet the place to the Romans being determined to the *facio malum, I do the evil*, and that evidently against the dictate of the mind, the resistance of the conscience is still unreconcilable with that spiritual walking, and so with the regenerate state, Rom. viii. 1. Another notion there is, which some of the ancients have had of the words δ μὲν ποιοῶ, *what I hate, that*

I do, viz. that it should belong only to °desires or thoughts unconsented to. So St. Jerome, and St. Augustine also, l. 1. Cont. 2. Epist. Pelag. c. 10, being persuaded by some doctors, and a conceited advantage against the Pelagian heresy, to retract in some part what before he had asserted, and spoken the most for of any man. And of this opinion is PMethodius also, °Ο μισῶ, ποιῶ, saith he, *that which I hate, I do*, is to be understood οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ δράσαι τὸ φαῦλον, “not of the doing that which is ill,” ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ μόνον ἐνθυμηθῆσαι, “but only of thinking or imagining;” and again, ἐπὶ λογισμῶν ἀνοικείων ἡμῖν προσιπταμένων πλεονάκις, καὶ ἐμφανταζόντων ἡμᾶς πρὸς ᾧ μὴ θέλομεν, “of alien imaginations which frequently make incursions on us, and bring us to fancy things which we would not,” adding, οὐ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὅλως τὸ ἐνθυμείσθαι ἢ μὴ ἐνθυμείσθαι κείται τὰ ἀποπα, ἀλλὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι ἢ μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι· κωλύσαι μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐμπίπτειν εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς λογισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμεθα—μὴ πεισθῆναι μέντοι ἢ μὴ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς δυνάμεθα, “for it is not wholly in our power to think or not to think absurd things, but either to use or not to use such thoughts or fancies; for we cannot hinder thoughts from coming upon us, but we can choose whether we will be persuaded by them or use them.” And again, Πῶς ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ κακὸν—ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ περὶ τῶν ὀφνειῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ἔλεγεν; “How did the apostle do evil, if he spake not of absurd thoughts?” This interpretation of St. Paul’s words, if it were secure from being any further extended than the authors of it designed, could have no hurt or noxiousness in it, it being certainly true that every regenerate man is thus infested with fancies and thoughts which he hates, and gives no consent unto. Yet if the words of the text be well considered, this cannot but appear a strange interpretation. For when it is certain that δράσαι signifies neither less nor other than ποιῆσαι, *to do*, and when that word is varied into κατεργάζομαι and πράττω, ver. 15, and both those are directly all one with δράσαι, and when δ μισῶ, *what I hate*, in one place is δ οὐ θέλω, *what I would not*, ver. 16, and that again δ οὐ θέλω κακὸν, *the evil that I would not*, ver. 19, and κακὸν and φαῦλον are directly all one, it is not imaginable how δ μισῶ, ποιῶ, *what I hate, I do*, should not be understood ἐπὶ τοῦ δράσαι τὸ φαῦλον, *of doing evil*, this being no less than a direct contradiction, to interpret ποιῶ by οὐ δράσαι, for that is ποιῶ by οὐ ποιῶ, πράττω by οὐ πράττω, *do by not do*, which neither Methodius nor any other man’s authority can prevail with any reasonable man to receive from him. This inconvenience when Methodius foresees, his only answer is, that he desires them who make this objection to declare “what evil it was that the apostle hated, and would not do, and yet did; whether when he willed to serve God he yet committed idolatry.” But sure the whole force of this answer (if there be any) is founded in interpreting the words to be spoken by St. Paul in his own person, and so is perfectly prevented by him that understands the apostle not of himself, but of an unregenerate man. From which process of Methodius, and what he there adds in that place of the apostle’s pronouncing against idolaters and other such sinners, that they *cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven*, the conclusion is regular and unavoidable, that if ποιῶ signifies ποιῶ, and πράττω and κατεργάζομαι, *do and work*, be

° Concupiscendo, sed eidem concupiscentiæ non consentiendo.

† Ap. Epiphan. Hær. 64. Basil. Ed. p. 252.

interpreted of *actions*, or of any more than *thoughts unconsented to*, then the person that is spoken of by St. Paul, Rom. vii, is one that shall *not inherit the kingdom of God*, and then sure no regenerate person, by Methodius's arguing: which therefore is most constringent and convincing that this chapter speaks of an unregenerate person; for that it is beyond all controversy that he cannot use those words, *ποιῶ, I do*, &c., of mere *λογίζεσθαι, ἐνθυμῆσθαι, thinking or fancying only*, καὶ οὐ πεισθῆναι or δρᾶσαι, and not of *consenting or doing*. And so in like manner, that being *carnal*, and *sold under sin*, (which is all one with a *servant of sin* in other places of the same apostle, it being then so ordinary to sell servants *sub hasta*, "under his spear," as it were, that had taken or conquered them,) and *carried captive by the law in his members*, (that is, by his own carnal heart,) cannot be affirmed of him that lives in and *walks after the spirit*. To which this further evidence may also be added, from the using the phrase *the law of sin*, ver. 23, the unquestionable importance of which we have from the immediate consequents. Νόμος ἁμαρτίας, or *law of sin*, is sure *the command or empire of sin*, to which he that is *captivated*, as the person here spoken of is, must be acknowledged to be under *the dominion of sin*, and that certainly is unreconcilable with a regenerate state. This is further expressed, ver. 24, by *the body of death*, and so bears proportion to what had been said, ver. 5, *when we were in the flesh*, as that is there opposed to *the spirit*, *the motions of sin did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death*, which concludes that condition which is here spoken of to be a damnable condition. And it is remarkable that ch. viii. 2, *the law of the spirit of life which is in Christ Jesus* is said to have *made the apostle free from this law of sin and death*. From whence the argument is irrefragable; that to which the person, Rom. vii. 23, is said to be *captivated*, is the same from which the grace of Christ hath delivered the regenerate justified person, ch. viii. 2. But the grace of Christ doth not *free* the regenerate man in this life from injections of fancy, or thoughts unconsented to, (for certainly the regenerate man doth not pretend to that measure of grace as shall free him from all such.) Therefore that of thoughts unconsented to is not it to which the person, Rom. vii. 23, is said to be *captivated*. Against the evidence of this, I foresee not what can reasonably be suggested.

CHAP. VIII.

2. [a] *the law of sin*] What νόμος ἁμαρτίας, *the law of sin*, here signifies, is discernible by the phrase immediately foregoing, ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς, &c., *the law of the spirit of life by Jesus Christ*, which unquestionably signifies no more than the Holy Spirit now under the gospel, which frees us from that which the law was not able to do. So saith Chrysostom and Theophylact, νόμον πνεύματος ἐνταῦθα τὸ πνεῦμα (τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα) καλεῖ, "the law of the spirit he there calls the Spirit, or Holy Spirit." And then proportionably *the law of sin* must signify sin itself, which this Holy Spirit given by Christ in the gospel ἐδωκότες, say they, *hath mortified*. This those two ancients press, in opposition to some πονηρὰ γλῶσσαι, *evil tongues*, which interpreted *the law of sin* to be the Mosaical law. Of which yet the same apostle in the precedent chapter saith that it is *spiritual*, ver. 14, and *holy, just, and good*, ver. 12, *spiritual*, as given by the Spirit of God, and the teacher and

cause of virtue; and *holy, just, and good*, as giving rules of piety, justice, and charity, and as they add, Chrysost. t. 3. p. 184. l. 1, ἀμαρτίας ἀναιρετικόν, “that which hath power to take away sin,” and Theophyl. p. 66, κακίας πολέμιον, “an enemy to sin.” And in this sense the phrase is evidently used ch. vii. 23, where *bringing into captivity to the law of sin* is no more than bringing to the commission of sin, or as Theophylact, δυνάμει καὶ τυραννίδι, “to the power and tyranny of it.”

3. [δ] *the flesh*] Σὰρξ, *the flesh*, in this place cannot so fitly be said to signify the state or condition of men under the law (mentioned note [c], on ch. vii.) but that which is the means by which occasionally (as the διὰ notes) the law became so weak and unable to restrain men, viz. the carnal or fleshly appetite, which is so contrary to the proposals and prescriptions of the law. So ch. vii. 18, *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh*, that is, the carnal part of a man, (such especially as is there represented and defined, ver. 14, to be *carnal*, and *sold under sin*.) *doelleth no good thing*: so here, ver. 1, *They that walk after the flesh* are opposed to those *that walk after the Spirit*, and that are in *Christ Jesus*: and so, vv. 4—7, where the φρόνημα σαρκὸς, *mind or desire of the flesh is enmity to God*, direct opposition to him, (viz. that *law in the members warring against the law in the mind*, ch. vii. 23,) and vv. 8, 9, 12, 13. And so in this verse, viz. that the carnality of men's hearts was too strong for the Mosaic law to do any good upon them. And so the law was *weak*, not absolutely, but διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, *through the flesh*, that is, the Mosaic dispensation, by the promises and terrors which it proposed, was not able to subdue carnal affections, to mortify lusts, to bring men to inward purity, which to the flesh was more ingrateful than that temporal promises should persuade any man to undertake it, when there were not temporal punishments to drive them to it, as in case of concupiscence, opposed to that inward purity, there were not, (see note [e] on ch. vii.) And so it was not possible for the law to bring them to any good; Christ's reformation was necessary thus to call carnal sinners to repentance.

4. [c] *righteousness*] The word δικαίωμα is any thing that God hath thought meet to appoint or command his people, (see ch. ii. 26,) from δίκαιον, *meet or right*, as ἀρεστόν or δόγμα, *an ordinance or decree*, are from ἀρέσκω and δοκέω, being *pleased or thinking good*. It is answerable to the Hebrew צִוְיָה, Num. xxx. 17, Deut. iv. 14, 40, 45, Ps. cxix. 12, and denotes those laws which God had given to the Jews beside the moral law, or law of nature to all, the peculiar ordinances of circumcision, &c. So Heb. ix. 1. “The first covenant had δικαίωμα, ordinances,” σύμβολα, θεσμούς καὶ νομοθεσίας, saith Theophylact, “types, institutions, laws,” as also λατρείας, “worships,” and ἅγιον κοσμηκόν, meaning the tabernacle, all which were peculiar to the first covenant, the Mosaic economy; so Luke i. 6, where to ἐντολαί, *the commandments*, or moral law, is subjoined δικαίωμα, *ordinances*, or Jewish observances. And so here δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου is *the ordinances of the law*, or statute-law, as it were, as that of circumcision, &c., which being designed by God to teach them abstinence from all impurity, but not so made use of by the carnal Jews, is said here to be perfected and completed by Christ by his plain precepts of inward purity. By this perhaps may be explained Rev. xix. 8, where of the βύσσινον καθαρὸν καὶ λαμπρὸν, *fine linen pure and white*, it is affirmed, that it is δικαίωμα ἁγίων, which may be

rendered *the ordinances of the sanctuary*, (for so *ἄγια* signifies, Heb. ix. 2, 8,) that is, the garment that the priest, when he entered into the sanctuary, was to wear by the Levitical law. See note [a] on Rev. xix.

15. [d] *cry, Abba, Father*] The phrase *κράζειν*, 'Ἀββᾶ, ὁ Πατήρ, may perhaps best be rendered *crying Abba, that is, Father*, so as the *ὁ* be the neuter, not masculine gender, and the abbreviate of *ὁ ἰσὺι μεθερμηνεύομενον* or *ὁ ἰσὺι*, which is by interpretation, or which is. If that be not it, both here and Gal. iv. 6, then, as Mark xiv. 36, (when it is used by Christ, who spake Syriac, it is certain that it was but the same word twice repeated,) so must it be here, and no more than a form of compellation, wherein a son expresseth his confidence and dependence on his father's kindness and goodness to him; or else a form of petitioning, as in Christ it was, *Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee, remove this cup from me*. And so it signifies no more than to look upon God as children on a father, as on one that means all good to us, if we be not wanting to ourselves; referring to his rich evangelical promises, in opposition to the more servile affections of the Jews, which performed those external obediences only that were commanded under penalties, but had no care of purity and uprightness of actions, as slaves, and not as sons. That this should be taken from a Roman form of *heredipetæ*, suing to a rich man for his inheritance, is but a fancy, sufficiently confuted by this, that the *crying Abba* here supposes having received the spirit of adoption, and doth not prepare for it. And so Gal. iv. *because ye are* (not, *that ye may be*) *sons, God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father*; where first they are *sons*, and *have the Spirit of Christ in their hearts*, that filial spirit, and *because they are such, God hath sent* &c. As for that that follows, *and if sons, then heirs*, that is not peculiar to the Romans neither; for though among them the children of both sexes were admitted to inherit, but among the Jews the females were not admitted, save in defect of males; yet speaking here of sons, he may very fitly refer to sons among the Jews, and from the law of their inheriting the father's goods, conclude of all children of God, and not only of males, (for that difference is not at all considered here,) that they shall do so too, that is, be heirs also. Besides, it was a law among the Jews, as well as the Romans, that adopted sons, in respect of inheriting, were equal with natural; and that is the thing that is chiefly here meant by, *if sons, then heirs*, that is, this adoption into sonship is as sure to bring us the inheritance, as if we were the natural sons of God.

19. [e] *creature*] The word *κτίσις*, *the creation* or *creature*, being a general word, without a restraint, (and likewise with *πᾶσα*, *all*, joined to it, ver. 22,) is here set to comprehend all mankind, the gentiles as well as the Jews, and (having before spoken of the Jews) here the gentiles peculiarly. Thus *κτίσις* and *κόσμος* are all one, *the creature* and *the world*, and *πᾶσα κτίσις*, *all the creation*, (as the same is expressed here, ver. 22,) and *πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, *all the world*, Mark xvi. 15, which is in St. Matthew in the parallel place, Matt. xxviii. 19, *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, *all nations*, and so Col. i. 15, and so also *κόσμος*, *the world* simply, as *κτίσις*, *creature* here, for the heathen world, 2 Pet. i. 4, and elsewhere. So *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, *a new creature*, 2 Cor. v. 17, is all one with *καὶνὸς ἀνθρώπος*, *the new man*, Eph. iv. 24. All by Hebrew idiom, wherein בְּרִיאָה, *creature*, signifies *man* among their rabbins, as when they say of God,

יבוא לדין את הבריות, *he shall come to judge the creatures*, that is, men. And that this is the meaning of *πάντα ἀνθρώπων κτίσις*, 1 Pet. ii. 13, *every human creature*, that is, the heathens peculiarly (as far as the relative ὑποτάγτες, *subjection*, will extend it, that is, to all heathen magistrates in authority over them, which is the importance of *all*, ver. 17, not all men absolutely, but all superiors, as it follows, εἴτε βασιλεῖ, εἴτε ἡγεμόσι) will appear, 1st, by the doctrine which he is there confuting, that of the Gnostics, which taught liberty and manumission of Christian servants from heathen masters, and proportionably of Christian subjects from heathen kings; and 2dly, by the particularity of his care, ver. 12, that their *conversation* should be *good among the Gentiles*, that they might not *speak ill* of them *as of evil doers*, which they would be most apt to do, in case they should withdraw their obedience from their lawful princes as soon as they were become Christians; and 3dly, by the use of the phrase *πάντες ἄνθρωποι*, *all men*, in the same sense, for the Gentiles among whom they lived, Rom. xii. 17, 18, with whom they are there required to *live peaceably*, and to do nothing but what might be *καλόν*, *good* before them. From which general precept the apostle there immediately proceeds to (the same particular, which is the matter of St. Peter's command) obedience to the supreme power (then heathen), ch. xiii. 1, (see note on Col. i. 6.)

[f] *waiteth*] What is here said of the ἀποκαταδοκία τῆς κτίσεως, *the expectation of the creature*, that is, of the gentile world, must be understood according to the sacred prophetic dialect, wherein men are said *to desire*, and *seek*, and *hope*, and *expect* that (sometimes) which they do not distinctly know or think of, upon this score, that it is the general, indefinite, though not the particular, determinate object of their desires; that supposing men to desire that which is best for them, most for their present turn, this being most eminently so, is the only true matter of satisfaction to those their appetites. Thus all men being supposed to desire felicity, are said to *expect* and *desire* Christ, because he is the only true way to that: as on the other side, the wicked, that pursue an evil course, are by *the wise man* said to *seek death*, though it is sure they have no particular design upon it; and so Prov. viii. 36, *to love death*. Thus when Jacob, Gen. xlix, calls Shiloh or the Messias, προσδοκία τῶν ἐθνῶν, *the expectation of the Gentiles*, and on whom *the Gentiles shall trust*, and so Hag. ii. 7. *The desire of all nations shall come*, that is, literally the temple, (that should then be re-edified,) and under that shadow, Christ, he in whose coming was contained a full satisfaction to all the wants and desires and thirsts of all the heathens in the world. And so here it is not at all necessary to the verifying of this speech of the apostle, that the gentile world all this while (or even at that time wherein he spake) should either *know Christ*, or what it was to be *the sons of God*, or that the revelation of this by the preaching of the gospel to the Jews tended so particularly to their advantage: but, as the gospel of Christ was the collection of all those advantages that they aspired to, and as being *the sons of God* was the believing on Christ when he was preached, so the apostle, that knew that upon the having *preached over all the cities of Jewry*, (and so made discovery who of them would repent and believe the gospel, who would be finally contumacious,) the gospel should immediately be preached to the Gentiles, and so the blessed thing in the world befall

them, the satisfaction to all their desires and groanings, may truly say, that *the expectation* of the gentile world *attended and waited* for this. Which interpretation will be more perspicuous, when it is considered that both ἀποκαρδοκία, *lifting up the head*, or, as Theophylact fetcheth it, παρὰ τὸ τὴν καρὰν ἄλῃν δοκεῖν καὶ ἐπιμένειν πρὸς τὸ βεβαίως ἐλπίζομενον, “from holding out and bending forward the whole head to that which is firmly hoped for,” and the ἀπεκδέχεσθαι, *waiting or attending*, that follows, are but phrases noting the approach of any thing, and not their explicit knowledge that it doth so; as when Christ bids them, when such and such things come to pass, *lift up their heads, for their redemption draweth nigh*, Luke xxi. 28; that is, then your deliverance approacheth; though perhaps many of them that should have their parts in it knew nothing of it. And indeed ἀπεκδέχεσθαι being best rendered *attendeth, waiteth*, notes only this period to be it, before which the gospel was not to be so freely preached to the Gentiles, and after which it was, and is not to be restrained to their looking or *expecting* of it.

19. [g] *manifestation*] The word ἀποκάλυψις, *revelation*, signifies the explaining or displaying somewhat that was before obscure and covered, and so *the revelation of the sons of God* will be the discovering who are truly such. This was to be done among the Jews, who all pretended to that title, by the apostles' preaching the gospel to them, in the power of Christ's resurrection; and they that did not now receive him so testified, it is evident they were bastards and not sons, though before they might have the excuse of ignorance to extenuate their fact, Luke xxiii. 34, 1 Cor. ii. 8. Thus it is said by old Simeon of Christ, (which should prove *for the falling and raising of many in Israel*, Luke ii. 34, a stumblingblock to the proud obstinate Pharisee, but a means of raising the humble sinner to new life, and *a sign that should be matter of contradiction*, a strange person, that should be matter of great dispute and division among the Jews, some believing and others rejecting him,) that by this means *the thoughts, or machinations or designs, of many should be revealed*; that is, by their dealing with Christ it should be discovered what kind of men they were, truly pious or no, those obedient children of God which they pretended to be, or else the quite contrary. Now because by the apostles' preaching of Christ to the Jews this discovery was to be made, and so the gospel first preached to them before they went to the Gentiles, and upon the Jews' rejecting Christ, the apostles were then to depart and go to the Gentiles, therefore *the creature, or gentile world*, are said *earnestly to expect or wait for this discovery*, as a thing by which they were to receive this great advantage, ἐν ἑσχατῇ, (in the end of ver. 20, which must connect with this the former part of that verse, so far being but in a parenthesis,) *is hope that they also*, ver. 21, that is, the Gentiles, that shall receive the gospel, as well as the believing Jews, shall be redeemed from their customs of sin, which made them such slaves, and become partakers of that glorious title of *sons of God* also.

20. [h] *made subject*] The only difficulty here is, by whom the heathen world was subjected to that which is here called *vanity*, and after φθορὰ, *corruption*, ver. 21. For though here the passive ὑπεράγῃ, *was subjected*, might be so rendered as to refer to no other agent but themselves, that αὐθαίρετος δαίμων, *the spontaneous devil*, that most of our mischief and sin is imputable to, yet here follows, in this verse,

mention of the *ὑποράδας*, *he that hath subjected them*; and it is also affirmed of the *creature*, that is, the gentile world, that it was thus subjected, *οὐχ ἑκούσια, not willingly*, but *διὰ τὸν ὑποράξαντα, because of him*, whosoever it is, *that subjected them*. The place is generally interpreted of God, that he is the *ὁ ὑποράδας*; and if so, it must then be said that he subjected the heathen, not by any positive act, but (as he is said to *harden*) by desertion, and leaving to themselves, to which this slavery to their customs of sin is consequent. But it may also be interpreted of the devil, who by God's permission (in just punishment for their idolatries) had and exercised such power among the heathens and engaged them in all wickedness. And this is perfectly agreeable with the truth of the fact. For the devil being worshipped by the heathens did by that means infuse into their worships all the villainy in the world, made all unnatural sins part of their devotions, in their mysteries, *Eleusinia sacra*, Venus and Flora's feasts, &c., and so what they did in that kind they did *not willingly*, as it is here said, but in obedience to this *ὁ ὑποράδας*, that is, the devil that had gotten such authority among them, and kept them in this *δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς, slavery or servitude of corruption*, doing it in obedience to his commands. Thus doth Eusebius, l. 4. c. ζ', tell us of Carpocrates, that it was his avowed doctrine that there was no other way of escaping or appeasing the *κοσμικοὶ ἀρχόντες, worldly princes*, as they called them, but by paying them their dues by all their *ἀρρηστοποιία, unnatural filthiness*. And we know it was most ordinary among the heathen to have sacrificing of men and devoting them prescribed *ad pacanda numina*, "to appease those false gods." Thus are men said to be *caught, and held in the snare of the devil*, and *ἐλωγγημένοι, taken alive or captive* by him, 2 Tim. ii. 26, which concludes them in the state of slaves and servants for ever after, till by repentance and reformation they get out of it. And there is no circumstance in the whole context that renders this improbable to be the meaning of it, but on the contrary, this *subjection* from whence they hope to be delivered is opposed to that freedom which Christ gives, and that is, *from the hands of enemies*, Luke i. 74, that is, from Satan, &c., who may therefore be resolved to be the *ὁ ὑποράδας, he that subjected them*. That which hath inclined interpreters to apply it to God is, 1st, the *ἐν' ἐλπίδι, in hope*, which follows, it being not imaginable that the devil should subject them thus, *in hope*, &c. But that seems to be a mistake, the *ἐν' ἐλπίδι, in hope*, belonging to the end of the former verse, *ἀπεκδέχεται ἐν' ἐλπίδι, waits in hope*, all the rest of the 20th verse being read in a parenthesis, as the reason of their waiting, ver. 19. Secondly, the resolving that *κτίσις, creature*, signifies the other creatures of God, beside man; but that hath been shewed to be a mistake also, note [d.]

[i] *vanity* *Ματαιότης, vanity*, hath a double notion; one, as it refers to the heathen idols, which being *ὀνόματα, nothings*, are called *μάταια, vain*, or *vanities*, Acts xiv. 14; and so *vanity* here is all their ignorant filthy idol-worship; and so it is Eph. iv. 17, where he warneth them *not to walk, as the rest of the Gentiles do, in the vanity of their own mind*; and so *ἐματαιώθησαν, they grew vain*, Rom. i. 21, and *φύσει μάταιοι, vain by nature*, in the Book of Wisdom, speaking of that popular custom of idolatry that had generally overrun them all, and so 2 Pet. ii. 18. Another notion of the word there is as it is rendered by Hesychius,

Μάρατος, τάλας, wretched, miserable. And both these may seem to be here put together, as the course of the Gentiles was an idolatrous, villainous, and withal an unhappy wretched course, (to which the devil had brought them, and God in his just judgments had delivered them up, for their despising the light of nature,) of which some of them were so sensible, viz. those that by study of philosophy, or travel into Egypt, (where they might hear of the worship of the true God,) came to any knowledge of the truth, that they expressed their dislike of their own ways, and their desires to be rid of these so great burdens, that thus pressed down their souls. Thus did Porphyry and others lament the impurities of their natures, which they found within themselves, and set up a special project and pursuit of *καθαρτικά, purgatives*, and, when other helps failed, made use of *γοητεία* and *θεουργία, magic and sorcery* to that end; consulted with the devil to help to make them pure; and this, as discerning this want of purity to be utterly destructive of that true happiness which as rational creatures they could not but seek after. And in this respect it is, that here it is said of these heathens, that they were thus *subjected, not willingly*, but through Satan's malice, and God's just judgments upon them, and yet had some kind of dark hope that they should have some means allowed of rescuing them, and so did in a manner expect Christ, and wait for a reversion of the gospel when the Jews had done with it, and so (as it is observable in the Acts) when he was preached unto them and the Jews together, did more readily and universally receive him than the Jews did.

21. [*k*] *corruption*] *Φθορά* signifies sometimes those abominable unnatural uncleannesses which the Gentiles were guilty of, *τὸ τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς*, 2 Pet. i. 4, *the corruption through lust which was in the world*, the unnatural lusts among the Gentiles and Gnostics. So again 2 Pet. ii. 12, *γεννημένα εἰς φθορὰν, made to corrupt*, or good for nothing but to corrupt others, an expression of *ἄλογα ζῶα φυσικά, unnatural irrational creatures*; and again, in the end of the verse, *ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν, in their corruption*, which what it signifies may be guessed by the luxury and licentiousness that follows, ver. 13, and *ἐντροφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις αὐτῶν, living luxuriously in their deceits*, or heretical Gnostic practices: so again, *δούλοι τῆς φθορᾶς*, ver. 19, *servants of corruption*, answerable to *δουλεία φθορᾶς* here, *the servitude of corruption*, in the same sense clearly, and this very agreeable to Deut. iv. 16, *lest you corrupt yourselves*, &c. So Wisd. xiv. 12, having said that *the devising of idols is the beginning of fornication*, he adds, that *the invention of them is φθορά ζωῆς, the corrupting of life*. And in Philo de Special. leg. præc. 7, we have *φθορά, πορνεία, μοιχεία, corruption, fornication, adultery*, several branches of sin against that law, (see note [*b*] on 2 Pet. i, and [*b*] ch. ii, and [*k*] Col. ii.)

23. [*l*] *adoption*] *Υιοθεσία, adoption*, signifies the assuming those into the number of children which are not so naturally. In the 15th verse it is set opposite to *δουλεία, servitude*, and ver. 21 it is called *ἐλευθερία, the liberty of the sons of God*; for they that are adopted, if they were servants before, are made free men and sons together: and so here it may signify the change of state from servitude to sonship; and because it is spoken of in this verse as a thing not yet had, but expected by St. Paul and such as he, those that had *the first-fruits of the Spirit*, that is, had received the gospel, and believed in Christ, and so were already

sons of God, received into his family by adoption, therefore it must here be taken in some other notion different from that which is ordinary, and in opposition to some other servitude; and the ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ σώματος that follows, will incline to interpret it an assumption and *delivery* out of that that then lay upon *the body*, the persecutions (a kind of Egyptian servitude) which lay then sharply upon the orthodox Christians, and that partly by rescue here out of them, granting them halcyonian days, as upon the destruction of the Jews, their persecutors, they had, and partly by the resurrection of the body, for those that were not thus rescued in this life.

[*m*] *redemption*] Ἀπολύτρωσις signifies *deliverance* generally, and that from pressure or calamity present or approaching, ἀποφυγή, ἀπόλυσις, *escaping, release*; and so ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ σώματος may well be *the bodies escaping* from those pressures and perils that lie upon that, and make it groan also, (though in another sense than that wherein the word is used ver. 22, according to the use of scripture style and the figure ἀντὶ ἀνάγκης, of using a word that had been used before in a different sense.) Thus Luke xxi. 28, *your ἀπολύτρωσις, redemption, deliverance* from persecutions, *draweth nigh*; and so it seems to be used here, of which he saith, ver. 24, *that in hope they are escaped*, and in the meantime, *with patience expect*, ver. 25. And of these distresses, and the advantages of and deliverance from them, he continues the discourse from hence to the end of the chapter, (as he had begun it, vv. 17, 18,) as that wherein our conformity with our elder brother consisted, to suffer, as he did, and wherein their delivery, so glorious and remarkable, would be a first preparative conformity to his resurrection. But this not to exclude, but include also the further deliverance of the body from death itself, by the resurrection, which is answerable to Christ's resurrection also, and promised as the only means to support their faith and patience, who should not be delivered here, but lose their lives for the faith of Christ. Thus the word is used 1 Cor. i. 30.

26. [*n*] *infirmities*] The word ἀσθένεια, and ἀσθενίω, *weakness, weak, and being weak*, in the New Testament, often signifies *diseases, distress, miseries, afflictions*, that befall our human state; so Matt. viii. 17. it signifies *the disease* that Christ cured, and so Luke xiii. 11, 12. John v. 5. and xi. 4. Acts xxviii. 9; and so ἀσθενής *sick*, Matt. xxv. 39. Luke x. 9. Acts iv. 9. and v. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xi. 30. (as on the contrary, ἰσχύων, *the strong*, Matt. ix. 12, signifies *the healthy*), and ἀσθενίω Matt. x. 8. xxv. 36. Mark vi. 56. Luke iv. 40. vii. 10. ix. 2. John iv. 40. v. 3 and 7: so ch. vi. 2. xi. 1, 2, 3, 6. Act. ix. 37. xix. 12. Phil. ii. 26, 27. 2 Tim. iv. 20. Jam. v. 14. (and very oft for *sin*, the disease of the soul.) And so it signifies here even all the sad particulars mentioned ver. 35, and which, if the context be observed, will appear to belong unto this place, and will be agreeable to the notion of πῦρ, which signifying πόνος, ὀδύνη, *labour, sorrow*, is frequently used for *disease, distress*, and rendered by the word here used, ἀσθένεια, *weaknesses*: so is the word used 1 Cor. ii. 3, referring to the persecutions and dangers that Paul at Corinth had met with in his preaching: see note [*b*] on 1 Cor. viii., and [*a*] on Gal. iv.

28. [*o*] *according to his purpose*] The phrase κατὰ πρόθεσιν, *according, to purpose*, is by ὁ Cyril of Jerusalem thus interpreted, that it signifies

γνησίαν προαίρεσιν, every man's *genuine choice*, and *resolution* of mind, that *love of God* that casts out fear, that courage that is not daunted with sufferings, (not, as Grodecius interprets it, *cujuslibet propriam voluntatem*, in opposition to God's, but, I say) every man's *genuine*, that is, sincere, *choice* or *purpose*, in opposition to the hypocritical, temporary, outward profession of some that enter into Christianity. For as in him it follows, *κὰν σῶμα ᾧ ἐχης, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν οὐκ ἔχης, οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ*, "if thy body be present" among the disciples of Christ, or the illuminate, "but thy mind go not" along with thy body, "it profits thee nothing. Thus," saith he, "Simon had his body baptized with water, but not his heart illuminated by the Spirit; his body descended into and ascended out of the water, but his soul was not buried with Christ, nor raised again with him." And so he concludes, *ἡ πρόθεσις γνησία ὅσα κλητὸν σε ποιεῖ*, "the purpose of mind, when it is genuine or entire," all one with *πρόθεσις καρδίας*, *purpose of heart*, Acts xi. 23. (not, as the interpreter reads, *propositum cum adest proprium*), "renders thee called," that is, puts thee in number of those who are styled *the called of God*, that is, sincere disciples of his, to whom this gospel-privilege here belongs, that *all things tend to their good*, from tribulation to death itself. So in the same author a little before, *πρόθεσις ἀγαθῇ*, a *good purpose* and *resolution* (consequent to the *ὀνομαστογραφία* and *στρατείας κλήσις*, "having their names enrolled," and "their persons entered into the military calling"), is used as a phrase to express them to be Christians that had resolvedly taken that calling upon them. And so indeed *κλητὸς* is oft taken in the Old Testament for a *follower*, *adherent*, *subject*, *servant*, especially in an army, 1 Kings i. 41, 49. 2 Sam. xiv. 11. This is clearly the interpretation of that very ancient father, making our sincere embracing of Christ's discipleship (or the being *called*, that is, wrought upon by Christ's call effectually, and not bringing only the body to Christ, and leaving the mind behind) the condition without which the promises and advantages of the gospel do not belong to any. In the same sense as Clemens Alexandr. Strom. 7, speaking of the one true church, in opposition to heretical mixtures, saith, *εἰς ἣν οἱ κατὰ πρόθεσιν δίκαιοι ἐγκαταλέγονται*, "into which those that are just according to purpose are admitted;" in the sense that elsewhere *ἡ ἐκάστου πρόθεσις*, "every man's purpose," and *ἡ πρόθεσις ἐννουχίας*, "a purpose or resolution of single life," is used by him. In like manner Theophylact, *Κλητὸς γίνεται ἄνθρωπος κατὰ πρόθεσιν, τουτέστι κατ' οἰκείαν προαίρεσιν*, "a man becomes called according to purpose, that is, according to his own choice, for," saith he, *οὐκ ἀρκεῖ ἡ κλήσις, ἐπεὶ πάντες ἂν ἐσώθησαν, πάντες γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν, ἀλλὰ χρεῖα καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως*, "calling is not sufficient; for then all should be saved, for all are called; but there is need of our will and choice in obeying the call." But if the word *πρόθεσις*, *purpose*, be applied to God which calls (and not to them which are obedient to the call), then the meaning must be, *those that are called according to purpose*, that is, those that according to God's counsels revealed in the gospel, are the men to whom God's favour, and so his promises belong. That the former of these is rather to be embraced in this place, may be conjectured by the nature of the subject, which this phrase, *called according to purpose*, is set to express, viz. those that love God,

† Ed. Sylb. p. 325. l. 18.

‡ P. 197. l. 15.

§ P. 200. l. 52.

which are Christians, endued with that grace of charity, or love of God, which will fit them to suffer for or with Christ, and if it doth so, doth by that appear to be cordial and sincere, not hypocritical. And of such constant resolute lovers of Christ it is here said, that it is one of the privileges of the gospel that *all things* (how sharp soever) that befall them *do tend to their good*. And so *κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητὸς ὁν* here, *one that is called according to purpose*, one that steadfastly and cordially adheres to God, will be directly all one with *ὁ τῇ προθέσει τῆς καρδίας προσμένων τῷ Κυρίῳ*, Acts xi. 23, *one that with purpose of heart adheres to the Lord*. And though, Rom. ix. 10, *πρόθεσις*, *purpose*, be clearly applied to God, and that in the matter of election without consideration of works, only *ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦτος*, in respect of God that calls the gentile idolaters to Christ, when the perverse Jews are left to themselves, yet that which determines it there to God is not only the matter which makes it necessary, but the very word *Θεοῦ*, *of God*, joined with *πρόθεσις*, *purpose*, *the purpose of God* to call the gentile world to the knowledge of Christ. And in other places, as there is *πρόθεσις αἰώνων*, Ephes. iii. 11, *the eternal purpose* (of God again), or God's *promise concerning the several ages* of the world, so there is also *πρόθεσις*, *purpose*, 2 Tim. iii. 10, which demonstratively signifies a grace or virtue among Christians, being joined with *πίστις* *faith*, *μακροθυμία* *longsuffering*, *ἀγάπη* *charity*, *ὑπομονή* *patience*, and sure signifies a general *good resolution* and *purpose of mind*, having an influence on the whole Christian life, and so fit to follow *ἀγωγή*, *the whole conversation*, next before it.

The sum then of this whole chapter will be reduced to these five heads: first, the privileges of the Jews, and among them especially Christ's being born of that stock; secondly, that those of them which resisted and believed not in Christ, were delivered up to obduration by God, and the Gentiles taken in in their stead; thirdly, that it was most just in God to deal thus with them; fourthly, that some of the Jews at that time believed in Christ; fifthly, that the cause that the rest believed not, was, that after a pharisaical manner they sought justification by the works of the law, circumcision, &c., despising the faith and doctrine of Christ, and that evangelical way of justification, and so stumbled at the Christian doctrine which they should have believed, were the worse for him and the preaching of the apostles, by whom they should have been so much the better.

CHAP. IX.

1. [a] *in the Holy Ghost*] This special expression of God, *in or by the Holy Ghost*, which, instead of *ὁ Θεός*, *God*, ch. i. 9, is used in this and some other places, doth denote the special office and prerogative of that Holy Spirit, as to plant purity and sincerity in the heart, contrary to all kind of pollution and mixture, especially that of deceit and hypocrisy, so to be privy to the secrets, to take notice of the motions of the heart: and this in proportion with *the spirit of a man*, of which as Solomon saith that it *is the candle of the Lord, searching the inner parts of the belly*, so saith the apostle 1 Cor. ii. 11, *the spirit of a man knoweth the things of a man*, so as no man else knows them; by analogy to which, he infers, that there is no other way of knowing the things of God but by his Spirit's revealing them to us; *for the Spirit search-*

eth all things, even the depths of God, ver. 10; in which respect *the spirit of the world*, ver. 12, is set to denote the means which the world hath to instruct us in any thing, *the wisdom of the world*, ver. 13, which is there set opposite to *the Spirit of God*. Thus Ananias, Acts 7, that had in heart and resolution consecrated his estate to the service of Christ, and broke this resolution or promise of his heart, is said to *lie to*, or to *have deceived*, *the Holy Ghost* peculiarly, ver. 3, because he had done contrary to the vow of his heart, which (though not under man's, yet) was under the Holy Ghost's privity. And so here, beside the witness of the conscience, *the Holy Ghost* is appealed to, as he that knows the inmost secrecies, and consequently that that is the testimony of his conscience, which he pretends to be so.

3. [δ] *accursed*] The phrase ἀνάθεμα εἶναι, *to be a curse*, in this place, is capable of many significations, each of which may be applicable to the matter in hand, to express the apostle's fervent affection towards his countrymen. First, it may signify *to be excommunicate and cast out of the church*: Ἀνάθεμα, ἀκοινώνητος, it signifies *excommunicate*, saith Hesychius. Thus ἤτω ἀνάθεμα, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, *let him be anathema*, is, *let him be removed from the Christian assemblies, deprived of those privileges of Christians which there are afforded them; and so Gal. i. 8, 9, ἀνάθεμα ἴστω, let him be excommunicated*, turned out with the greatest aversion out of the church of God, *avoided, separated from; whosoever shall teach any other doctrine*, though he were an apostle, or an angel of God, that did it. So in "S. Chrysostom, ἀνάθεμα ἐκκλησίας, ποιήσαντες ἄνθρωπον," *they that excommunicate any man, or make him anathema from the church.*" If this be the notion, then ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, *from Christ*, must signify from the body of Christ, as by a synecdoche the word *Christ* is used, 1 Cor. xii. 12. Gal. iii. 27; or as it is manifest that Christ being *the head of the church*, he that is cut off from the body may truly be said to be cut off from Christ. And then he that was by the Jews accused and persecuted for having made a defection and departure from the Mosaical law, and setting up Christian assemblies in opposition to their Judaical service, may here fitly express his kindness to them (and how little pleasure he took in departing from them), in wishing himself ejected from the participation of those most valuable privileges, on condition they might be made capable of them. Secondly, it is known that in those primitive times this *anathematizing* or *excommunicating* was attended with the *delivering up to Satan*, and that with the *δλεθρος σαρκός*, "very sharp, severe inflictions on the flesh, diseases, afflictions," &c. And therefore *anathema* in this notion may be taken with this improvement, and so contain all temporal calamities, that he was willing to endure or undergo for their good. That this is the meaning of the place may seem probable by comparing it with a like phrase of Ignatius the holy martyr, in his Epistle to the Romans, where, in an expression of his zeal to Christ, he hath this phrase, Κόλασις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχίσθω, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω, "Let the punishment of the devil come upon me, only that I may obtain Christ:" where "the punishment of the devil" cannot be the punishments of hell, which are no way ordinable to the "obtaining of Christ," but any the greatest torments or inflictions in this life, or even death itself, that *δλεθρος σαρκός*, *the destruction of the*

flesh. As when Moses, in an expression of the like zeal and kindness to his brethren, wisheth that God would blot him out of his book, that is, I suppose, out of *the book of the living*, in the Psalmist's phrase, so as not to be written among the righteous, in that *roll* wherein the names of all the people of God are supposed to be inscribed, and to be capable of being blotted out, not noting the state of life and bliss in heaven, for out of that there is no possibility of blotting, but that which belongs to this life, that is, either life simply, or living among the people of God, (answerable to *excommunication* before mentioned.) And accordingly the Arabic translation is, that *my body were* מִזְרָמָא, *an anathema* from Christ. And it is an ordinary form of speech among the Jews, כִּפְרָתוֹ, *May I be his expiation* ! see Aruch, and Cod. Sanhedrin, c. 2, אָנוּ כִּפְרָתְךָ, *Be we thy expiation* ! which, saith Maimonides, is used to express רֵיב אֲהֵבוֹתוֹ, *the excess of love or kindness* to any. The other notions of the phrase of which it is capable, and have therefore been mentioned in the Paraphrase, may be seen at large in Photius, Epist. 216.

4. [c] *the glory*] That the ark of God, where he was pleased to exhibit himself, is the thing expressed by ἡ δόξα, *the glory*, is clear by that known place in the Old Testament, *The glory is departed from Israel, for the ark of God is taken*. And the reason of the appellation is as clear, because the cherubims being placed in the ark on the ὁσπίσιον or *covering*, God was said to be present there in the same manner as on Mount Sinai, (that is, by the visible apparition of angels there,) Acts vii. 53. Gal. iii. 19. Heb. ii. 2. And this presence of his by angels is ordinarily called δόξα, *glory*, in the New Testament, answerable to שְׂכִינָה among the rabbins, (from Exod. xxiv. 16, *the glory of the Lord* יֹשֵׁב יִשְׁכֵּן *dwelt or abode upon the mount*, to which the apostle refers, 2 Cor. iii. 9, where the giving of the law was said to be δόξα, *glory*.) as may appear by many places. Thus when, Isaiah vi. 1, we read, after the *Lord's sitting on the throne*, that *his train filled the temple*, the Septuagint have πλήρης ὁ οἶκος δόξης αὐτοῦ, *the house was full of his glory*; and then follows immediately, καὶ σεραφεῖμ ἡστήκεισαν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, *the seraphim stood about him*: and St. John retains the Septuagint's reading, John xii. 41, *These things spake Isaiah, when he saw his glory*, (see note [c] on John i, and note [k] on Matt. iii.) So Matt. xvi. 27, where ἔρχεσθαι ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς, *to come in the glory of the Father*, is explained presently by μετ' ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, *with his angels*; and so Matt. xxv. 31, *in his glory, and all his angels with him*; and so Mark viii. 38, *the glory of the Father, with his holy angels*; and ch. xiii. 26, where *his coming in the clouds* (which belongs to the appearance of angels, which was wont to be in a bright shining cloud, which we ordinarily call a *glory*) is said to be *in power and great glory*; and it follows immediately, ver. 27, *and then shall he send his angels*: and so Luke xxi. 27. So Luke ii. 9, *The angel of the Lord appeared, and the glory shone round about*. So John i. 19, when he had said of Christ incarnate, ἐσκήνωσε, *he dwelt among us*, (that Greek word being of the same Hebrew origination with the שְׂכִינָה,) it follows, *and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father*, viz. in the descent of the Holy Ghost (with that *satellitium* of angels) upon him after his baptism: the like to which, 2 Pet. i. 17, is called a *voice from heaven, from the excellent glory*. See also 2 Pet. i. 3. and note [f] on 1 Pet. iv. So Acts vii. 55, when it is said of Stephen, that he

saw the glory of God, that is, sure, the guard of angels about God. So these very angels in the ark are called *the cherubims of glory*, Heb. ix. 5. Agreeable to this is the *ναὸς κατασκηνώσεως τοῦ ὑψίστου*, Job i. 5, *the temple of the inhabitation*, or שכינה, *appearance or glory of the Most High*; and so 2 Cor. xii. 9, *ὥστε ἐπισκενώσῃ ἐν' ἐμέ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *that the power of Christ may inhabit upon me*, refers to the use of the word *σκηνοῦν*, from שכן, to this sense, that the power of Christ should so shew itself upon him as God was wont to exhibit himself in the שכינה, or *glorious appearance*, in the ark. And thus in the Gemara Babylonica, speaking of the high priest, when he inquires any thing of the Urim and Thummim, פניו כלפי שכינה, *he turns his face toward Schechinah*, that is, toward the ark, where God is said to inhabit.

5. [d] *God blessed for ever*] This place is so clear a proof of the divinity of Christ, that Proclus, de Fide, p. 53. saith of it, that it convinces all the heresies concerning Christ, καὶ παρελθόντων συκοφαντίας ἀποτειχίζει τοῖς φιλολοιδόροις, “and it shuts and walls up all passages for calumny from them that love contumely or railing at Christ.” So Theophylact, Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατασχύνεται Ἀρειοί, ὅτε τοῦ Παύλου τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν ἀνακηρύττοντος, “From hence is Arius confuted and put to shame, St. Paul proclaiming Christ to be God over all.” This will more appear, if it be remembered, that it was a custom among the Jews solemnly observed, that whenever the priest in the sanctuary delivered the name of God, the people used some words of blessing or praising him, such as these, ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד, *Benedictum sit nomen gloriæ regni ejus in secula seculorum*, “Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever.” So in Gemara Babylonica, Rabbi said, אקרא שם ה' אקרא, &c. “When I call on the name of Jehovah, do you magnify our Lord.” So said Moses to Israel, Deut. xxxii. 3, *When I mention the name of the blessed God, do you magnify*. So saith Solomon Jarchi, on Deut. xxxii. 3. From that command of Moses it is, that “after the benediction in the sanctuary the people answer ברוך שם, &c. “Blessed be the glorious name of his kingdom.” To these forms were after added the words לעולם ועד, *for ever and ever*, or *to age and age*, that is, *eis aîōwas*, *to ages*, here, because (say the rabbins) of the heresy of the Sadducees, who said there was but one age. So Cod. Berachoth, c. 9, “In all the conclusions of the ברכות, *benedictions*, which were in the sanctuary, they said מן העולם, *from age*, but after that the Sadducees had perverted that, and said there was but one age, they decreed that they should say, *from age to age*.” Many evidences of this custom there are in the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms. And the abbreviate of all these forms was, (the words used Rom. i. 25,) *ὁς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς eis τοὺς αἰῶνας*, Ἀμήν, *who is blessed for ever, Amen*; and here somewhat more largely, *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, &c. *who is above all, God blessed for ever and ever, Amen*. Parallel to this are those other, the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi, and in this Epistle, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα eis τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν, *to him be glory for ever, Amen*, ch. xi. 36, and ch. xvi. 7. and Gal. i. 5. and Eph. iii. 21. Phil. iv. 20. 1 Tim. i. 17. 2 Tim. iv. 18. and Heb. xiii. 21. 1 Pet. iv. 11, and v. 11. and 2 Pet. iii. 18. Jude 25. Rev. i. 6, and vii. 12. In all which places this giving of glory being an acknowledgment of the eternal God, and in several of them being applied peculiarly to Christ, (who is distinctly called *God*, Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Tit. ii. 13.) as here, and Heb. xiii. 21, and in

all the places in St. Peter, and Rev. i. 6. this is a most convincing proof of the Godhead of Christ testified in all these places. And of this custom of the Jews applied to Christ, the Christian church hath continued two imitations, one in *bowing at the name of Jesus*, that other in the eulogy, *Glory be to thee, O Lord*, when the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ is named.

9. [e] *At this time*] What is meant by *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον*, *according to this season*, will best appear by Gen. xvii. 21. and xviii. 10; in the former of which it is rendered in the Greek *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἑτέρῳ*, *according to this time in another year*; in the latter, *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὅρας*, *according to this season for times*, which, I suppose, is corruptly set out for *τῆς ὥρας*, *of time*, *ὥρα* being a *season* or *time of year*, and so the meaning will be, *according to this time of the year*. The Hebrew reads it, ch. xvii. למועד הזה, literally, *κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦτον*, *according to this season*, the word rendered *καιρὸς* signifying indifferently *time*, (though, coming from a root that signifies *constituit*, it be ordinarily rendered *appointed time*.) and in ch. xviii. it is כעת חיה, we render it, *according to the time of life*, the Jerusalem Targum, *quasi hoc tempore quo vos vivitis*, “as it were at this time wherein ye live,” (unless perhaps that be capable of an emendation, and should be הזה or הזאת, *according to this time*; for so Rabbi Solomon כעת הזאת, &c. *secundum hoc tempus anni futuri*, “according to this time of the future year;” and Aben Ezra כעת הזאת, *juxta tempus hoc in anno sequenti, cum Sarah erit viva*, “about this time in the year following, when Sarah shall be alive,” taking in the reading of חיה also.) All this seems to denote, not that time twelvemonth, but the next year at the time of childbirth, reckoning from that time wherein the promise was made, (see Paulus Fagius in Collat.) And so, 2 Kings iv. 16, the like phrase, *About this season, according to the time of life, thou shalt embrace a son*, is by the Hebrews interpreted, “after the time wherein the fruit shall be quickened in the womb, and come to a perfect firmness of parts, and so come to birth, thou shalt embrace or have a son.” So that *according to the time of life* may most fitly signify “according to the manner or course of children’s being formed in the womb, quickened, and born.”

10. [f] *by one*] Some other ways of rendering these words *ἐξ ἑνός*, *of one*, have been thought of by learned men, which it will not be unfit to mention; as that *ἑνός* should be all one with *μονογενοῦς*, for so יחיד, *unigenitus*, was the title of Isaac among the Jews, Gen. xxii. 2. Heb. xi. 17; and from thence Ἰεοῦδ, in Philo Byblius, by the Tyrian dialect, for Ἰεῖδ, and then the sense will be, “Rebecca having conceived by the only-begotten,” to wit, “Isaac our father,” or, “by Isaac the only-begotten of our father.” But *ἐξ ἑνός* seems rather to be taken adverbially, to signify *at once*, (there being no priority in their conception on which to ground any favour to one above another,) and best agrees with the design or argument which that is brought to confirm here. As for *κοίτην ἔχειν*, that is but a modest circumlocution, to express that which is not wont to be plainly spoken, as we find *κοίτη*, *a bed*, used ch. xiii. 13. and Heb. xiii. 4.

11. [g] *election*] The Hebrew בחר signifies both *to choose* and *to prefer*, and is therefore rendered not only *ἐκλέγειν*, *to choose*, but also *προαίρειν*, *to prefer*, Deut. vii. 6 and x. 15. Prov. i. 29; and agreeable to that, *ἐκλογὴ*, *election*, here signifies *prelation*, and ἡ κατ’ ἐκλογὴν Θεοῦ

πρόθεσις, is *God's purpose in respect of this* (or *for the*) *preferring one before the other*. See note [c] on 1 Pet. ii.

17. [h] *raised*] The word *ἐγείρειν* signifies not here *the raising up*, as that notes bringing into the world, but the raising out of some low condition; yet not the grave neither, (though to that the word may properly be applied, where the matter requires it,) but disease or danger, as it is often used, but especially James v. 15, *the prayer of faith shall save*, that is, deliver, recover, *the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up*, that is, restore him from that sickness. For the notion of it here, it will appear by the Hebrew word, Exod. ix. 16, *וַעֲמַדְתִּיךָ*, *I have made thee stand*, which the Chaldee renders *קימתך*, *raised thee*, (from the danger before spoken of, the pestilential disease or murrain that had lately been upon the land,) and the ancient Latin, *Sustentavi te*, "I have sustained thee;" but the Septuagint expressly, *διετηρήθης*, *thou wert kept*, guarded, not suffered to fall into it, preserved, and kept alive. So Isa. xlix. 8, *to raise up or make stand*, (the word used there,) is an expression of preserving, rescuing from danger, delivering. (See note [d] on Matt. xxii.) And so this speech must necessarily belong to that part of Pharaoh's life peculiarly, wherein the murrain fell on Egypt, Exod. ix. 3; at which time he, for his many repeated obdurations of his own heart, was fit to have been delivered up to instant ruin, had not God, for the illustrating of his glory in this *vessel of wrath*, (thus fitted by himself for destruction,) kept him alive a little longer. Theophylact renders it a little otherwise, *ἐν μέσσοις σε ἤγαγον*, *I have set thee in the midst*, brought thee out as a person to be exemplarily punished.

18. [i] *hardeneth*] God's hardening of Pharaoh's heart in this place is that which befell Pharaoh, Exod. x. 1, when God saith of him, *I have hardened his heart*. This was indeed foretold by God from the first of his sending Moses to him, ch. iv. 21, *Do all the wonders before Pharaoh, which I have put into thine hand: but I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go*: and again, ch. vii. 3, *I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs, and &c.* But this foretelling it so early is no argument that it was immediately done, but on the contrary, his own hardening his own heart is also foretold, Exod. iii. 19, *I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go, no not by a mighty hand*. And accordingly so the story proceeds: God shews miracles and signs before Pharaoh, Exod. vii. 10; and because the magicians of Egypt did the like with their enchantments, it follows, *Pharaoh's heart was hardened*, (not *he* (as if it were God) *hardened Pharaoh's heart*, but) *וַיִּחְזַק לֵב פַּרְעֹה*, *Pharaoh's heart waxed hard or strong, was hardened*, or, by an ordinary acception of *kal* for *hithpael*, *Pharaoh's heart hardened itself*. And so it follows, ver. 14, *The Lord said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is waxen hard, he refuseth, &c.* (and so the very same words are rendered by our English, ch. vii. 22, and ch. viii. 19, *was hardened*, in the passive, or *hardened itself*, in the reciprocal, (not actively, *he hardened*,) and *he hearkened not unto them*.) After his hardening his heart thus against this first sign and command, God proceeds to a judgment of *turning their water into blood*, Exod. vii. 16, 17, and this as a sufficient conviction to Pharaoh; for so saith God, *Hitherto thou wouldest not hear; but in this thou shalt know that I am the Lord: behold I will smite &c.* And yet after this, *Pharaoh's heart was hardened or hardened itself*, ver. 22; *neither did he set his heart to*

this also, ver. 23, because the magicians did the same things also by their enchantments. Then comes the plague of the frogs on him, Exod. viii. 4, and *into the king's chamber*, saith the Psalmist; and to deliver him from them he calls for Moses, and promises fair, ver. 8; and Moses, to work some good upon him, bids him choose his time *when*, ver. 9, and it should be done for him, *that thou mayest know that there is none like unto the Lord our God*, ver. 10. But this had no effect on him neither; for *when he saw there was respite*, not yet discerning God's purpose of vengeance on him for his contumacy, he *hardened his heart*. Whereupon saith * Kimchi, "that God hardens hearts by concealing his counsels of judgment from them," as in Pharaoh and Sihon; and it is † St. Basil's observation, that Θεοῦ μακροθυμία σκληροκαρδίας αἰτία, "God's longsuffering," giving him respite, was "the cause or occasion of his obduration of heart, *He hardened his heart, and hearkened not*," ver. 15. And this was a third wilful act of his own obduration, agreeable to what God had foretold of him, ch. iii. 19, *as the Lord had said*. Then comes the plague of lice, ver. 17, and the magicians are posed with that, and confess *the finger of God*; and yet for all this *his heart was hardened* or, *hardened itself*, ver. 19, *and he hearkened not, as the Lord had said*. Then, fifthly, comes a swarm of flies, and with it a sign, as well as a miraculous punishment, no flies swarming in Goshen, but in all the land of Egypt besides, by the division and particularity of the punishment, to make him sensible of his sin, *to the end that he might know*, ver. 22, on purpose to soften his heart. By this Pharaoh was wrought on a little, and gives leave, first, that they should sacrifice, then that they should go into the wilderness, only not very far away, Exod. x. 28; and upon this promise Moses will entreat for him, ver. 29. But seeing Pharaoh had already *hardened his heart* four times, and at one of those times over and above dealt falsely, promised fair, ch. viii. 8, and brake his promise, therefore now, after this fifth judgment, though Moses promise to pray upon his promise to mend, yet he doth it with a particular admonition or warning, more than any time before, *But let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more*, ver. 29, intimating that, if he did, it would be worse with him than before; and yet, ver. 32, as soon as the judgment was removed, *Pharaoh hardened his heart*, בפעם הזוּת, *this turn, this time also*. Upon this, God sends the sixth plague, that of murrain upon all the cattle of Egypt, ch. ix. 6, and *the heart of Pharaoh was hardened*, ver. 7, and so still, all this while, for these six judgments together, though Pharaoh were obdurate, yet this was not God's *hardening his heart*, but Pharaoh *hardens his own heart*, and will not let Israel go, as the Lord commanded. Upon this, God sends another judgment, that of boils and blains, ver. 10; and then it is said in a new style, *The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart*, ver. 12, which as it was the very time at first referred to by the prediction of God to Moses, ch. iv. 21, so was it the judgment implicitly threatened in that special warning, ch. viii. 29, and this God never did till then; and therefore as after that warning it was said that *Pharaoh hardened his heart this time also*, so it is here said, ver. 14, that *this time, this turn*, now, though not before, God would *pour out all his plagues upon his heart*, viz. this obduration, or the effects of it. Upon which follows that passage wherein our common translation hath so much mistaken, ch. ix. 14, 15, not as we read, *For now I will stretch*

* In שחב.

† Lib. el. thes. alt. κακοθυμία

out my hand that I may smite thee and thy people with the pestilence, for the event proves there was no such matter; Pharaoh was not smitten with the pestilence, nor cut off by that means, but drowned in the Red sea some time after; but thus, *And, or, For now I had sent or stretched out my hand, and I had smitten thee and thy people with the pestilence, and thou hadst been cut off from the earth.* It is שלחתי, in the preter tense, *sent or had sent*, as Mr. Ainsworth confesses, and the learned Paulus Fagius, out of the Chaldee paraphrase, *Nunc prope erat coram me, ut misissem plagam, et percussissem te, et deletus esses*, "I was near stretching out my hand to have sent the plague, and have struck thee, and thou hadst been blotted out," referring probably to the plague of the murrain, at the beginning of the chapter, (called דבר both here and ver. 3, and that falling on the cattle might have fallen on him and the people also,) or else to the boils, ver. 12, which might be plague-swelling, and so proper enough to have cut him off. But (not *And*) *in very deed for this cause I have made thee stand*, kept thee alive, to shew or make to be seen (סו הוראתך literally signifies) *my power in thee*; as when, saith * Chrysostom, a man condemned to death is cut up, and anatomized alive, that others may be instructed and benefited by that dissection. By this then it is visible what was the point of time wherein it is truly said of God that he *hardened Pharaoh's heart*; then when it is said he *kept him alive*, that is, after the sixth judgment, and a special warning before that, both contemned by Pharaoh, when he had filled up the measure of his obduration, and in ordinary course was to be cut off by death: and so it is here added, in reference to this example of Pharaoh, ver. 22, *God, willing to shew his wrath, and make his power to be known*, (to other men that might see or hear of this) *endured with much longsuffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction*; which notes that he was by himself fitted to destruction, when God thus reprieved him; at which time also it is said that *he*, that is, God, *hardened his heart*. By this observation of the time when God hardened Pharaoh, not till after his hardening his own heart six times against God's signs and judgments, will appear what this *hardening* signifies, the total withdrawing of God's grace of repentance from him, in the same manner as when one is cast into hell, which Pharaoh at that time had been, had it not been more for God's glory to continue him alive a while in that desperate irreversible condition, which sure was no whit worse to him, but somewhat better and more desirable, than to have been adjudged to those flames all that time. To this may be added what the Greek fathers observe, that God's giving him respite, removing his punishments, was all that God positively did toward the hardening of him, (as saith Theophylact, when a master forbears to punish a wicked servant, πονηρότερον αὐτὸν ἐργάσθαι, "he makes him much more wicked,") as on the other side the great mercy of reforming sinners' lives is most effectually wrought by chastisements. See Origen, Philocal. c. 26. This was a notable and withal (as far as we find in scripture) a singular example of God's dealing with an impenitent, that had filled up his measure, keeping him alive, but without all grace, and consequent possibility of amending. And by this example appears how justly God might now do the like to the Jews of that age, (if so he pleased,) those who, contrary to all his mercies and longsuffering, continued obstinate, resisted all God's methods by pro-

* Tom. 5. p. 781.

phets, by Christ himself, by the apostles, testifying the resurrection, and giving them a special warning what would befall them if they now continued obstinate, Acts xxviii. 28.) and now are justly left to themselves, the gospel taken from them, and preached to the Gentiles, and this upon ends of infinite wisdom, first, in mercy to them, (above the proportion of that to Pharaoh,) that the Gentiles coming in might stir them up to emulation, and so, if it were possible, work upon them; and, secondly, that if this also prevailed not, God might be glorified in their destruction; that as Pharaoh by pursuing the Israelites after this came to that most remarkable, illustrious destruction in the Red sea, so these hardened Jews, (persecuting the orthodox Christians,) and all the false impious professors joining with them herein, might be involved in one common destruction, viz. that by Titus, and the Roman eagles, the most eminent and notable that ever was in the world.

28. [*k*] *for he will finish*] This verse is cited out of Isaiah, ch. x. 22, where the Greek reads it just as it is in the ordinary copies here, only leaving out the γάρ, *for*, and instead of ἐν τῇ γῇ, *on the land*, ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ὅλῃ, *on the whole world*. As for the γάρ that is here, it cannot well accord with the ὅτι following, unless the ὅτι be taken in another sense, for an expletive or *scilicet*, not a causal. But the truth is, the ordinary reading here, beginning with λόγον γάρ, seems to be the true one so far, but in the process of it to have some words put in out of the Septuagint, viz. ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὅτι λόγον συνητημένον. For without those the king's MS. reads it perspicuously thus, Λόγον γάρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ποιήσει Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, "For the Lord shall do upon the land, perfecting and cutting short the account," (that is, shall perfect and cut short,) or, "the Lord shall make up an account, perfecting and cutting it short upon the land." Where the use of λόγος for *an account*, is agreeable to what was observed, ch. iii. note [*I*]; and συντελεῖν and συντέμνειν λόγον is upon the balancing of accounts, (receipts on one side, and expenses on the other,) "to cut off one from the other, and to set down the remainder," which is ordinarily (in a steward's account) a very contemptible low sum; and so is it that the prophets call ἡμεῖς, *a remnant*, ἐγκατάλειμμα, that which remains of a far greater sum, and so is fit to denote that small number of the Jews which received the faith of Christ, (at the preaching of the gospel then unto them,) in proportion to and comparison with the far greater number that stood out against it. So ch. xi. 4, out of 1 Kings xix. 18, κατέλειπον ἑμᾶντες, *I have left or reserved to myself seven thousand men*, &c. And accordingly here, ver. 27, they that thus believe are called κατάλειμμα, *a remainder*, and generally in the prophets are expressed by that and the like words, fetched from this metaphor of *accounts*.

30. [*I*] *attained to*] Three words there are here together, διώκειν, καταλαμβάνειν, φθάνειν, *to follow after*, *to attain*, *to be foremost*, which are all agonistical, referring to the customs of the Grecian exercises in their Olympian, Nemæan, Isthmian, Pythian games, which are often alluded to in these Epistles. Five of these games there were, cuffling, wrestling, running, coiting, and leaping. That of *running*, δρόμος or ποδωκεῖν, (in reference to which in Homer Achilles is so constantly called πόδας ὠκὺς, *swift-footed*, to denote his excellence above all in that kind of exercise,) is here specified by διώκειν, *pursuing* or *striving to overtake*, as any did in that exercise when he was behind another. In this, as in the other, there was an ἀθλον or βραβεῖον, *a reward or prize*

proposed to the racers, which he that came first to the goal was by the *βραβευτής* or *judge* adjudged to have, and it was ordinarily a crown of leaves,

(*Ἄθλα δὲ τῶν κόνιτος μῆλα, σέλαια, πίτις.* Anthol. l. 1.)

called therefore *στέφανος φθαρτός*, a *fading crown*, 1 Cor. ix. 25, and this generally set over the goal, that he that came thither foremost might catch it off, and carry it away with him, but so as that the judgment of the *ἐλλανοδίκαι*, *judges of the game*, did first intervene; for so saith *Ælian*, Var. Hist. l. 9. c. 31, of the conqueror, *ἀπὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλλανοδίκας ἵνα λάβῃ τὸν στέφανον*, "going to the judges of the game that he might receive the crown." And this is called here *καταλαμβάνειν*, *to attain*, 1 Tim. ii. 12, *ἐπιλαμβάνειν*, and *λαμβάνειν*, *to apprehend and receive*, 1 Cor. ix. 24, which Plutarch calls *καθελεῖν τὸν στέφανον κρεμάμενον*, "to catch the crown that hangs over the goal," from whence the conquerors are called *ἀθλοφόροι*, "that bear away the reward." Then for *φθάνειν*, *to be foremost*, that is, to conquer in this race, to come foremost thither, according to that of Plutarch, *τὴν νίκην τοῦ φθάσαντος εἶναι*, "the victory is his that comes first." So is the word used Phil. i. 16, and is to *get before* other men, so that (as to the victory) the prize shall belong to him. *Justification* then, the approbation and mercy of God, was the *prize* or *βραβεῖον* that all ran for, Jews or Gentiles, ver. 30, 31; but the Jews running for it or pursuing it by a wrong *rule* or *νόμος*, viz. by that of the external, legal performances, did not *get* foremost thither, nor consequently had the reward; but the Gentiles had the advantage of them, and so got it. Where of the Jews it is said particularly, that they met with a block in the way, stumbled and fell at that, as racers sometimes do, and by that means utterly miscarried.

33. [*m*] *shall not be ashamed*] The Hebrew in Isa. xxviii. 16 read *וַיַּחַי, make haste*, but the Greek are thought to have read *וַיִּשְׁתָּחַי*, which signifies most obviously *erubuerunt*. So Cappellus citeth it as the opinion of a learned man, and so Grotius's notes have it. But Mr. Pocock seems to have hit upon the right, (and then there is no need of that conjecture,) that the Hebrew *וַיַּחַי* had anciently three significations, of some affinity one with another, which are all retained in the Arabic *haush* and *hish*, which answers it: 1. *to make haste*; 2. *to fear*; 3. *to be ashamed*: and it may well be here used in that sense that comprehends all three; for he that is in a fright or consternation turns this way and that way hastily, and is in confusion of face or shame. In the first of these senses the Syriac interpreter and Chaldee paraphrast understood it: the former read *לֹא נִדְרָח*, *he shall not fear*; the latter, *לֹא יִדְרָעוּן*, *they shall not be troubled, or in commotion*: in the second, the Vulgar, *non festinet*, "shall not make haste;" in the third, the Greek. (as also the Arabic,) *οὐ καταισχυνθή*, *he shall not be ashamed*: and this last is here made use of by the apostle, *οὐ καταισχυθήσεται*, and so 1 Pet. ii. 6, where the Syriac and Arabic and Vulgar are all to the same purpose. And this is capable of a double sense, either as *shame* signifies *bashfulness*, *inconfidence*, which keeps us from confessing of Christ; and so *οὐ καταισχυθήσεται* is, *he will never be cowardly or bashful*, he will boldly and confidently confess Christ; or else it may signify *being put to shame*, as any man is that finds himself deceived, that hath miscarried in a matter on which he hath depended; and so it belongs to Christ's not forsaking him, *οὐ καταισχυθήσεται*, he

shall never be destituted by Christ, never miscarry or be disappointed in that hope which he hath reposed in him: and so it will most fitly be rendered in all the three places here, in opposition to the fate of unbelievers; they shall bruise themselves at this stone, be the worse for Christ, but the believer shall be sure never to be frustrated in his expectation of all good from him. So ch. x. 11, as a proof that a man is justified by faith, ver. 10, this testimony is produced, *he that believeth shall not be ashamed*. And so the word signifies, ch. v. 5, *Hope maketh not ashamed*: the Christian's hope will never miscarry; he shall never be in danger to fail in his trust reposed in Christ. And so in St. Peter, it is as a demonstration of the preciousness of that stone, that whosoever depends on it, it will never fail him; he shall never miscarry that lays all his weight on that foundation.

CHAP. X.

1. [a] *saved*] According to the notion of σώζεσθαι, *to be saved or delivered*, (note [b] on Luke xiii. 23,) σωτηρία may here most probably signify the Jews converting to the faith of Christ, escaping out of that deluge of unbelief and obduration which had overwhelmed that people; for so it seems to be interpreted, ver. 3, by the contrary of *not submitting to the righteousness of Christ*. So ch. xi. 11, ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσι, *salvation to the Gentiles*, is the Gentiles coming in and believing on Christ, as σώζω, ver. 14. So κατεργάζεσθαι σωτηρίαν, Phil. ii. 12, is to complete or perfect their Christian course, in resolving and acting accordingly, (proportionably to God's giving them *to will and to do*, ver. 13.) So Rom. i. 16, where *the gospel is said to be the power of God unto salvation, to Jew and Gentile*, and that proved by that saying of Habakkuk, *the just shall live by faith*, that is, return from captivity, and live peaceably, and that as an emblem of his returning from sin and living an holy life, it will be most reasonable so to interpret *salvation*, as may best agree with that notion of life, that is, for repentance and reformation. So perhaps μετάνοια εἰς σωτηρίαν, 2 Cor. vii. 10, will denote such a repentance or change that proceeds to escaping out of and forsaking the sins of the former life. So 2 Peter iii. 15, where he bids them *count that the longanimity of God is σωτηρία, salvation*, that is, that God's deferring the punishment of the Jews so long after the crucifying of Christ was on purpose that by the preaching of the apostles over all the cities of Jewry, they might yet timely return, and repent, and believe on him, and so escape in that great approaching destruction; yet this still not excluding but including also the reward of our faith, the eternal bliss in heaven. Of another acception of σωτηρία, see note [c] on ch. xiii.

5. [b] *doeth these things*] These things signify the several branches of the Judaical law, which being required by Moses under severe penalties of excision to those that contemned or despised them, and all the promises of long life in Canaan depending on the observance of them, and the law affording no place of repentance or pardon for any presumptuous sin committed against that law, it is from thence consequent, that he that lives not in all those commands *to do them* could not have life by them, even that temporal life, or whatever else were typically contained or included in that: and accordingly St. Paul concludes, Gal. iii. 10, that there was no life to be had by the law, and

indeed nothing but a curse; for that it was also written, Deut. xxvii. 26, *Cursed is every one that continues not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them; and only he that doeth them shall live in them.* All this while supposing that no man did all his life thus do or continue so as not to incur this curse. And herein doth the difference of the law and the gospel consist, that the law promises life only upon doing all that was required of them to do, and pronounced a curse to them that did not continue in all; he that wilfully offended in one was guilty of all, that is, was involved as irreversibly under the curse for that one breach, according to that covenant, as if he had broken all, and repentance or reformation would not relieve him; but now under the gospel the condition was changed; first, many things were not required at all now which were then enacted under the highest penalty, as circumcision, &c.; only the inward purity is now called for, which had been always typified by that: secondly, place was allowed for repentance, and by the satisfaction of Christ sure mercy and pardon for the sinner, whatsoever his sins were, upon his return to new life; and for frailties and weaknesses, for which only there were sacrifices admitted under the law, now there was without those sacrifices free pardon to be had for all those that sincerely obeyed Christ, and laid hold on his sacrifice for their expiation. And so faith is said to be the condition of our justification, and not the *doing these things; the law of faith*, not of *works*, that by which the Christian must live.

6. [c] *bring Christ down*] The two phrases here used of *going up to heaven*, or *descending into the deep or abyss*, are certainly proverbial phrases, to signify the doing or attempting to do some hard impossible thing; and consequently to say in the heart, *Who shall do this?* is to be prescribed some hard impossible task, that neither by ourselves nor by any body else we know how to set about, as they that are at their wits' end (know not which way to turn themselves) are wont to cry out, or say within themselves, *Who shall do it for them.* These phrases had been of old used by Moses in this sense, Deut. xxx. 11, *For this commandment which I command thee this day is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may see it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, &c.* Which words being used by Moses to express the easiness and readiness of the way which the Jews had to know their duty and to perform it, are here by the apostle accommodated to express the easiness of the gospel condition above that of the Mosaical law. *The righteousness which is of faith saith thus*, that is, this is the style or language of the evangelical law, *the law of faith*, ver. 8, *Say not in thy heart*, that is, the Christian hath no need to say or think within himself, *Who shall go up to heaven?* that is, that he hath any weighty, impossible condition required of him. This part of the words of Moses the apostle, as in a parenthesis, applies to one of the most difficult things on which our salvation depends, viz. Christ's coming down from heaven to earth. This indeed, if it were required of us to contribute any thing toward it, would be a weighty task for us; but when Christ hath himself done it for us without any contribution of ours, this is an evidence of the easiness of the Christian's task.

As for the second part of the words in Moses, the apostle reads them with some change, not *πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης*, *over the sea*, as the Septuagint now reads it, but *τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον*, *who shall go down into the abyss?* which variety of readings may possibly be reconciled by the various signification and use of the Hebrew prepositions. And accordingly that which is here used by St. Paul will be found to agree to the paraphrase which we have in the Jerusalem Targum, in these words, *Utinam esset nobis aliquis propheta, Jonæ similis, qui in profundum maris magni descenderet*, "Would we had some prophet like Jonas, that might descend into the deep of the great sea, and bring it up to us." And this seems to be the ground of St. Paul's application, which here follows, *that is, to bring Christ from the dead*, that descending of Jonah into the deep (being devoured first, and then vomited up by the whale on dry land) being by Christ himself made the presignification of his death and resurrection. And so this again will be the meaning of the second part of the speech, the style or language of the gospel; the resurrection of Christ from the dead, the great ingredient in our Christian religion, and which tends so much to our justification, ch. iv. 25, is that to which we contributed nothing ourselves, but was wrought for us by the power of Christ: and as it follows here, ver. 9, our believing it now it is done, and abundantly testified to us, is the great fundamental act of faith required of us; and that is no very weighty task to be required of us.

8. [d] *The word is nigh thee* The word *ἐγγύς*, *nigh*, is best to be understood by the opposition of it to *hidden* and *far off*, Deut. iii. 11; where the Hebrew for *hidden* is by the Septuagint rendered *ὑπέρογκος*, *overweighty* and *heavy*, and in other places *ἀδύνατον*, *impossible*. So Gen. xviii. 14, (and from thence transcribed, Luke i. 37,) *οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει πᾶν ῥῆμα*, *no word or thing shall be impossible*, this word is used in the original. This is there further expressed by those proverbial speeches of *being in heaven* or (*beyond* or) *in the bottom of the sea*, and being *fetched* from thence, all noting some special difficulty or impossibility above our knowledge, far off, removed out of our reach; and so the *ἐγγύς*, *nigh*, must be feasible and easy to be known first, and then to be practised *in thy mouth and in thy heart*, (the Septuagint adds, *καὶ ἐν χερσὶ σου*, *and in thine hands*,) *that thou mayest do it*.

18. [e] *their sound* This place is cited out of the Psalmist, psalm xix. 4, but so as it lies in the Greek translation, not as in the original; for instead of *their voice* here, it is rendered out of the Hebrew *their line, or rule, or direction*, for so the word *קוֹל* there signifies. The Psalmist there speaks of the heavens, ver. 1, *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handywork*, and so on, ver. 2, 3; and then, ver. 4, *Their line is gone out through the land, and their words unto the end of the world*, that is, in a poetical style, (wherein the Psalms are written,) though the heavens stand in one place, keeping one constant motion, equidistant from the earth, yet the commands and words thereof are heard everywhere, that is, their virtue and efficacy are understood and admired by all. Here the Septuagint seem to have read *קוֹל*, *their voice*, for *קוֹל*, *their line*, and so render it *ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν*, nothing different from the meaning of it, as appears by the *τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν*, *their words*, that immediately follow; for by that it is plain that *קוֹל* signifies *commands*, (as it were,) or *rule*, or

direction delivered by them, such as may agree with words, and that is all one with קול, *their voice*. Others rather think that the Septuagint, respecting the sense and not the word, did thus render it paraphrastically. But Mr. Pocock conceives, from the Arabic use of the word, that the very קול was anciently used by the Hebrews for *vociferation*. See his Miscellan. p. 48. And St. Paul, according to his manner, writing to those that used the Greek Bible in their assemblies, recites it as he finds it there, and applies it by accommodation (frequent in these writers) to the gospel, that *voice or doctrine of heaven*, that is, of God himself; and when he saith it *was gone out*, εἰς πᾶσαν γῆν, *into all the land*, that seems (as frequently it doth) to belong to the land of Judæa, as the τὰ πέρας τῆς γῆς, *the bounds or extreme parts of the earth*, may well be the Gentile world; and this to convince the Jews (and repel their objection, supposed, ver. 14, and now answered) that the gospel was amply revealed to the Jews, both within and without Judæa, wheresoever they were in the Gentile cities: for being by the apostles preached not only in Jerusalem, and *over all the cities of Jewry*, but also in Cæsarea, Joppa, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Galatia, Laodicea, and Rome itself, and first to the Jews in every of those places, it must needs, as the influences of the heavens, to which the comparison is here made, be dilated and extended to all other parts, wherever the Jews were dispersed; so that the apostle may (as he doth) appeal to their own consciences (*but I say, Have they not heard?*) whether they did not believe that the Jews had universally heard of it, and consequently did out of obstinacy reject, and not remain ignorant of it, which was a full answer to their objection of *how shall they hear without a preacher?* and an account of the reasonableness of the apostles' dealings in forsaking of them that had been thus obdurate. But withal it may denote, that having begun and so fully performed their duty to them, it is now by consequence to be expected from them that they should lift up their voices to the Gentile people themselves, and preach the gospel to them also over all the world.

20. [f] *asked not after me*] That ἐπερωῶσι must here be rendered *inquiring of, not after*, making God the *terminus*, or person to whom the address is made, and not the matter of their question, whom they asked, not concerning whom, appeareth, first, by the nature of the word, which literally denotes it; and, secondly, by the use of it in all other places; as Matt. xii. 10, ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν, *they asked him, saying, Is it lawful*, &c.; and ch. xvi. 1, ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν σημεῖον, *they asked him a sign*; and Mark xi. 29, ἐπερωτήσω ὑμᾶς, *I will ask you a question*; and ἐπερωτηθεῖς, *being asked*, Luke xvii. 20; and John xviii. 21, Τί μὲ ἐπερωτᾷς; ἐπερωτήσων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, *Why askest thou me? ask them that heard*: and also, thirdly, by the Hebrew, which from Isaiah lxi. 1. is rendered by it; for that is נִרְשָׁו, from רָשָׁה, *quæsit, consuluit*, as when one consulteth the oracle, asks counsel of God. Agreeable to which is that of Hesychius, ἐρωτησόμεθα, πυθόμεθα, rendering it by that word which is ordinarily used for *consulting the oracle*, and from which Apollo, that gave the oracles, is called *Pytho*. For so the place belonged in that prophet to those that were delivered out of Antiochus's hands, at a time when they despaired, and hoped not for such a mercy; and that despairing, or not hoping of theirs, is there expressed by *not*

seeking of God, nor consulting him, nor applying themselves to him at all for that purpose. So Hosea iv. 12, where we read, *my people ask counsel of their stocks*, the Greek hath ἐν συμβόλοις αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτων, *they asked at their images*. By this I conceive may be discerned the meaning of that phrase, 1 Pet. iii. 21, where baptism is said to be τῆς ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως ἐπερώτημα εἰς τὸν Θεόν, which is ordinarily rendered *the answer of a good conscience toward God*, and otherwise, *a promise, or stipulation*, or *bargain*, because those consisted, saith ^aTheophilus, ἐξ ἐπερωτήσεως καὶ συμφώνου ἀποκρίσεως, “of a question, and an agreeable answer,” and were wont to be made in this form by way of answer to a question, thus: *Spondes? Spondeo. Dabis? Dabo.* “Dost thou promise? I do promise. Wilt thou give? I will.” And so the *catechumenus*, “Dost thou forsake the devil, &c.? I do forsake.” Πιστεύεις; Πιστεύω. “Dost thou believe? I do believe.” This interpretation of some learned men depends upon a presumption that ἐπερώτημα is an answer, not a question: the pretence of which is, because ἐπερωτᾶμαι is rendered by the Glossary *promitto, spondeo*, and ἐπερωτῶ, *stipulator*, which indeed will reasonably be admitted by a metonymy, as in ^bSeneca de Beneficiis, *interrogatio* is used for *stipulatio*; and so it may be applicable here, because he that thus comes to God or any to desire directions or counsel from him, is presumed to promise on his part to perform what shall be required of him. But then still this *sponsio* is not an answer, but rather a question, the answer being *responsio*, “a return to this *sponsio*,” that is, an agreement between parties, σύμφωνος ἀπόκρισις, in Theophilus; whereas ἐρώτημα and ἐπερώτημα is generally the question, and it is not any more according to analogy that it should be the answer, than that the Latin *inquirō* or *interrogo* should be the answering of a question, which we know is only the asking of it. It may, I suppose, more regularly be rendered *the question or address of a good conscience to God*, as *inquiring* signifies, in our present notion, consulting with, seeking to, asking counsel of God, (as in ^cDorotheus, Διδασκαλ. ε΄. Οὐδέποτε συνεχώρουν λογισμῷ πείθεσθαι ἑμαυτῷ ἀνευ ἐπερωτήσεως, “I never permitted my own conceit to persuade me, without asking some others’ counsel;” and ^dσπουδάσατε ἐπερωτᾶν ἀδελφοί, καὶ μὴ στοιχεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, “be careful to ask others’ counsel, and not to be directed by yourselves,”) when the true penitent believer comes to God, as to the oracle, to inquire of him for the whole future life, with a Lord, *what wilt thou have me to do? or, Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?* applying himself to God for his directions of all his future actions, and that with a sincere, upright conscience, resolving firmly to do what is there required of him; which resolution of universal sincere obedience is that which is there set opposite to the βάπτισμα σαρκός, *the washing of the flesh*, ἀπόθεσις ῥύπον, *the rinsing of sullages* with water, which is but the ceremony that signified that other, and was not to be thought to avail any but those that performed what was signified by it, any more than the circumcision of a Jew without the inward purity. According to this it is that as Tertullian calls baptism *sponsio salutis*, “an undertaking of salvation,” that is, of the way laid down by God to it, 1. de Bapt. and 1. de Resurr. Carnis, *Anima non lavatione sed responsione* (I suppose again it should be read *sponsione*) *sancitur*,

^a Lib. 3. c. 1. 15.^b Lib. 3. c. 15.^c P. 782. A.^d Ibid. C.

"The soul receives its sanction, not by washing, but by undertaking," (for that is the meaning of *sponsio*, and accordingly *sponsores* and *susceptores* are all one;) so Cyprian expressly calls it *interrogatio baptismi*, Ep. 76 and 80, "the asking" or "inquiring of baptism." And this is indeed the peculiar nature of baptism, the ceremony of the Christian's proselytism, (his initiation and admission into Christ's family,) which is (according to the nature of the word *προσήλυτος*,) his *coming unto God as a disciple*, and accordingly it is *μαθητεύσατε βαπτίζοντες*, Matt. xxviii. 19, *make disciples baptizing*: baptism is the ceremony of their entrance on discipleship.

CHAP. XI.

2. [a] *maketh intercession*] Ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ τινος, is to commence an accusation against any man, 1 Macc. viii. 32. x. 61. 63. and xi. 31.

8. [b] *slumber*] The Hebrew שׁוּן signifies to nod, as that is an effect either of sleepiness or of old age, or again of stupor, lethargy, senselessness, and is accordingly rendered *κατάνυξις*, *deep sleep*, Isaiah xxix. 10, (from whence this place is cited; so Psalm lx. 3, *οἶνος κατανύξεως*, is the *stupifying wine* used to be given to them that were to be put to death. And so in Marcus Eremita, *Νουθεσ. Ψυχωρ.* p. 948. A. speaking of *οἰνοποσία*, "drinking of wine," he adds, *πόνον τῆς κατανύξεως ἐξ αὐτῆς*, "the pain of stupidity or intoxication from it:" but elsewhere it signifies not only a *deep sleep*, (deeper than that which is noted by *ἡσυχία*), and from thence also *stupor*, *lethargy*, among the rabbins, but also *astonishment*, and is by the Septuagint rendered *δεινὸς φόβος*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, (where yet it should be a *deep sleep*, and so the Targum reads *מפיקת מנש*, a *strong sleep*), and again, a *trance* or *ecstasy*; and so Gen. ii. 21, it is rendered *ἔκστασις*, *ecstasy*; and so Acts x. 10, *ἔκστασις*, *ecstasy*, is set for a deep sleep or trance, wherein visions are received. Aquila renders it in Isaiah *καταφορά*, *transportation*, Theodotion *ecstasy*, *ἔκστασις*, psalm lxviii. 28; the Septuagint, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, have *θάμβος*, *amazement*. By all which it appears, that the word in its latitude signifies such a supine habit of mind as is usual in the state of lethargy or stupidity, a state of senselessness, a *spirit of stupidity*, saith the Syriac, however acquired, whether from a sleepy lethargic humour, (and so it follows here, *Eyes that see not*, &c.) or else from a trance. Of which second notion see note [d] on Acts x. The word, saith Theophylact, properly signifies *ἐμπήγνυσθαι καὶ προσηλωθῆναι*, "being nailed and fastened to any thing," and so denotes *ἀνίατον τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἀμετάθετον*, "an incurableness and immutableness of mind." But this refers to the Attical notion of the word as it is rendered *compunction*, which is not it which the Hellenists understood or used it in.

11. [c] *fall*] The Hebrew שָׁבַע, which is rendered by *πίπτω*, to fall, often signifies to lie along in the posture of one that is fallen, and accordingly Exod. xxi. 18. is rendered *καταλινεσθαι*, to lie along; and so verbs are often taken in a sense noting continuance or duration, as to be born of God, is to live a regenerate or new life. And so the context here inclines it, where it cannot be denied that they did fall, and that that was the effect (he speaks not of the intention or design) of their stumbling. All that can be denied therefore is, that this fall of theirs is to continue for ever; and accordingly he adds, that this their stumbling and falling was, if made use of, a very proper means as yet to

recover them; for the Gentiles being preached to by this means, might very fitly move the Jews to emulation, and so recover them from their fall: and this God foresaw, and had that, among other reasons, in his wisdom, why he did permit them to deny Christ, and reject the gospel.

12. [d] *fulness* The word πλήρωμα, *fulness*, is a known famous word, used by the ancients for the whole body of the congregation or church compacted together, in opposition to schisms and breaches in it. So in * Meletius, "Ἀρχοντες καὶ ἱερεῖς σὺν τῷ Χριστῶν ὡς πληρώματι," "The governors and priests with all the fulness," that is, church, "that bears the name of Christ." So in † Dionysius Alexandrinus, Πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς συναγωγῆς, "All the fulness of the congregation of Israel," from Exod. xii, where the Septuagint read πλήθος, *multitude*. So in St. Basil's Liturgy, p. 43, d. τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας φύλαξον, "preserve the fulness of the church." And accordingly being *admitted into the church* is by St. Basil Ep. 197. ad Diodor. and the fathers expressed by εἰς ἐκκλησιαστικὸν πλήρωμα διαδέχεσθαι, "to be received into the ecclesiastic fulness;" either according to the Hebrew idiom, which uses מָלַא (from מָלֵא, *to be filled*), for *collecting* and *congregating*, or perhaps according as Matt. ix. 16, πλήρωμα is the piece that being put into the garment, the garment, which was before torn, is made whole again. In this sense I conceive the word is here to be taken, for the Jews being added to the church, their coming in or being *gathered*, and laying hold on the faith, (being provoked thereto by seeing the Gentiles believe,) and so filling up the vacuity, as it were, which was formerly in the church, by their standing out impenitently. That this should now still belong to any (yet future) return of the Jews in a visible remarkable manner, is no way necessary, the circumstances of the context applying it to those first times wherein the Epistle was written: and therefore Origen against Celsus, speaking of the Jews, saith distinctly, θαρροῦντες δ' ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀποκαταστήσονται, "We affirm confidently that they shall not be restored." And St. Chrysostom, in his discourse against the Jews, denies that they shall ever be returned to their country; and cites Josephus for that opinion, that their ἐρήμωσις or *desolation* shall be perpetual. And so Cæsarius, Gregory Nazianzen's brother, being asked of the ἀνάκλησις, "revocation of the Jews about the end of the world," answers resolutely, οὐδέποτε πεισθήσομαι Ἰουδαίους ἀνακληθῆσκειν, &c. "I will never be persuaded that the Jews shall be recalled, nor indeed doth the apostle teach any such thing in the words that are well and truly delivered by him, but not rightly understood or applied by others." And all this seems to have foundation in the express words of Daniel, ch. ix. 27, *he shall make it desolate even to the consummation*. And the Jewish writing called Seder-Olam affirms the same, viz. that "after their second ejection out of Canaan, the Jews shall never return thither again." Others indeed have been of another opinion, that there shall be a visible calling of the Jews; and some of the ancients have joined thereto *the thousand years reign of Christ upon the earth*, and pretended apostolical tradition for it, but have not by the church of God been judged to have any just plea to

* Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀρχῆς, p. 2.
 † Dial. 4. ἀνακρ. 195.

† Ep. adv. Paul. Sams. p. 293. C.

it, undoubtedly cannot deduce it from this place, any further than this, that if they shall repent and believe in Christ, they shall yet be received into mercy. And as πλήρωμα Ἰουδαίων, *the Jews' fulness*, is their coming in to the faith, or the church of Christ, so likewise πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν, *the fulness of the Gentiles*, ver. 25, is the Gentiles coming in to the church, receiving the faith, they then becoming one part of the body of the visible church, as the Jews another. See note [c] on Luke xxi. And so Eph. i. 23, *the church*, as *the body of Christ*, is called τὸ πλήρωμα, *his fulness*, in the same kind as ἰδιον μέγεθος or ἰδιον σωματίον, *the church's greatness and body*, is used by Ignatius, in Epist. ad Smyrnenes, of the restoring the assemblies of the church by a calm which had befallen the Christians in Syria.

26. [e] *turn away ungodliness*] The Hebrew, Isa. lix. 20, read יוֹשִׁיב, that is, *and to them that turn or even to them*, the י being often expletive, or noting apposition. Instead of this the Septuagint read, it seems, ἰσχυί, and so render it καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ, *and shall turn iniquities from Jacob*; and St. Paul, as his manner is, cites the words of their translation, wherein they have a sense very commodious, and most agreeable to the context here, that many of the Jews shall by God's grace, and wise methods used toward them, be reformed and converted. But beside this, it will be most reasonable to enlarge them also, and interpret them according to the original notation of the Hebrew, that God will take care for the delivering of them that thus return and repent. As for the truth of that which is here concluded from this citation, that as yet many more Jews should repent, and receive the gospel, that hath been demonstrated by the event, first, when the Jews saw Christ's predictions, Matt. xxiv, manifestly fulfilled in the Roman armies' sitting down before the city; for then many turned Christians, and went out of the city, and were delivered from the following evils; and, secondly, after that, when the temple and the city were destroyed, and they brought in subjection by the Romans, then many were humbled and turned Christians; and, thirdly, after that also, in Justin Martyr's days, Γινώσκων ἔτι καθ' ἡμέραν τινὰς μαθητευομένους εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "Every day there were some that came in to be Christ's disciples;" which is the cause of the sealing so many of every tribe, Rev. vii. 4, (see notes [c d e] on that chapter,) answerable to Ezek. ix. 4, and is the meaning of their *escaping* here.

The sum then of this chapter being the setting forth the great mercy and wisdom of God toward Jews and Gentiles, but particularly toward the Jews, (who though for their crucifying of Christ, and contumacy against the Spirit in the preaching of the apostles, they were so far forsaken, as that leaving them the apostles departed to the Gentiles, yet were by way of rebound benefited by this preaching to the Gentiles, provoked to emulation by the multitude of the converted Gentiles, and so themselves brought to believe also, great multitudes of them,) is said to be a great mystery, ver. 25, and so intimated again, ver. 33, &c., and seems to be the very doctrine to which St. Peter refers, 2 Pet. iii. 15, concerning God's longanimity, deferring and delaying his execution on his enemies, (foretold Matt. xxiv.) on purpose that as many Jews as possibly might, should before that be brought in to believe,

and so escape their parts in that judgment. This is the plain meaning of what St. Peter expresses by *account the longsuffering of our Lord deliverance*: to which he saith that Paul had written parallel in many places, and withal tells us that what he had written on that subject was much mistaken, and wrested to very distant doctrines in those first times, and so hath been ever since, as to that of the millenaries of both sorts, and some other matters.

CHAP. XII.

1. [a] *reasonable service*] What notion of λογική λατρεία, which we have rendered *rational service*, is here to be fastened on, is not easy to determine. It may possibly be such as will be agreeable to the notion of ὁ λόγος, *the word*, as it signifies *Christ*, and then it is the Christian service. It may be as λόγος signifies *the word or scripture*, and then it will be that worship which is prescribed us in the scripture; and so the Syriac seems to understand it, setting down for λογική רַבִּי דְּבַר, *secundum os verbi*, "according to the mouth of the word," that is, such as the word prescribes. It may be also as λόγος, *word*, is opposed to νόμος, *law*, and then it will be the evangelical worship. And once more, it may note such a worship of God as is most agreeable to reason, and such as a rational man will resolve to be most agreeable to so excellent and pure a Deity. But the circumstances of the place, and opposition to the sacrifices of the law, the beasts that were offered there, seem to restrain it to the vulgar and ordinary notion of λογική, *rational*, in opposition to the irrational sacrifices under the law, as ζῶσα, *living*, before, to the dead bodies among them. Thus is the table of Christ called by Theodoret λογική τράπεζα, *rationalis mensa*, Serm. 6. de Provid. that is, "the table or altar where we offer up ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto God," instead of those tables or altars on which the beasts were offered. Thus in Hermes in Pœmandro, in the hymn or εὐλόγιον, which closes the book, this prayer is to be found, Δέξαι λογικὰς θυσίας, "Receive these rational sacrifices." Thus I conceive may λογικὸν γάλα, *rational milk*, 1 Pet. ii. 2, be rendered also, not that milk of cattle, which men's bodies are wont to be fed with, but this rational milk, by which men's souls are improved, to wit, instruction, or Christian doctrine. And thus the ancient Latin translation hath rendered it in both places.

11. [b] *serving the Lord*] The authority of those copies is great which read καιρῷ δουλεύοντες in this place, *serving the time or the season*, which being written short thus, κῷ, might easily be mistaken for κυρίῳ. One argument that it is here to be retained is Ignatius's Epistle to Polycarp, where he joins two precepts together, Πλείον σπουδαίως γίνου σὺ εἴ, τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάνθανε, "Become more diligent than thou art, observe or consider the seasons or times:" that is, the times being times of great corruption first, and then of persecution also, (both mentioned in the former part of the period, ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες μὴ σε καταπλησσίωσαν, "let not the heterodox or false teachers move thee or terrify thee;" στήθι ἰδραῖος, "stand firm," and μάλιστα δὲ ἐνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ, "we must beyond all persevere and endure all for God's sake,") he must not be slothful, but very diligent to defend his

flock against all false infusions, and sustain them constant in sufferings. And this is exactly agreeable and parallel to this exhortation here thus set, and may well seem an imitation of it. "In respect of diligence, not slothful; zealous in spirit, serving the time or season;" which was in like manner a season of great corruption from the Gnostics, and of persecution also from the Jews, with whom these Gnostics complied, and stirred them up against the orthodox Christians. See note [d] on Eph. v.

15. [c] *Rejoice with them that do*—] This verse seems to refer to the two gates of the temple, one called *the gate of the bridegroom*, and the other *of the mourners*, into which two sorts of men all kinds of persons are divided: under the first are contained all those that continue unblemished members of the church, under no kind of censure; under the other are the excommunicate of any the lowest kind, those under *nidui*, which though they might come into the temple, yet were to come in at that door of mourners, with some difference upon them, and discrimination from other men, that they that saw them might pray for them in this form, *Qui inhabitat domum hanc consoletur te, indatque animo tuo ut obtemperes*, "He that dwells in this house comfort thee, and give thee a heart to obey." See 1 Cor. v. 2. note [c] and vii. 30. and 2 Cor. ii. 1. and vii. 8. and xii. 21. And accordingly the exhortation is to have affections Christianly disposed toward all men, to be very much afflicted, which, 2 Cor. xii. 21, is called *πενθεῖν*, *mourning* or *bewailing* such as are (for their faults) justly fallen under the censures of the church, and to do the utmost we can toward their recovery; and on the other side, to rejoice at the spiritual good and proficiency of all others.

CHAP. XIII.

1. [a] *higher powers*] What *ἐξουσία*, *power*, here signifies will appear sufficiently by the *οὐ γὰρ ἀρχοντες*, *for the rulers*, &c. ver. 3, for the *γὰρ*, *for*, being a rational or causal particle, applies the speech to that which had gone before, and so expresses the *ἐξουσία*, *powers*, ver. 1, to be the *ἀρχοντες*, *rulers*, ver. 3, and so again the annexing of *ἐξουσίαν*, *power*, ver. 3, doth confirm the same. Nor indeed can the power, abstracted from the person of the magistrate, be able to do what is here said of *ἐξουσία*, viz. *commend* or *encourage*, ver. 3, *avenge* and *punish*, ver. 4. And the matter is clear, for, ver. 3, *φοβεῖσθαι ἐξουσίαν*, *the powers being feared*, is all one with *ἀρχόντες εἰς φόβον*, *the rulers are a fear or terror*, in the beginning of the verse; and ver. 4, immediately upon the mention of *the power* and *the praise* which they that *do well* shall have *ἐξ αὐτῆς*, ver. 3, *from the power*, it is added, *Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστι σοι*, *for he* (that must needs be the person of the magistrate) *is a minister of God to thee for good*; and, *He bears not the sword in vain, or for no end, for he is the minister of God, an avenger of wrath*, &c. Thus is *ἐξουσίαι* and *ἀρχαὶ* used Luke xii. 11, when the disciples are said to be *brought before principalities and powers*, that is, without question, princes and men in authority, and so are *κυριότητες*, *dominions*, 2 Pet. ii. 10, all that are in authority; and so in this Epistle, ch. viii. 38, *ἀρχαὶ* and *ἐξουσία*, *principalities* and *powers*, are certainly persons (heathen magistrates) who persecute Christians; and so Ephes. iii. 11, *ἀρχαὶ* and *ἐξουσίαι* are persons to whom somewhat was to be made

known. And so Col. i. 16 and ii. 15, 22, where *ἐξουσίαι* and *δυνάμεις* are joined with angels, and all said to be made *subject to Christ*. And that it may not seem strange that the word *ἐξουσία*, *power*, should be set to note a person, it will be worth observing, not only that the Latin *magistratus*, which signifies *magistracy*, signifies the person of the magistrate also, and is most commonly so used, not for the power, but for the person invested with that power; but, which is punctually for the point in hand, that the Latin *potestas*, which is directly answerable to the Greek *ἐξουσία*, signifies a *ruler or governor* in good and ancient authors, as in Juvenal Sat. 10, speaking of the unfortunate end of Sejanus, after all his greatness, he asks,

Hujus, qui trahitur, prætextam sumere mavis,

An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas? (ver. 99.)

“Which had you rather choose? to succeed Sejanus, that was thus used,” that is, have that great preferment and dignity of his, (assumed by the emperor of Rome into the participation of his supremacy,) and pay so dear for it, “or else to be” quietly and peaceably “the power,” that is, ruler or governor, “of” those mean people, “the Fideni or Gabii?” Then for the word which is here added to *ἐξουσίας*, *ὑπερέχουσαι*, that that is to be rendered the *supreme* (not the *higher*) *powers*, will appear, not only by comparing it with 1 Pet. ii. 13, where the *βασιλεὺς*, *king or emperor*, is the *ὑπερέχων*, *supreme*, and all others said to be sent by him, he having his commission from God, (as here also it is said in the end of this ver. 1.) and all others are not from God immediately, but from him; but also by the nature and use of the word; the nature of it confining it to those that are over and not under others: and so in Simplicius upon Epictetus, p. 2. 14, *αἷτια πρῶτα καὶ ὑπερέχοντα*, the *first causes and ὑπερέχοντα*, which must therefore be rendered *supreme*, are joined together, and said to be all one with *ἐξηρημένα αἷτια*, the “*exempt, absolute, independent principles*,” viz. “the gods,” saith he, or, in his style, the *κρείττονες*, to whom worship is due; and so in proportion, speaking here of men, it must belong to the supreme in any kingdom, who, as he is *πρῶτος*, *first*, so is he *ἐξηρημένος*, *exempt*, and *ἀνεύθυνος*, *not accountable* to any man or men upon earth: and for the use of it, beside that which hath already been said, it may be observed, that Gen. xlix. 3, in the description of that condition which had belonged to Reuben (if he had not forfeited it) by his primogeniture, viz. that he should have been the king, (as, upon his sin, Judah was,) it is said of him, that he was *שׂאן ויִתֵּר עַן*, *יתר שׂאן ויִתֵּר עַן*, the *excellence of principality, and the excellence of power*, that is, the excellent principality and excellent power; which seems to me to be the very phrase here used, of *ὑπερέχουσα ἐξουσία*, and is there spoken personally of that elder brother.

2. [b] *damnation*] The word *κρίμα*, according to its literal importance, signifies judgment, and no more, and is applied to human judgments sometimes, either *going to law, contentiones in foro*, 1 Cor. vi. 7, or else *sentences of temporal punishments on malefactors*. So Luke xxiii. 40, where one thief saith to the other, *Σὺ ἐν αὐτῷ κρίματι εἶ*, *Thou art in the same judgment or sentence of death, capital punishment*, called *κρίμα θανάτου*, ch. xxiv. 20, *judgment of death temporal*. Otherwhere it is as clearly signifies divine, and that *eternal punishment*; as Acts xxiv. 25, *τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἵστασθαι*, *judgment to come*, that is, cer-

tainly at the end of the world, at the day of doom; and so Rom. ii. 2, *κρίμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, the judgment of God*; and so again ver. 3, which, ver. 5, is explained to be *wrath or punishment against the day of wrath*; so Heb. vi. 2, *αἰώνιον κρίμα, eternal judgment joined with the resurrection of the dead*. So Matt. xxiii. 14. and Mark xii. 40. Luke xx. 47, *περισσότερον κρίμα, more abundant judgment*, which they should receive in another world (when this world affords none) for their hypocrisies; and Rom. iii. 8, *ὃν τὸ κρίμα ἐνδικόν ἐστιν, whose judgment (or punishment eternal) is just*; and 2 Pet. ii. 3, *οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἐκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ, whose judgment, that is, destruction (temporal here by the hand of God, preparatory and procemial to) eternal, lingereth not, as appears by the next words, whose destruction sleepeth not*. So 1 Tim. iii. 6, *κρίμα διαβόλου, the condemnation of the devil*, that sentence that befell Lucifer for his pride presently after his creation, and so may befall the novice lifted up with pride there. And therefore Hesychius, from the more general usage, renders it *ἀνταπόδοσις Θεοῦ, God's retribution, or payment, or rendering according to works*, which is sure his eternal punishment. Three places there are which belong certainly to this sense, which yet have been questioned by some men, and denied to do so. First, this in this place, *they that resist*, that is, by force or violence oppose the supreme power, *ταυτοῖς κρίμα λήψονται, shall receive judgment to themselves*. That this signifies temporal punishment, which the magistrate may inflict, and no more, they think appears by the following words, *for rulers are a terror to evil works*. But if that argument were of force, it would conclude also, that no more but temporal punishment belonged to any other crime which was punishable by the magistrate; for of him it is said, that he is *Θεοῦ διάκονος, ἑκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῇ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι, the minister or officer of God, his executioner for wrath*, that is, punishment temporal, *to him indefinitely that doeth evil*, that is, every visible malefactor. And so if this would conclude for the resister or rebel, it would also be privilege or protection to all other sins, which the magistrate is wont to punish, the thief, the murderer, &c., he that were hanged should not for that be damned, whatever his crime were. And, secondly, if that resister should escape the hand of justice here, by flight, &c., or if he should prosper in his rebellion, so that the magistrate should not be able to punish him, or yet further, so as to get into the throne, what judgment or punishment is that man likely to receive, if the *κρίμα or judgment* here signify none but the magistrate's wrath or punishment? Thirdly, it is here, ver. 5, concluded from hence, *Wherefore ye must be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake*: where *wrath*, signifying temporal punishment, ver. 4, if that were all that were meant by *κρίμα*, then could it not be true, much less concluded from hence, that men *must be subject, not only for wrath*. Certainly he that resists is not subject, (*ἀντιστῆναι* is all one with *ἀντιτάσσασθαι*, and both directly contrary to *ὑποτάσσασθαι, being subject*, ver. 3. 5.) and therefore if we *must be subject, not only for wrath*, as that signifies temporal punishment, then *he that resists shall receive more than wrath*, as that signifies temporal punishment, viz. *κρίμα, eternal judgment or condemnation*, which must be the importance of *ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ συνειδήσιν, but also for conscience sake*, viz. that if he do it not, it will be sin to him, wound his conscience, and so bind over to that punishment that belongs to an accusing conscience, or the breach of that

divine law, (which is the rule of conscience,) the command of obedience, ver. 1, to a damning sin, if it be not timely repented of. The second place thus doubted of is 1 Cor. xi. 29, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh κρίμα judgment* to himself. That it doth not there signify damnation is attempted to be proved by three arguments: first, by that which follows, ver. 30, *For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep*; which belonging only to temporal punishment, is conceived to be the *periphrasis* of κρίμα, judgment precedent, and consequently that that is so also. Secondly, because the apostle speaks there of any one single act of this sin, which being not an habit or custom, the objectors conceive not to be actually damning under the second covenant. Thirdly, because, ver. 32, it is said, *When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned*, &c. To the first of these the answer is clear, 1. that sickness and death, though they be temporal punishments, are yet divine, inflicted by the hand of God, not of the magistrate; and it is acknowledged that it doth seldom signify eternal punishment, exclusively to God's temporal punishments, but eternal, and sometimes temporal too, (as was said of 2 Pet. ii. 3.) or eternal if he repent not, and perhaps temporal if he do, or to bring him to repentance: 2. that these temporal do not exclude eternal punishments; they may be sick, and die, and be damned also, or else some being reformed by these temporal chastisements, others may be damned also that do not reform; and that this is just with God, and the meaning of κρίμα there appears, ver. 27, which is parallel to ver. 29, *Whosoever shall eat or drink unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*, that is, shall be thought guilty of the greatest violation of Christ, to profane and tread under feet his body and blood. To the second it need not here be disputed whether one act of mortal or wilful sin bring damnation, it being as much to the present purpose that customary or frequent sinning doth; for whatever mercy may belong to him that commits only one act, yet if he that customarily or frequently doth it incur damnation, this will be the apostle's meaning by κρίμα there, who speaks indefinitely of the sin, (as when he saith, *The drunkard or adulterer shall not inherit the kingdom of God*,) and descends not to that minuter consideration, what it is that contracts the guilt of that sin. As for the third objection, it is an evident confirmation of this rendering; for if those that were sick, &c., were *chastened of the Lord, that they should not be condemned*, then sure if they had not been so chastened, or not reformed by that chastening, they should have been condemned with the world, which is no argument that eternal judgments are not due to them on their impenitence, but an evident intimation that they are. The third place thus doubted of (and brought to countenance the former interpretations of these two) is 1 Pet. iv. 17, *Ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀρξασθαι τὸ κρίμα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *It is the season of judgments beginning from the house of God*, where that that befalls the house of God cannot be condemnation. To which I answer by granting the objection, and consequently that κρίμα in its latitude must not there be applied to the house of God, but only one part of it. For of κρίμα in that verse there are specified two parts, τὸ πρῶτον and τὸ τέλος, *the first part* and *the end* or *last part* of it. The first part of God's revenge on sin may be in this life, and befall the godly, who hath sin to be punished also, and so

μόλις σώζεται, *hardly escapes*, ver. 18, (or as that phrase is in the original, Prov. xi. 31.) *is recompensed on the earth*; but the second sadder part is τῶν ἀπειθούντων, of the *contumacious*, that *obey not the gospel of Christ*, and it seizeth on them here, and sweeps them away, and then continues to them eternally: and so still κρίμα is ἀνταπόδοσις Θεοῦ, *God's punishment and retribution to sin*, wherever it is, both here and in another world.

11. [c] *salvation*] What σωτηρία, *salvation or deliverance*, here signifies, (somewhat different from the notion of it, chap. x. note [a]), may be guessed by what hath been oft mentioned of the word σωζόμενοι and σώζεσθαι in the Gospels, Matt. x. note [h], Luke xiii. note [b], &c., the deliverance of the believing Jews or Christians out of persecutions, which (after the example of Christ) befell them in the first age, and from which they were delivered partly by the great act of vengeance from Christ upon the Jews, the crucifiers of him, and persecutors of his followers, (see Luke xxi. 28.) and partly by their departing generally out of Judæa before that destruction befell the Jews, (see Rev. vii. notes [d e],) and partly by the halcyonian days, which under Vespasian were allowed the Christians after this time in all places. The approaching of this is everywhere used, as an antidote or cordial consideration, to arm them in time of affliction; and so here the considering that this is now nearer than when they first embraced the faith, and that therefore now it were unreasonable to fall off, and lose all their past faith and sufferings, when now a little while more will land them safe at their expected haven, the deliverance so promised. This probably is the meaning of the phrase, 1 Pet. i. 5, σωτηρία ἐτοιμη ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ, *deliverance ready to be revealed in the last time*, and perhaps σωτηρία ψυχῶν, ver. 9, *the saving of their lives*, (antecedent to that of their souls,) the delivering them from those imminent dangers that the Christians were under from the Jews, till that their destruction, (for that that is the meaning of σώζειν ψυχήν, Matt. xvi. 15. Mark viii. 35. Luke ix. 24. *saving or finding his life*, see those places, and note [e] on 2 Pet. i.) That it is there to be thus understood may be probable by ver. 10, where, saith he, *the prophets inquired concerning this σωτηρία, salvation or deliverance, what time it was likely to come*, ver. 11, which seems to confine it to some eminent event or passage in this world, and that, it seems, now ready to fall out in that present age, ver. 12. So 2 Pet. iii. 15, where he bids them *count the longanimity of God*, (that is, his sparing or deferring the punishment of the Jews so long,) σωτηρίαν, *deliverance*, viz. that the Jews might come in to the faith, and all the believing Jews might have time to go out of Jerusalem, (see note [g] on Matt. xxiv.) and so be rescued out of that common destruction. To this, I conceive, belong these words in the Epistle of Barnabas, p. 227, Ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἔσονται πομπαὶ καὶ ῥυπαραὶ, ἐν αἷς ἡμεῖς σωθησόμεθα, “*In his*” (that is, Christ’s) “*kingdom there shall be evil and foul days, in which we shall be saved or escape*;” and that which follows, “*γενόμενα ἡμῖν ἔσται φανερά, ἐκείνοις δὲ σκοτεινά*,” “*to us there shall be lightsome, but to them dark black events*.” This is set down most plainly, 2 Pet. ii. 6, 7, 9, by the example of Sodom and Lot; Sodom destroyed, and Lot and his family preserved: and so also of *the old world*, ver. 5, when Noah and seven more were preserved, where ῥύεσθαι is all one with σώζεσθαι. And it

is observable that this very word *σῶζον* is used in this story in Genesis, when the angel bids Lot escape and fly for his life, or save and deliver his life, *σῶζεω ψυχὴν*. And because this is the prime matter of St. Jude's Epistle, as well as of that of St. Peter's to the dispersed Jews, that also may probably be the meaning of *κοινὴ σωτηρία*, *common salvation or deliverance*, Jude 3, that deliverance that the believers should generally meet with. This use of this word, how agreeable it is to the scripture style, may yet further appear by the notion of a *Saviour* in the Old Testament, for a deliverer, such as Joshua was said to be, of whom there is a notable place to this purpose, Ecclesiasticus xl. 1, *Jesus, &c. according to his name, was made great, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐκλεκτῶν*, for the *saving or delivering the elect of God, and taking vengeance on the enemies*, &c. And so Obad. xxi, *the saviours shall come to judge the mount of Esau, the kingdom, &c.*; and so all those others, of whom it is said in general, *Thou hast sent us saviours*, that is, the judges which were sent or raised up by God to fight the battles of God's people against their enemies; in which two respects, first, of avenging them on their enemies, secondly, of delivering them, those two titles of *judges* and *saviours* are bestowed on them. And agreeable to this, this act of Christ's, so remarkable on the Jews, is called both *the kingdom of God* and *σωτηρία*, *deliverance or salvation*: *kingdom* in both respects, as a king is an avenger and protector both; and *deliverance* in the second only. Other like words we find to the same sense. See note [δ] on Acts iii.

12. [d] *the day is at hand*] *Ἡ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν*, *the day draweth nigh*, is all one with *ἐγγίζουσιν τὴν ἡμέραν*, *the day approaching*, Heb. x. 25, and shall there be explained, which that it may belong to the destruction of the Jews, and whatever inseparable attendants of that, may appear Ezek. vii. 10, *Behold the day, behold it is come, the morning is gone forth*; which is clearly the approaching of this day, (and so other of the phrases used in the New Testament for that destruction are to be met with in that chapter, *An end, the end*, &c. ver. 2, 3. 6.) and yet more perfectly, ver. 12, *The time is come, the day draweth near*, and these spoken clearly (as that whole chapter) of the final destruction of that whole people. The approach of which being here mentioned as a motive to encourage the Christian Jews to hold out, and not to fall off to the Gnostics' impure courses, (who, by helping them to escape persecutions, corrupted and inveigled many,) this phrase is here by way of accommodation applied to that time, as a time of light, unfit for the works of darkness. See note [a] on Heb. x. and Luke xxi. 34.

13. [e] *rioting*] What *κῶμος* signifies is not so commonly observed. Theophylact defines it *τὰ μετὰ μέθης καὶ ὕβρεως ἄσματα*, "songs with drunkenness and contumely." In which definition, as the word *ὑβρις*, *contumely*, is oft used in an impure sense, to denote *unlawful loves and pursuits*, so in all probability doth it there, for the *night-amorous revels* are they that are peculiarly signified by *κῶμοι*. So Wisd. xiv. 23, where speaking of the heathens' *κρύφια μυστήρια*, *secret mysteries*, he joins with them *ἐμμανεῖς κῶμους*, *mad revels*; and as the effects thereof, adds, *οὔτε βίους, οὔτε γάμους καθαρούς φυλάσσουνσι*, *they keep neither lives nor marriages pure*. So 2 Macc. vi. 4, when he saith *the temple was filled ἀσωτίας καὶ κῶμων*, he adds, *ῥαθυμούντων μεθ' ἐταίρων*, *dallying with harlots, γυναιξὶ πλησιαζόντων*—And he that doth this is in Theocritus

κωμαστῆς. So say the Scholiasts on that poet, *κωμάζειν λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ νύκτα εἰς ἐρωμένους ἀπερχομένων*, "the word is used for those that go by night to their sweethearts." This they used to do with torches and fiddles, singing amorous ballads at the doors of their beloved, (from thence called *κρουσίθυρα*, and *θυροκοπικά*,) a pattern of which is set down in Plautus Curcul. act I. scene 2.

Quid si adeam ad fores, atque occentem?

Pessuli, heus pessuli, vos saluto lubens.—

To this belongs that of Aristophanes in Pluto,

Ἔοικε δ' ἐπὶ κῶμον βαδίζειν.

Στέφανόν γέ τοι καὶ δῶδ' ἔχων πορεύεται. (v. 1040.)

"He looks as if he were going to a revel, having his crown and his torch;" and more fully in the right reading of the verse in ^h Plautus,

Tute tibi prais lotis, luces cereum.

"You go before yourself with the fiddle; you are your own torch-bearer:" somebody else it seems they were wont to have, to perform these offices for them; so saith the commentator of Hermogenes, *Πυθαγόρας μέσφ νύκτων ἀστρονομούμενος νεανίαν τινα σὺν αὐλητῇ κωμάζοντα μετὰ λαμπάδος καὶ αὐλητρίδος*—"Pythagoras studying the stars at midnight, saw a young man with a fiddler revelling with a torch"—Agreeably the word is here to be interpreted, *the night-revels*, or *pursuits of their unclean designs*; and so it is, Gal. v. 21 and 1 Pet. iv. 3. *comissiones*, which some have mistaken for *comessationes*, as if it were from *comedo*, and so render it *surfeitings*, whereas the Latin word is but a light derivation from the Greek *κῶμος* and *κωμάζειν*.

CHAP. XIV.

1. [a] *disputations* Διαλογισμός here seems to signify *the arguings or reasonings*, and consequently *resolutions* of men concerning themselves, to the managing their whole course of life, what is lawful or unlawful for them, and particularly here (as the context enforceth it) the *reasonings* and *resolutions* of those, that from the liberty of disusing the Mosaical law given by Christ, conclude the lawfulness of eating any thing, ver. 2. A fuller instance or example of this notion of the word I have not met with than in Epicurus's Epistle to Idomeneus, speaking of the torments he was then under ready to die, as great as were imaginable, *Ἀντιπαρετάττετα δὲ πᾶσι τοῖτοις τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν χαίρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῖν διαλογισμῶν μνήμῃ*. "The joy that he had in his mind, upon the remembrance of the reasonings which he had in his lifetime, stood in battle array against all those torments of the strangury," &c. What those *διαλογισμοί*, or *reasonings* of Epicurus were, appears in his Epistle to Menæceus in Diog. Laert., wherein, as in an apology for himself, and a declaration of the truth of his opinions, he confesses it is not eating or drinking, or any other of the sensualities of the world put together, that beget a pleasant life, *ἀλλὰ νήφων λογισμός, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερευνῶν πάσης αἰρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς, καὶ τὰς δόξας ἐξελαύνων, ἀφ' ὧν πλείστος τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβάνει θόρυβος*, "but a sober discourse or reasoning, and such as searches out the causes of all choice or aversation, and drives away those false opinions, from which the greatest perturbation that seizeth on our mind doth proceed." This *νήφων λογισμός*, &c.,

^h Curcul. act. 1. scen. 1.

this *sober reasoning* what are the true causes of choice and aversion, that is, what is to be chosen or rejected upon true rational grounds, done or not done, was Epicurus's *διαλογισμός*, the remembrance of which brought him so much inward pleasure in the midst of his torments. This ¹St. Ambrose (reciting part of that Epistle of his) renders *sobria disputatio*, "a sober disputing," and by and by repeating the same again, *continens vita*, "a continent life," and in ^kanother place, *sobrietas mentis*, "sobriety of mind." And Cicero Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. mentioning his cheerfulness at his death, translates this *διαλογισμῶν μνήμη, inventorum suorum memoria et recordatio*, "the remembrance of the moral rules which he invented." So that the *λογισμός* and *διαλογισμός* signifies there, (and so most probably here also,) that *reasoning* of men's hearts by which they resolve and determine what they may and may not do, and accordingly regulate the actions of their lives; that special act of their *judicium practicum*, which hath the governing of their practice, and consequently *διάκρισις διαλογισμῶν* is, the *judging* or *condemning* of other men's courses. Which practice was not to be approved of or encouraged in the Judaizer on one side, as on the other side he that made use of his Christian liberty was not to reject, but receive him to his communion, though he were erroneously and unnecessarily scrupulous in point of the Mosaical observances. And so this first verse is the breviæ of the whole chapter, which is all on these two heads, that the Jewish Christian that understood his own liberty must not despise and reject the Judaizing scrupulous believer, and that the Judaizer must not judge or condemn the other. See ver. 3, &c., and ch. ii. 1, note [a].

5. [b] *esteemeth*] What *κρίνειν* here signifies must be resolved by the special, not vulgar use of the word among authors. It is used sometimes for *approving*, *giving the suffrage* in a competition; so ¹St. Chrysostom useth together *ταύτη τίθεται τὰς ψήφους καὶ τὰς κρίσεις*, "he gives his suffrage, and his sentence or judgment to this." So in Xenophon, *Κύρ. παιδ.* l. 8. *τοὺς μὴ αὐτὸν κρίνοντας ἐμίσει*, "he hated them that did not adjudge the victory to him." So Aristotle, l. 1. de An. c. 11. *πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα κριτὴν εἴληφε πλὴν τῆς γῆς*, "every of the elements but the earth had some philosopher or other that gave his suffrage to it, that it was the soul or principle of all things." So Plato in *Philebo*, *εἴ τινα πρὸ αὐτῆς ἄλλην κρίναιμεν*, "if we prefer any before it." So when of Epicurus it is said, *κρίνει ἡδονήν*, "he defends or gives his vote to pleasure," that it is the *summum bonum*. And in the Epigram,

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ φαγεῖν κρίνουσα γέγνηεν,

"For the soul rejoiceth not as preferring eating before all things." And so here, *ὅς μὲν κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν*, "one prefers one day before another, but another approves every day," that is, prefers not any before any.

15. [c] *grieved*] *Λυπεῖσθαι* here signifies *to be grieved*, as that notes being wounded or galled in his course, and by that means driven off from the profession of Christianity. That it signifies so, appears by the context, comparing this verse with ver. 13, where the *brother's* having a *scandal*, that is, gall-trap (see note [c] on Matt. xi.) *put in his*

¹ Lib. 3. Ep. 35.

^k Lib. 1. de Abr. c. 1. 3.

¹ Tom. 4. p. 435. l. 27.

way, is all one with the λυπείται, *being grieved* here, answerable to both which together is, σκανδαλίζεται καὶ ἀσθενεί, *is scandalized (or galled) and made weak, or sick, or faint, or wounded*, ver. 21. For it is to be observed that λύπη, *grief or sorrow*, is oft taken for the cause of sorrow, disease, or wound, or gall, as ὀδύνη ψυχῆς, Eccclus. xxx. 12, is one that causeth grief to the soul; and as πένθος, *mourning*, is by Hesychius rendered συμφορὰ, *calamity*, which is the cause of mourning; and as φόβος, *fear*, signifies (the cause of fear) *danger*; according to an Hebraism observable in these writers, where for want of the conjugation Hiphil, which in Hebrew signifies *to cause to do* any thing, the Greek language is fain to use the active *to do*. So the Hebrew נָדָה, which signifies *infirm or sick*, Lam. i. 22, is by the Greek rendered λυπείται, where we read, *is faint*, as Isa. i. 5, πᾶσα καρδία πρὸς λύπην, *the whole heart is faint*, that is, very sick, which is the cause of grief; and therefore the same word is in other places rendered ὀδύνη and νόσος, Deut. vii. 15, *pain or disease*. So ὥρμη, which signifies *destruction*, and is frequently rendered ἀπόλεια, is, Prov. xxi. 6, rendered λύπη, οἱ ἐν λύπαις, *men in sorrow*, for which our English have, *ready to perish*, agreeably to which St. Paul here joins (as the interpretation of *grieving the brother*) *destroying* him. This is far distant from that notion which is ordinarily had of this phrase, as if it signified *sorrow or trouble or grief* for the other man, or rather *anger or displeasure* against him; which being (in this matter) without cause, (for it is said, ver. 14, that that which the brother eats is *not unclean in itself*, and therefore he may lawfully eat it in that respect,) is wholly to be charged on him that is so causelessly displeased or angry, and would not devolve that guilt of scandal on him that eats, that here lies on him by the *brother's* being *grieved or wounded*.

17. [*d*] *joy* That χαρὰ, *joy*, Gal. v. 22, signifies not the natural passion, but the Christian virtue, and that again most probably that which is exercised toward our brethren, appears by the ἀγάπη, *charity*, before, and εἰρήνη, *peace*, &c. after it, and therefore it must be understood in that notion which shall be agreeable thereto, either to signify the rejoicing at any good that befalls another, but especially at the virtuous actions performed by him, (which, 1 Cor. xiii. 6, is *rejoicing in the truth*, that is, integrity and sincerity of another, opposite to his ἀδικία, *doing amiss* precedent,) or else the desire or delight of doing good to others, which as a thing very pleasant to him that hath it, and as the cause of joy to them that receive benefit from it, may perhaps be called *joy*. And though the former of these notions is the more easy and prompt, yet that this latter is the more proper to that place may appear probable by comparing it with the like phrase here, χαρὰ ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ, *joy in the Holy Ghost*, which is here also joined with *righteousness and peace*, (and all of them, by the matter in hand, the care of *not offending the weak brother*, appear to be branches of duty to the neighbour,) and seems contrary to the *grieving and wounding the brother*, ver. 15, that is, the betraying him to any sin, and is expounded, ver. 19, by τὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους διώκειν, *pursuing those things that belong to edification toward one another*, that is, building up in piety, bettering one another, which is here joined with *pursuing τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, the things that belong to peace*, (as there the *joy* is with *peace* itself,) and ch. xv. 2, by τῇ πλησίον ἀρέσκειν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς οἰκοδομήν, *pleasing the*

neighbour to his good for edification, that is, gratifying or causing joy and pleasure to him in improving his spiritual weal, and so 1 Cor. x. the *not giving scandal* to others, ver. 32, is exemplified by his *pleasing of all men in all things, not seeking his own profit, but the profit of many*, ver. 33, and so *not to seek his own, but that which is another's*, ver. 24, as it is said of *charity*, that it *seeketh not her own*, 1 Cor. xiii. 5, that is, takes care of others' safety, not only of her own, doth nothing that may scandalize another, and rather than do so, abstains from that which the man himself approves of. By all which it seems probable that *χαρά*, joy, and joy in the Holy Ghost, that grace of the Christian, flowing from the sanctifying Spirit of God, or, which is according to the will of God, a holy Christian joy, (as *rejoicing in the Lord*, Phil. iv. is rejoicing in those things (afflictions there) which God would have us rejoice in,) is the seeking and advancing the spiritual weal and good of others, as the *grieving* of them is the contrary, the wounding of their consciences, and occasioning their sin. It is true the *joy of the Holy Ghost*, 1 Thess. i. 6, is the rejoicing in afflictions, contrary to the *joy of the world*, and so *rejoicing in hope*, Rom. xii. 12, but that hinders not but these phrases, being otherwise inclined by the context, may signify otherwise.

23. [ε] *is sin*] In this place it is certain the ancient copies generally added that benediction which we now find, ch. xvi. 25. *Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου*, &c. *Now to him that is able to stablish you according to my gospel*, and so on to the end. Thus we find it in St. Chrysostom and Theophylact, &c. And from thence the posthumous notes under Grotius's name infer that "the apostle first designed to end his Epistle there." But there is no ground for such conjectural inference. It is certain doxologies may be seasonable in other places, and not only by way of conclusion; and so we find in the like style, *Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ, Now to him that is able*, &c., Eph. iii. 20, 21, in the middle of the Epistle; and so incidently, *ὃ ἡ δόξα, to whom be glory*, Gal. i. 5, and more solemnly, *Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων ἀφθάρτῳ, Now to the incorruptible King of ages*, &c., 1 Tim. i. 17, almost in the beginning. And it is St. Chrysostom's note, "Ἔθος αἰεὶ τῷ Παύλῳ εἰς εὐχὰς καὶ δοξολογίας κατακλείειν τὴν παραίνεσιν," "It is customary with St. Paul to conclude an exhortation with prayers and praises." And Theophylact, *Μετὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν εἰώθεν αἰεὶ εὐχεσθαι*, "After an exhortation he always useth to pray." The petitory part of this Doxology is contained in the *δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι*, which is a praying that God *who alone is able, will stablish them*; and this so proper to the whole business of the precedent chapter, that it cannot without great injustice be taken from it: and therefore, without examining the reason of its removal, (for which we have only probable conjecture,) it is all reason that it should be fetched back from ch. xvi. 25, and placed here, as it ought to be.

CHAP. XV.

12. [a] *reign over the Gentiles*] That which is out of the Hebrew rightly rendered, *for an ensign*, is by the Greek translators rendered *ἄρχειν*, *to bear rule or dominion*; because it being the office of the king to defend, and by arms to protect the people, and the power of war being, as the power of the sword, a branch of imperial authority, and that no way competent to any, but either to the supreme *ἐξουσία* or

ἄρχων, ch. xiii. 1, 2, *power* or *prince*, or to him that is *sent by him*, that is, hath commission from him, this *being for an ensign* is all one in effect with ruling, and one is but a phrase to express the other, and the apostle, according to his manner, maketh use of the Greek translation, not of the original.

CHAP. XVI.

1. [*a*] *servant of the church*] What διακονεῖν, *to minister*, signifies in the New Testament, hath formerly been noted at large, (see note [*a*] on Luke viii.) viz. to relieve the poor, either out of the stock of the church, as administrators and dispensers of others' liberality and alms, or, as hospitable charitable persons, out of their own substance. So the women that administered to Christ ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς, *out of their own estates*, and so Phœbe here, who is therefore called προστάτις πολλῶν, *a reliever* or *patroness of many*, (see note [*a*] on Luke viii,) and of Paul himself, ver. 2, and in all probability is the γυνὴ ἀδελφῇ, 1 Cor. ix. 5, *the sister*, or believing Christian woman, which either did, or, if Paul would have accepted it, would have helped him and Barnabas *to eat and drink*, ver. 4, without labouring with their hands, ver. 6. Such as she accompanying the apostles in their journeys to preach the gospel, (as of her it appears by St. Paul's sending this Epistle from Corinth to Rome by her, as it is in the subscription,) and furnishing them with all things which they wanted, from whence they are said κοπιᾶν ἐν κυρίῳ, *to labour in the Lord*, vv. 6 and 12, whereupon, saith the Scholiast, that the apostles carried about with them some matrons of good report, εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶν χρείας χορηγούσας, "that made provision for their necessary uses," ὡς αὐτοὺς λοιπὸν ὄντας περὶ τούτου ἡμερίμους, μόνῃ τῇ κηρύγματι ἀπασχολεῖσθαι, "that the apostles being free from those cares might be at leisure for preaching only;" and Theophylact, αἱ εὐποροὶ γυναῖκες ἡκολούθουν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις χορηγοῦσαι αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμερίμιαν ἐπὶ τούτοις περιποιούμεναι, "rich women followed the apostles, and provided them necessaries, and eased them of all that care," &c. See note [*a*] on 1 Tim v.

7. [*b*] *apostles*] Ἀπόστολος, *apostle*, signifies primarily that office whereunto the twelve were set apart by Christ immediately, and so that of St. Paul and Barnabas, sent immediately by appointment of the Holy Ghost, Acts xiii. 2. Secondly, it belongs to some others after, that received the like commission from the twelve, or from St. Paul; thus is James the bishop of Jerusalem often called *an apostle*. And so saith Theodoret of those first times, that those which were after called *bishops*, were then called *apostles*. So, saith he, "Epaphroditus is called apostle of the Philippians, Phil. ii. 25, because he was their bishop." So Clemens Romanus is by Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. l. 4. called ἀπόστολος Κλήμης, "Clemens the apostle." So Ignatius is by St. Chrysostom called ἀπόστολος καὶ ἐπίσκοπος, "apostle and bishop." So of Timothy, ὁ ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος, "the apostle Timotheus was made bishop of Ephesus," saith an anonymous writer in Photius. So that Thaddæus, that was sent by Thomas to the king of Edessa, is styled in Eusebius, l. 1. c. 43. ἀπόστολος Θαδδαῖος, "the apostle Thaddæus." So Mark in Epiphanius, Hær. 51, and in Eusebius, l. 2. c. 28. So Luke also by Epiphanius, Hær. 51. And if it be he which is men-

tioned 2 Cor. viii. 18, in the style of *who is praised for the gospel*, or for preaching through all the churches, (as Ignatius affirms, Ep. to the Ephes., and though Baronius affirm it to be Silas, and "Theodoret, Barnabas, yet Titus Bostrensis on Luke i. p. 763 C, and St. Jerome on 2 Cor. viii, and from him others have generally conceived to be he, being a constant companion of St. Paul in all his travels, as far as the book of the Acts reaches, and therefore is said by °Eusebius to have "written the Gospel from other men's testimonies, but the Acts, αὐτόπτης, from his own sight,") and not only so, but, as it follows, ver. 19, *ordained by the churches συνέκδημος ἡμῶν, Paul's fellow-traveller*; then there will be little question but that title might belong to him, and that he was one of those which are called there, ver. 23, ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, *apostles of the churches*. Whether this sense do belong to the word in this place, it will be yet uncertain, because though it be granted that in those other places the secondary apostles were certainly meant, (and beside this, there is no other unnamed but those which confessedly belong to the twelve apostles, &c..) yet it is possible that these here, Andronicus and Junias, may not be called *apostles*, but only ἐπίσημοι, *noted, known men, ἐν ἀποστόλοις, among the apostles*, that is, among the twelve apostles, as well they might be, having been Christians more anciently than St. Paul, and so converted either by the apostles probably, or by Christ himself. It is true after all this, that in the Constitutions of the Emperors we find *apostoli synagogarum*, "apostles of the synagogues," whose office it was among the Jews to gather up the dues of the patriarch that lived in Palestine. And proportionably to those the word *apostles* might signify no more than messengers of the churches, sent about ecclesiastic affairs, such as are in Ignatius his Epistles called θεοδρόμοι or θεοπρεσβευταί, "sacred or divine officers or messengers." But it appears not that in any place of the New Testament the word is used in this sense. See note [c] on Luke vi, and on John xx, xxi.

16. [c] *holy kiss*] The close of all the Christians' prayers was wont to be in form of benediction, and that benediction the wishing all charity and unity among them (after the example of the love of God toward them) in the known form, *The grace, or charity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication, or bounty, of the Holy Ghost, be with, or among you, always*, that is, be continued among you, as it is from every person of the Trinity toward you. And this being the form of dismissing the assembly, it was ceremoniously observed among them to part with the kissing one another. So saith Justin Martyr Apol. 2. describing the church meetings, ἀλλήλους φιλῆματι ἀσπάζόμεθα πανσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν, "when we make an end of prayers, we salute one another with a kiss," which is therefore called *the kiss of peace*: and Tertullian de Orat., *osculum pacis est signaculum orationis*, "the kiss of peace is the seal of prayer." This therefore is here called *the holy kiss*, and St. Paul's bidding them *salute one another* with it, is in effect all one as his pronouncing that benediction which was wont to be attended with it.

° An. Ch. 51. n. 64.

ο Τὰ πλεῖστα συγγεγονὸς τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως ὠμολογῶς &c. τὰς πράξεις οὐκ ἐστὶ δι' ἀκοῆς, ὁφθαλμοῖς δὲ παραλαβὼν συνετάξατο. l. 3. c. κδ'.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

[a]OF the Epistles to the Corinthians, these few things may be fit to be premised.

1st, That this city being in itself an eminent city, grown rich and populous by trade and merchandise, and luxurious and libidinous to a proverb, was the place where the proconsul of Achaia fixed his seat, and, after its conversion to the faith, the metropolis or mother city of all Achaia or Greece, and so is not, in the inscription of this Epistle, to be looked on as the church in that one city, but as containing under it all the Christians of all Achaia, which having been first converted by St. Paul, this Epistle is now addressed to them all, under their governors or bishops through that whole region. This is distinctly set down 2 Cor. i. 1, where *to the church of God which is at Corinth* is added, *and to all the saints which are in all Achaia*; and that probably is the importance of the phrase, 1 Cor. i. 2, *to all that have the name of Christ called on them*, (that is, to all Christians,) *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ*, in every place, that is, in all that region, and not only in that one city, but *ἐν πάσιν κλίμασι τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς*, in all the coasts of Achaia. Accordingly what St. Paul saith to them of Apollos, that he *watered them*, 1 Cor. iii. 6, is in the story affirmed of all Achaia, as well as of that city, Acts xviii. 27, *when he was willing to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote to the disciples (through all Achaia, not only at Corinth) that they should receive him, and when he came (that is, whither he purposed to pass, into Achaia) he contributed much assistance to the believers there*. So when he speaks of the forwardness of their (that is, the Corinthians') liberality, 2 Cor. ix. 2, *Achaia*, saith he, *was ready a year ago*; and so Rom. xv. 26, *Macedonia and Achaia thought good to make a collection*, &c., and so it appears again by another passage, 2 Cor. xi. 9, 10. And hence it is that Rom. xvi. 16 he tells them that *the churches of Christ* (in the plural) salute them, and ver. 1, mentions the church in Cenchrea, a maritime city in Achaia, from whence St. Paul took shipping, Acts xviii. 18, when he departed from thence to Syria.

2dly, For the time and manner of planting Christianity among these Corinthians, and the rest of Achaia or Greece, the story in the Acts may be consulted, ch. xviii. 1, where, about the fiftieth year of Christ, Paul comes from Athens to Corinth, and meets Aquila and Priscilla there, soon after Claudius his banishing the Jews from Rome; with them Paul wrought in his trade of tent-making, and at the same time he preached the gospel to them through that region, to which he oft refers in these Epistles, telling them how freely (without making gain of them, or putting them to any charge) he had preached the gospel to them. Soon after, Silvanus and Timotheus came to him out of Macedonia, and for the space of eighteen months he abode in those parts, *wrought many miracles*, 2 Cor. xii. 12, and converted many, though, as it appears, he was opposed by the incredulous Jews, and brought before Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, and accused by them, Acts xviii. When

Paul went from thence, he left Priscilla and Aquila by the way at Ephesus, Acts xviii. 19, and they meeting with Apollos there, and *instructing him more perfectly* in the doctrine of the gospel, fitted him for his journey to Achaia, whither he soon went, and confirmed them in the faith which Paul had planted among them, being much too hard for the Jews, who were his chief opposers there, Acts xviii. 28.

3dly, For the time of writing this first Epistle two circumstances will assist us to discern it: 1st, ch. xv. 32, there is a touch or intimation of his danger at Ephesus, *fighting with the beasts* there, which will appear (see note [c] on ch. xv.) to be that which was occasioned by Demetrius, Acts xix. This therefore was now past at the writing of this Epistle; and though the next thing which in the Acts is mentioned after that is his departing to Macedonia, Acts xx. 1, yet by the date of it from Ephesus, which we find in many copies of the subscription of the Epistle, we have reason to believe that his remove was not so sudden, but that this Epistle was written first, and sent from thence. And accordingly we may interpret his words, ch. xvi. 8, (which contain a second circumstance,) that he *will tarry at Ephesus till Pentecost*, that is, till the time of his going up to Jerusalem, which he had determined to do that year at Pentecost. For that after this he should come again to Ephesus, or to any other part of Asia, and write from thence, (as by the salutations of the Asiatics it is apparent he did, ch. xvi. 18,) before his going to Jerusalem, is not reconcilable with the passages in the Acts, set down ch. xx, where in his journey from Ephesus, ver. 1, we find him at Easter at Philippi, and after that at Troas, and though he pass through Asia, yet his haste was so great to reach Jerusalem before Pentecost, that he could not put in at Ephesus, ver. 16, but was fain to transact that business at Miletus that would have called him to Ephesus, ver. 17. If this be thus rightly concluded for the place of writing this Epistle, then the time will be concluded also, at the end of his three years' stay in Asia, Acts xx. 31, that is, *An. Ch. 54*. Before which time, through the Gnostics and Judaizers, great schisms and divisions had broken out at Corinth, and in other cities of that province, and many other foul corruptions had crept in, (by false, heretical teachers, and even the denying of the resurrection by some of the Christians there,) which caused the writing of this Epistle. And upon the same occasions and subjects was Clement's Epistle, some years after, written unto them, which as it uses all arguments to reproach the unreasonableness of their schism and commotion against their present governors, so it insists at large on the proving the resurrection.

CHAP. I.

2. [aa] *call upon the name of Jesus Christ*] Ἐπικαλεῖσθαι signifies *to be surname*d, Matt. x. 3, Luke xxii. 3, Acts i. 23, and iv. 36, and vii. 59, and in many other places, and so in a passive, not active signification. Agreeable to this, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, is, *to be called by the name of Jesus Christ*, as an *agnomen* or *supernomination*, which notes the special relation we have to him; as the spouse of that husband whose name is *called upon her*, Isa. iv. 1, (which is the direct literal notation of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι here,) or as the servant to that master, by whose name he is called also; and so ἐπικαλούμενοι ὄνομα Χριστοῦ is but a periphrasis of Christians, and no more. In this sense will it be most proper to

interpret the like phrase, Acts ii. 21, and ix. 14, 21, Rom. x. 12, 13, 14, and generally in the New Testament, but when it signifies *to appeal to*, or the like.

5. [δ] *utterance*] The notion of λόγος in this place is somewhat uncertain, both because it, and the *knowledge* following, may either be the matter wherein the Corinthians are said to be enriched, or else somewhat in the apostles, the means by which they were enriched in Christ. If it be taken the first way, then it will denote *speech* or *utterance*, ability in instructing others, and must be applied only to them that had such gifts in the church, and not to the whole church of Corinth; and thus it seems to be used 2 Cor. viii. 7. *As ye abound in every thing, in faith, and word, and knowledge*: where as *faith*, so the other two are gifts and graces in them, such are σπουδή and ἀγάπη, *diligence* and *love*, that are after mentioned. And the other parts of that verse, ἐν παντί περισσεύετε, *ye abound in every thing*, agreeing so well with ἐν παντί ἐπλουτίσθητε here, *ye were enriched in all*, it is most reasonable to determine, that this same is the meaning of ἐν λόγῳ, *in word* or *speech* here also. But because there is some difference betwixt *abounding* and being *made rich*, and the latter of them refers peculiarly to the gaining of the riches, and so to the means of acquiring them, it is therefore possible, that it may there be that which, as a gift, was inherent in them, and so be agreeable to the rest of the graces mentioned there, and yet here be the means by which they were enriched; and if so, then it will signify the preaching of the word, the doctrine of the gospel as it is first preached and made known to men that had not before received it, as when we read of preaching the word, that notes the doctrine of Christ as it was taught by him, or the articles that were to be believed of him, his death and resurrection, &c. This is wont to be set opposite to διδασκαλία, *doctrine*, (see 1 Tim. v. 17,) which is the further instructing of them that have formerly received the faith; and accordingly it may be so taken here, where it is set opposite to γνώσις, *knowledge*, which is the explication and unfolding of the mysteries of religion, and may well be here *the watering of Apollos*, which was superadded to *the planting of Paul*, and both of them together make up that which follows, ver. 6, *the testimony of Christ confirmed in you, the testimony of Christ* being the gospel, ch. ii. 1, as it is first preached, (so John xxi. 24, where it is distinguished from the very *writing* of it, and so 1 John i. 2, but especially Rev. i. 2,) and the *confirming* of it is the further declaring, and proving, and explaining of it; the first being prereduced to the baptizing of any, the second useful for the fitting them for that imposition of hands which we ordinarily call confirmation.

[c] *knowledge*] That the word γνώσις here signifies the further explication of the Christian doctrine, may appear, not only by the use of it in other places, (see note [c] on 2 Pet. i,) λόγος γνώσεως, *the word of knowledge*, ch. xii. 8, that is, being able to explain mysteries, (as λόγος σοφίας, *the word of wisdom* there, is being able to speak parables, or to use other such ways of veiling wise conceptions,) but especially by the circumstances of the context here, the gospel's being *confirmed* in them, ver. 6. And this of γνώσις being here set down as a χάρισμα, *a special gift*, and the being *made rich in every thing*, (particularly in *word and knowledge*,) being all one with *coming behind*, or *being wanting* (ὕστεραί-σθαι) *in no gift*, ver. 7, this is again according to what we see ch. xii. 8,

where *γῶσις* is one of the gifts of the Spirit. Thus 2 Cor. xi. 6, where Paul's *γῶσις* is preferred above his speech, it is his skill in explaining the mysteries of the scripture, which is shewn in his writings in a greater height, than in his speech (when he was present with them) was observable. Thus Ephes. i. 17, *πνεῦμα ἀποκαλύψεως, the spirit of revelation, ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ, in discerning and acknowledging of Christ*, the understanding of prophecies, and discerning Christ in them, is there joined with *the spirit of wisdom*, as 1 Cor. xii. 5, *γῶσις* had been, and 1 Tim. iv. 13, *ἀνάγνωσις*, part of bishop Timothy's task, seems to be *expounding*, not simply *reading* of scriptures, to which is joined *exhortation and doctrine*. Thus is *γῶσις* used in this Epistle, ch. viii. 1, where this gift of explaining mysteries is looked on as apt to *puff men up*, and so indeed some heretics of that time were so exalted and puffed up with it, that taking upon them *εἰδέναι τι*, ver. 2, *to know somewhat*, that is, some extraordinary matter above other men, (as he that *thinks himself to be something*, that is, some extraordinary person, all one with *τις μέγας, some great one*, Acts viii. 9,) they called themselves *γῶστικοί*, from *γῶσις*, *knowing men*, from this sort of sublime knowledge and explication of difficulties, (as also *πνευματικοί, the spiritual*, from this extraordinary gift,) and so are referred to in that chapter under the word *γῶσις*, vv. 10, 11, and *ψευδάνυμος γῶσις, knowledge so called, but not truly so*, from a false, not true spirit, 1 Tim. vi. 20.

6. [d] *confirmed*] The word *βεβαιῶν, to establish*, applied here to *μαρτύριον, testimony*, may perhaps literally refer to the forensic customs among the Jews, where there being three parts of their judicial process, 1st, *ריב, the entering of the cause*; 2dly, *מכונה ריב, stabilitio litis*, "the establishment of the matter in dispute;" 3dly, *חקר ריב, Job xxix. 16, the searching into the cause*, the second of these may be here literally rendered *βεβαίωσις, confirmation or establishment*. For that second consisted in the interposing of an oath on one side, which is therefore called *ἀντιλογίας πέρας*, Heb. vi. 16, *the end of contradiction*, that is, of that affirming and denying, which was formerly lawful betwixt the actors, till the oath on one side had given the judge some reason to incline that way, and that is said to be *εἰς βεβαίωσιν* in that place, *for the settling or establishing the cause*, in that sense wherein the Roman law saith, "*Ορκος ἐπιφερόμενος ἀμφισβήτησιν τέμνει*, (Psellus Συνοψ. Νομ. v. 1243.) "an oath takes off the judge from that dubiousness that before he was in, one affirming and the other denying the same thing. By analogy to this, the preaching of the gospel by the apostles being called *μαρτύριον, a testimony or witness*, viz. that which the apostles gave in to the testifying the truth of the gospel, (being eyewitnesses thereof,) this testimony may be said to be *established or confirmed*, when beside the first preaching of it, more light and knowledge and evidences have been afforded to the removing of all ignorance or doubt from men's minds. And so the meaning of the phrase here, *μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβεβαίωθη*, will be clearly this, that the gospel which we first preached, the testimony which we gave of Christ, hath since by sufficient probation been made good among you, to incline you to consent to the truth of it.

19. [e] *wisdom*] The word *σύνεσις* signifies three things in these books: sometimes *the mind or intellectual faculty*, Mark xii. 33, where *God is to be loved with all thy mind*, (see note [l] on Rom. i.); 2dly, an

habit of science or prudence, as here; 3dly, *perspicacity*, Ephes. iii. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 7.

20. [f] *disputer*] What is the meaning of συζητητής in this place is not easy to determine, because, as the word itself, so the adjunct αἰῶνος τούτου, is very capable of a double notion: for if αἰῶνος τούτου be rendered of *this world*, then it will seem to signify the heathen world, and so σοφός, and γραμματεὺς, and συζητητής all be interpreted accordingly, σοφός, *the wise moralist*, as the seven wise men of Greece and Socrates after, who, for the moral learning, was by the oracle proclaimed the wisest man in the world, and γραμματεὺς, "the learned philologer, *literator*," as Tertullian renders it, and συζητητής, *the searcher or indagator into the nature of things*, which the Hebrews call חוקר העולם, *this world, the philosopher or natural magician*. And so the next words would incline one to understand the place, *the wisdom of the world*, ver. 20, and *the world which by wisdom knew not God*, ver. 21, looking most directly upon the heathen philosophers, who are by Baruch described in these words, ch. iii. 23, οἱ ἐκζητοῦντες τὴν σύνεσιν ἐν τῇ γῆς, *they that seek out, or search, wisdom on the earth*. But then if αἰῶνος τούτου be rendered, of *this age*, then it may more probably refer to the Jews; as ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, ch. ii. 6, must signify *the chief of the Jews of that age*, which crucified Christ, ver. 8, that is, caused him to be crucified, and there is mention of those, vv. 22 and 23; and then σοφός may belong to the Jew, and denote their חכמי המחקר, *naturalists*, that undertook to know every work of the creation; and so likewise γραμματεὺς will belong to the Jew, and signify him that is skilled in their laws, and which interpreted them to the people according to the literal sense, their doctors; and then συζητητής will have a peculiar notion among them also: for it was the custom of the Jews for many of the learned among them to sit in the synagogue, and to speak all of them by way of discussion or debate to the same matter, (as to find out the true sense of a piece of scripture,) and to that custom 1 Cor. xiv. 29 seems to refer, *Let the prophets speak, two or three, &c.*, whence it is that this synagogue, where they did this, is called בית המדרש, *the house of searching or inquiry*; and to that custom perhaps refers that which is said of Christ, Luke ii. 46, that in the midst of the doctors he heard and asked questions. So he that interprets the scripture mystically and allegorically is called בעל המדרש, *the master of inquiry or mystical disquisition*, and absolutely דורש, *a searcher or inquirer*, that is literally συζητητής, and that mystical or allegorical sense דרך דרש, *the way of inquiry*, and מדרש, *σύζησις*, and so מדרש תהלים, *inquisitio Psalmorum*, "the searching of the Psalms;" see Elias Levita in the word מדרש. And then the συζητῶνται αἰῶνος τούτου will be the Jewish doctors which among themselves inquired into the truth of scriptures, (which Christ seems to call ἐρευνᾶν τὰς γραφὰς, *searching the scriptures*, John v. 39.) but found not Christ there, as they might have done, believed him not. Thus is the word used Acts vi. 9, where several men are said to rise up συζητοῦντες τῷ Στεφάνῳ, *talking with Stephen*, as the Jewish doctors use to do one with another about the sense of scripture; and Acts ix. 29 it is said of Paul, that ἐλάλει καὶ συνέζητει πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστὰς, *he talked and debated with them* about the sense of scriptures concerning the Messias. This custom of the Jews seems to be referred to by this word, but yet whether the other circumstances of the place, which refer it rather to the

heathens, may not so far prevail as that it may be fit to pitch upon a middle interpretation of the word, and to apply this custom of the Jews to secular inquiries in the heathen schools, I shall leave it to be considered, and only add, that the making of this place to agree with that of the prophet Isa. xxxiii. 18, seems to be a matter of some difficulty, the text there looking another way, viz. by way of admiration, how the taxes, that were exacted in the time of the siege, were so suddenly ceased. For that is the meaning of, *Where is the γραμματεὺς*; that is, *he that even now kept the book of taxes*; for so *γραμματεὺς* was the name of them that set down the public acts, as also the customs, and taxes, and revenues of the kings: and so, *where is ῥω, the weigher*? that is, the receiver of money; for so they received it by weight: and lastly, *where is the numberer of towers*? he that reckons and assesses the several houses of the city, every one according to their bigness, which was in order again to the exacting of taxes. From this matter that of this text is distant enough, and yet may that be so far here accommodated, as to express an admiration here, as it was there, at a strange sudden change wrought among them, although the matter of the change was very different. And yet for the words also they thus far agree, that as there was, *where is the scribe*? so here, though in another sense, *where is the scribe*? that is, doctor or learned man; there the scribe to register the taxes, the notary, here the learned man or doctor of the law; as there ῥω, *the weigher*, so here, with the change but of a letter, without any of the sound, ῥω, *the intelligent or wise*; and lastly, as there *the numberer of towers*, so here *the inquirer, disquisitor of this world*, that speaks his sense among others by way of debate or discussion to find out the truth, as there in the making an assessment they debated the rate or value of every house, to proportion it accordingly. And such applications as these by way of accommodating places to very distant senses, (especially when the words in the Greek translation will bear them, though the Hebrew will not so well,) is no extraordinary or strange thing in the New Testament; that of Christ's going with his parents to Nazareth, *that the saying might be fulfilled, He shall be called a Nazarete*, that is, the title of נצר, *a branch*, belongs to him, will appear to any as strange and far off as this.

CHAP. II.

4. [a] *demonstration of the Spirit and of power*] That πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις, *Spirit and power*, may here signify the same thing, (as it is ordinary for two words or phrases to be conjoined, the one only to explain the other,) may seem probable from the next verse, where one only of them is mentioned, δύναμις Θεοῦ, *the power of God*. But there is no necessity that we should so interpret it, because *the power of God* in the fifth verse being set opposite to *the wisdom of men*, (that is, the human ways of persuasion or eloquence,) must signify God's powerful ways of persuading the belief of the gospel, and signifying so, will contain under it the Spirit and power with the several notions that may well belong to them; as first taking *the Spirit* for the prophecies of the old Bible inspired by the Spirit of God, and *power* for the miracles done by Christ. Thus hath Origen expressed the meaning of them: *the demonstration of the Spirit*; that is, saith he, τὰς προφητείας ἱκανὸς πιστοποιῆσαι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα εἰς τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ, "the prophecies which were suffi-

cient to give the reader assurance of the truth of the things that belong to Christ : " *and of power* ; that is, *τεραστίους δυνάμεις, ὧν ἰχνη εἰσι σώζεσθαι*, " the miraculous stupendous actions, of which the footsteps yet remain," Cont. Cels. p. 5. But beside this notion of *the Spirit*, some others it is very capable of : as, 1st, that it signify the descent of the Spirit of God on Christ, joined with that voice from heaven, Matt. iii. *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*; and after, *This is my beloved Son, hear him*. This may here fitly be called ἀπόδειξις Πνεύματος, *the demonstration of the Spirit*, an evidence afforded by God immediately from heaven of the truth of the gospel, which being joined with the power of Christ, both in respect of his doctrine and his miracles, were two heads most fit to be insisted on by St. Paul for the confirming the truth of the gospel. But it may yet further be applied, not to Christ personally, but to the apostles after him, and then *the Spirit* will be the descent of the Spirit upon them, and by their imposition of hands, the Holy Ghost's coming down upon others also, Acts viii. 18 ; and this, together with their power of doing miracles, may well be their ἀπόδειξις or *demonstration* of the truth of the gospel, and be the thing that is meant here.

16. [b] *For who hath known the*——] That this is a citation from Isa. xl. 13 there is no question, as also that the first words, *Τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου* ; *For who hath known the mind of the Lord* ? are set down, after this apostle's manner, out of the Septuagint. Now the same apostle citeth that place again, Rom. xi. 34, and there in the latter part also sets down the Septuagint's words, *καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο* ; *and who hath been his counsellor* ? which words being not here read, but to *τίς γὰρ ἔγνω τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Κυρίου*, these other immediately subjoined, *ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν* ; *who shall instruct him* ? there will be no reason to think these latter words to be another rendering of that second part of the verse in Isaiah. For when the Septuagint had translated it truly out of the Hebrew, why should the apostle, who constantly useth the Septuagint's translation, and that sometimes when that varies from the Hebrew, here use a new rendering of his own, and for *καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο* ; *who hath been his counsellor* ? set only *ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν* ; *who shall instruct him* ? For this there is no probable reason to be given ; and therefore it must be resolved, that no more than the first words are taken out of that place of Isaiah, and that the latter words are the apostle's own, to bring them to his present purpose, *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, which shall instruct him* ? that is, who doth know the Lord's mind so well as to be fit to inform and instruct the spiritual man ? ver. 15, for that *αὐτόν, him*, should signify the Lord, (as they conclude that make these words all one with the latter part of the verse in Isaiah,) would be very strange, not only because it would be far different from ver. 15, of which it is brought for a proof, but also because *knowing the mind of God*, although it be a fit preparative to instructing of others, yet is not so for the instructing of God himself.

CHAP. III.

15. [a] *he shall suffer loss*] Of the word *ζημιωθήσεται* here it may first be inquired, whether it belong to the man or to his work, both immediately precedent, *εἴ τις τινος τὸ ἔργον*, *if any man's work*. That which inclines it to signify *the work* is the *αὐτὸς δὲ* that follows, *but himself*

shall be saved, which seems to oppose *himself to his work*, that the one shall be lost, but the other saved. But this is well enough avoided by setting the opposition betwixt the *saving of him*, and the *burning of his work*, precedent to the *ζημιωθήσεται*; and then the consideration of that, as it answers the former probability, so it inclines more strongly to render it the other way, that *the man*, not *the work*, *ζημιωθήσεται*, *shall be mulcted*. For that this word signifies not to be lost, but to suffer loss, hath been said note [m] on Matt. xvi.; which cannot be here said of the work, of which it had before been said, *it shall be burnt*: for what is so doth not suffer a mulct, or fine, or loss, (which according to all laws must be *salvo contenemento*, "without utter ruin,") but is lost, and utterly destroyed. It remains then that it be spoken of the man, whether false teacher, or any follower of such, that takes up any such false doctrine from him, and so upon the doctrine of Christ, (professing still, or not denying of Christ,) *ἐπικοδομεῖ*, *superstructs* some false doctrines and erroneous practices. And of him it is here said, that *he shall suffer loss*, so as the metal that goes into the fire with dross or embazement mixed with it, is separated from all that mixture, and comes out a great deal less than it went in, loseth all that dross in that trial of fire. Now how this is to be particularly understood of this superstructure of *hay or stubble* here, must be collected from the consideration of *the day* which is here mentioned, ver. 13, *that it shall declare or reveal*. That the word *day* in all languages signifies judgment, and that *the day* emphatically, or *the day of Christ*, *the day of the Lord*, signified an approaching season of judgment then expected on unbelievers and misbelievers, Jews and Gnostics, all the world over, in the Christian plantations, see note [d] on Rom. xiii, and note [a] on Heb. x. And that this is *the day* or judgment that is here referred to, may appear, 1st, by the exclusion of all other days: the only two senses that can come in competition are, either, 1st, that it signify the final day of judgment; or, 2dly, the audience and judicature and sentence of the apostle, when he comes to examine this doctrine. For the first, that cannot be understood here, because the office of *the day* here is *δηλοῦν*, *to make manifest*, and *ἀποκαλύπτειν*, *to reveal*, ver. 13. And therefore supposing there were such a day of conflagration, which they that maintain look on as a purging fire to burn up all the ill works of the Christian, and fit him for heaven, yet the circumstances of the text here do not belong to that, but to another quality of the fire, the trying, revealing, and discriminating one from another, as appears by all the phrases here used, *Every man's work shall be made manifest—the day shall declare—it shall be revealed by the fire—the fire shall try what kind of work every man's is—and if any man's work remain*, that is, abides the trial, *he shall be rewarded*. As for that of the apostle's coming to judge and censure, it is not probably here meant, because these heretics and their followers did not acknowledge the apostles' power, but resisted and rejected them, as appears in divers other places, (and oft lays a necessity on the apostles to vindicate their authority.) And, 2dly, there is no reason to conceive that the apostle should call his own sentence by the name of *the fire*, or speak of giving men rewards, ver. 14, which are to be expected from God. But then, 2dly, that it be applied to this of the punishment of God now approaching the Gnostics, will appear, not only by the mention of the *wood, hay, stubble, built on the foundation*,

which evidently denotes heretical superstructures, (and it is known that these were the great heretics of those times,) and such as will be sure to perish when fire comes, but also by the consequents here to the end of the chapter, which make up the known character of the Gnostics. For that consisted specially of two things: 1st, their doctrines of uncleanness; 2dly, their arts of worldly wisdom to secure themselves from persecutions by complying with the persecutors. And both these are here noted, that of *uncleanness*, vv. 16, 17, by the *defiling the temple of God*, that is, themselves, who, as Christians, are obliged to be holy, but by the Gnostic infusions were in danger of all pollutions; and those that were immersed in them, the apostle foretells that they shall be destroyed by this day—*him shall God destroy*, ver. 17. And so that of worldly wisdom, ver. 18, *If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world*, that is, prudent for the saving or securing himself from persecutions and dangers here. And of this the apostle gives warning, that this wisdom is the greatest folly, and that the contrary thereto is the only wisdom even for this life, the constant adhering to Christ, the surest means to deliver him from the dangers which here he fears, whereas these wise and prudential worldlings are likely to be *taken in their own craft*, ver. 19, by their arts of securing, to destroy themselves, and so will appear vain and ridiculous in all their wise contrivances, ver. 20, according to that of Christ, Matt. xvi. 25, *he that will save his life shall lose it*. And therefore the form of advice here used is, *Let no man deceive himself*. This practice of the Gnostics, in order to the securing themselves, was a great mistake, the way to bring all destruction upon them, when *the day of the Lord*, the vengeance of Christ upon the crucifiers and persecutors of Christians, should come suddenly upon them, and sweep away the Gnostics among them. And so, the whole passage belonging clearly to these, the full importance of the *ἐπιστήμη* will be, that they which being not so high in that heresy as to deny *the foundation*, the faith of Christ, (which many did, and are elsewhere called *apostates* and *antichrists*, and they that *denied Christ to be come in the flesh*;) and yet had received some of these Gnostic infusions, that particularly of worldly prudence and compliance with the Jews, should (contrary to their expectation of gaining by this means) *suffer loss*, be in great hazard to be destroyed among them, and if they escaped, it should be very narrowly, the constant, faithful, orthodox Christian being the only one that should be perfectly safe when that fiery day came, when the unfaithful and the cowardly should either utterly perish, or run an horrible hazard in that day. And to this purpose is it that the doctrines of these Gnostics are expressed by *wood, hay, stubble*, earthly materials, (and so notes of false doctrines, unfit to be built on this divine foundation,) and those (of all things) the most combustible and sure to be destroyed, when a fiery trial comes; and that in two respects; 1st, that when persecution for Christ comes, such a kind of Christianity as this is sure to be burnt up, the Gnostics will not then hold out, and confess Christ; and, 2dly, in respect of Christ's coming *to visit and judge*, to reward the constant and destroy the unfaithful, then these prudential ways of theirs will be sure to stand them in no stead, but bring them into greater danger, as he that means to secure himself against fire by *wood, hay, stubble*, shall be sure to have all burnt, and to increase, not lessen the flame; whereas the truly wise

way (and that which Christ counsels the church of Laodicea to, in opposition to these Gnostics, Rev. iii. 8.) is to build *gold, silver, &c.*, which, having been tried in the fire, (and so denoting constancy in persecutions,) are sure to hold out and endure the test, whatsoever the day of visitation be, be the fire never so scorching, these will be the likeliest to be preserved in it.

15. [b] *saved; yet so as by fire*] That *σώζεσθαι* signifies *to escape*, hath been often noted, but what *σώζεσθαι διὰ*, *to escape by*, here signifies, is the only difficulty, and that will be best explained by comparing it with other places of the same kind. Thus 1 Pet. iii. 20, *διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος*, *they were saved out of, or through the water*, the preposition *διὰ* perhaps (as other prepositions oft are in the New Testament) being taken loosely for *ἐκ* or *ἀπὸ*, *out of* or *from*, or else, as the necessity of the matter imports, an *escaping through water*, implying consequently an escaping out of it also; and so the sense will be, that though there were a great flood ready to drown all the earth, yet for all this, by the help of the ark they did escape that danger. And so here *σωθήσεται ὡς διὰ πυρός*, *he shall escape as one escapes out of the fire*, that is, as P Chrysostom expresses it; as one that, when in the midnight his house is set on fire, wakes and leaps out of the bed, and runs naked out of doors, *οὐδὲν τῶν ἑνδον λαβὼν*, “taking nothing that is within” along with him, taking care only, (as he adds,) *ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ προεξαπαίξῃ τῆς φλογός*, “that he may snatch his own body out of the flame.” And it is a common observation that *ὡς διὰ πυρός σώζεσθαι* is a proverbial speech for those that get hardly out of a great danger; so *ὡς δαλὸς ἐξηρασμένος ἐκ πυρός*, *as a brand snatched out of the fire*, Amos iv. 11, and so Jude 23, *ἐν φόβῳ σώσετε, ἐκ τοῦ πυρός ἀρπάζοντες*, *save them by snatching them out of the fire in time of danger*, for so *ἐν φόβῳ* signifies, *ἐν κινδύνῳ*, in presence of any thing that men are afraid of. By this means that of 1 Pet. iv. 18 will be explained also, for this will be the meaning of *μόλις σώζεται*, (for which the Hebrew, Prov. xi. 31, reads *כִּלְיוֹ*, *shall be recompensed*,) he shall not escape without many losses and afflictions in that *πύρωσις* or *combustion*. So as in Julian, *ἡ νύξ ὀλίγους ἀπέσωσε μόλις*, “the night did hardly or with great difficulty rescue a few;” and in Agathias, who having spoken of some that *πυρπολείσθαι ἔμελλον*, “were ready to be fired and burnt,” adds, *μόλις ἐνθύνει διεκπεσόντες καταφεύγουσι*, “they hardly escape out of it.”

CHAP. IV.

6. [a] *to think*] What *φρονεῖν* signifies in this place will best be guessed by *φυσιοῦσθε*, *puffed up*, which follows on purpose to explain it. That signifying *elation of mind to the despising of others*, *φρονεῖν* must in all reason do so also. Thus the Scholiast on Thucydides, l. 1, saith of *καταφρονεῖν*, that it is *τὸ ἄγαν φρονεῖν, καὶ οἷον ὑπερφρονεῖν*, where *φρονεῖν* must be a degree of pride, as the other a great or high degree of it. So in St. Chrysostom, tom. 3. p. 177. l. 4. *τίνας ἐνεκεν θορυβῇ καὶ ταράττῃ καὶ εἰς μωρίαν ἀποκέρχῃσιν τῇ φρονήσει*; “why art thou disturbed and abusest thy opinion of thyself, thy pride to folly?” and l. 6, *διὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι μωρὸν* is, “by elation of mind, by pride, to become a

† T. 5. p. 467. lin. 28.

‡ Orat. 1. p. 67.

§ See Rigaltius ad Artemidor. Oneiro. p. 43.

¶ Hist. tom. 2. p. 38.

fool," contrary to ἀπὸ φύσεως γενέσθαι μωρὸν, "natural folly." So Rom. xii. 3, it most literally signifies, (not to be wise, but) to *opinionate, to think great matters of himself*. So in Demosthenes, φρονῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τηλικούτον ὁλον εἰκός, "one that thinks as high of himself as is fit." Only here the notion of the word seems a little to be restrained by the ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνός, *for one* in the latter part of the verse, and so to denote, not so much pride of their own gifts, as Rom. xii, as pride and high opinion of their teachers, boasting of them to the disparagement of others.

13. [b] *filth*] Περικαθάρματα signifies those things that are used in the lustrating of a city among the Gentiles. †Suidas hath described the custom in these words, Ὑπὲρ καθαρμοῦ πόλεως ἀνήρουν ἐστολωμένον τινα δν ἐκάλουν κάθαρμα, "For the purging and lustrating of a city they clothed a man (in foul and filthy garments, say others) and put him to death, and he was called a lustration or expiation:" thus, saith Eustathius, περικάθαρμα is "a lustration" for which the vilest persons were wont to be used, οἱ ῥυπαροὶ καὶ ἀπόβλητοι, "sordid, refuse people." For thus it was, when the city was under any plague or other great calamity, they chose out one of the nastiest persons in the city, and brought him to a certain place, with cheese, and dry figs, and a cake in his hand, and then beat him with rods about the secret parts, and then burnt him and the rods together in a ditch, and cast the ashes into the sea (τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν ἀποτίynnυntes, "paying a sacrifice to Neptune," saith Suidas) with these words, γένου περίψημα, γένου κάθαρμα, "Be thou a lustration" for us. This person was called κάθαρμα and περίψημα, and by Lycophron, and before him by Hipponax, φάρμακον, "a medicament," and by Philostratus, (saith Sardus de Ritib. l. 3. c. 19,) ἀποτροπαῖον, "a cure," or "averted of judgment" from the city. (But this is a mistake in Sardus; all that Philostratus saith being only this, that in the theatre, τὸ τοῦ ἀποτροπαίου ἱδρυται, that is, "the statue of the deity that averteth judgment, plagues, &c. was set up.") By this it appears also what is meant by περίψημα πάντων, *the refuse of all*, in the next words, to wit, the very same thing in another expression, the vilest refuse creature in a city, such as used to be the expiation in a public calamity. So saith Suidas, Περίψημα, κάταγμα, which, I conceive, is a corruption from κάθαρμα, which differs but little from it; and Hesychius, Περίψημα, περικατάμαγμα (for περικάθαρμα I conceive) ἀντίλυτρα, ἀντίψυχα, ἢ ὑπὸ τὰ ἔχη πάντων, the two words are of the same signification, and denote "those that are paid for others' ransoms, or put to death in others' stead," or else any thing that is most vile, "trodden under feet by all men." Thus Tob. v. 24, we have this phrase, περίψημα τοῦ παιδίου γένοιτο, for, *Let it be despised, a refuse*, in respect of, or comparison to my son; this heathen custom, whence all this comes, being in a manner but a transcript of the Azazel among the Jews, *the scape-goat*, that was sent into the wilderness with all the sins of the people upon him, which was therefore called ἀποπομπαιός, *rejectaneus*, or *refuse*.

21. [c] *a rod*] The ῥάβδος or *rod* here is the power of inflicting punishments in the apostles, of death itself, as on Ananias, of diseases, as on Elymas; and so the Hebrew word מַשֵּׁכ, for ῥάβδος, is rendered πληγὴ, *a stripe*, Isa. x. 24, and is all one with μάστιξ, *scourge*, Mark iii. 10;

† In the word Κάθαρμα.

and contrary to this is *the spirit of meekness* that follows here, mercifulness in not inflicting that sharpness on them, upon sight of their speedy reformation, which by threatening here he desires and hopes to produce, before his coming to them personally.

CHAP. V.

1. [a] *fornication*] *Πορνεία*, *fornication*, in this place is a general word to comprehend all unlawful desires of the flesh, acts of whatsoever prohibited carnality, under it. For it is observable that the precept given by God's positive command to the sons of Adam and Noah, and so to all mankind, which is styled by the Jews על גלוי עריות, *of disclosing nakednesses*, under which style all the marriages within prohibited degrees, Lev. xviii, and all the unnatural sins are contained, is, Acts xv, expressed by *abstaining ἀπὸ πορνείας*, *from fornication*. And that by the infusions of the Gnostics, and remainders of their heathen customs, there was an epidemical guilt of this sin of many sorts among them, is the meaning of *ὅλος ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορνεία*, *fornication is universally heard*, that is, found *among you*: for the word *ὅλος* seems to be all one with *καθόλου*, *in universum*, and so perhaps it is to be rendered, ch. vi. 7, *ὅλος ἡττημα ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι*, *there is a defect generally among you*, and being here joined with *ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν*, *is heard among you*, may signify that it is an universal guilt of theirs; or else being joined with *πορνεία*, it will sound thus, *fornication altogether*, or *fornication in gross* (containing the several branches of it) *is heard*, that is, found or met with *among you*, and of the many sorts thereof, one that had not been practised, or endured to be thought or spoke of among civil heathens, or the unconverted Corinthians at that time, that of *having the father's wife*. This, saith Chrysostom, was done by a doctor, that is, I suppose, a bishop in some church of Achaia; οὐ μόνον θέλων μυστηρίων ἡξίωτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικοῦ ἐπιτελεῖ χάρισματος, "He was," saith he, "not only vouchsafed the divine mysteries, partaker of them, but had obtained the dignity of a doctor." And so Theodoret also.

[b] *not so much as named among the Gentiles*] What is here said *not to be named among the Gentiles*, is not so to be understood, that no nation ever used it, but that civil (though not Christian) nations have counted it abominable and nefarious, no way lawful or tolerable, or that at this time the unconverted Corinthians were not guilty of it. Among the ancient Arabians it was used, and the custom so described by Al Mostratraf, Ebnol Arhir, &c., that when a woman was left a widow, or put away by the husband, the eldest son should take her by inheritance, and cast his garment over, as a sign of it; or if he would not, then the next heir: and so the son, they say, succeeded to the father's bed, as well as wealth, by inheritance. This being formerly in use, was by the Alcoran forbidden, *O vos qui creditis, non permissum est vobis faminas hereditatis jure accipere*. "Believers (that is, they that receive Mahomet's law) must not take the father's wives by right of inheritance." So Al Sharestanianus, *Turpissimum eorum quæ faciebant (Arabes tempore ignorantiae) erat hoc, quod vir duas sorores duceret, et patris sui uxorem velut successor assumeret, quod qui faceret appellatur Al Daizan, quo nomine insectatus est Aus Ebn Haiar quosdam e tribu Banikais, quorum tres ex ordine patris sui uxorem duxerant. Mos autem erat apud Arabes, ut cum ab uxore, morte aut repudio, separaretur aliquis, filiorum ipsius*

natu maximus, si ea opus haberet, vestem suam ei injiceret; quod si ille opus ea non haberet, duceret ipsam e fratribus aliquis dotis novæ interventu. "The foulest thing that the old Arabs did in time of ignorance was this, that a man married two sisters, and took his father's wife as his successor, which he that did was called Al Daizan; and such there were of the tribe of Banikais, who three of them, one after another, had married the father's wife. Now it was a custom among the Arabians, that when any man was separated from his wife by death or divorce, his eldest son, if he wanted her, cast his garment upon her, that is, took her to wife; or if he wanted her not, one of his brothers married her."

2. [c] *puffed up, and not rather mourned*] The word *πενθεῖν* here, *to mourn, lament, wail*, refers to the customary solemnity of putting on mourning habits, and wailing over them that were to be excommunicate, as over them that were dead, *ὡς νεκροὺς πενθοῦσι*, saith Origen, Cont. Cels. l. 3, just as Pythagoras, when any forsook his school, had a *κενοτάφιον* or "empty hearse" carried about, and mourned for him. *Μετὰ λύπης καὶ πένθους ἀνάτως ἔχοντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποπέμπετε*, "him that is incurable, or not otherwise like to be cured, turn out of the church with grief and mourning," saith Clem. Constit. 2. And so Origen l. 3, Cont. Cels. See note [c] on Rom. xii. And accordingly here follows *ἐξαίρεισθω ἐκ μέσου*, *let him be taken from amongst you*, noting the censure of excommunication; and so 2 Cor. xii. 21, *καὶ πενήσω πολλοὺς προμαρτηκότων*, *καὶ μὴ μετανοησάντων*, where *bewailing of impenitent sinners* is censuring them. And thus the word *λύπη* seems to signify, (being all one with *πένθος*,) 2 Cor. ii. 1, *ἔλθεῖν ἐν λύπῃ*, *to come with intention to censure and punish*, the very same as (ch. xii. 21, before the *bewailing* them) is expressed by *μὴ πάλιν ἐλθόντα με ταπεινώσῃ ὁ Θεός μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, where God's *humbling him towards them* is giving him occasion to exercise his censures or church discipline on them, at his coming among them, (contrary to the *φυσιοῦσθε*, 1 Cor. v. 2,) as appears by ch. xiii. 2, *when I come again I will not spare*, and ver. 10, *ἵνα μὴ ἀποτόμως χρῆσωμαι*, *that when I come I may not use severity*; so 2 Cor. ii. 3, *λύπην ἔχω* signifies to be constrained to use severity of censures, to which this mourning or sorrow belongs, and *λυπεῖσθαι*, ver. 4, *to be under those censures*, and ver. 5, *λυπεῖν*, *to offend and commit* that which St. Paul was constrained to punish with the censures of the church; so ch. vii. 8, *εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς* is, *if I inflicted the censures of the church upon you*, and in the end of the verse, *I see that that Epistle, though written for that season, ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς*, *brought the censures of the church upon you*, ver. 9, and *οὐχ ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε*, *not that you were put under the censures*, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε *eis μετάνοιαν*, *but those censures produced that effectual change in you*, *ἐλυπήθητε γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν*, *for ye were dealt with according to the discipline ordained by God or Christ in the church*: and so in all probability that is *λύπη κατὰ Θεὸν*, ver. 10, which brings *μετάνοιαν*, *a change or newness of life*, as the censures and punishments of the world bring death. And so *κατὰ Θεὸν λυπηθῆναι ὑμᾶς*, *to be mourned or sorrowed*, ver. 11, that is, *censured, according to God's appointment*.

3. [d] *judged*] *Κέρικα* in this place is the *pronouncing or giving sentence* against the offender: so it is used ver. 12, *What have I to do τοὺς ἔξω κρίνειν*, *to judge them*, inflict censures on them that are without? heathens, that were not in the church, or Gnostics, that divided from

it, those he leaves to God's censures and punishments, as not belonging to his apostolical judicature; so ver. 13, οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε; *Do ye not judge them that are within?* that is, all that live within your church, and yet fall into any such carnal sins, ye, the governors of each church of Achaia, ought to endeavour to reduce, by inflicting the censures of the church on them; and accordingly follows there, what here precedes, ἡφαίρει τὸν πορνὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, *Remove the wicked person* (perhaps τὸν πόρνον, *the fornicator or incestuous*, ver. 1) *from among you*. And agreeably so it must be here, κίρκα τὸν οὕτω τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον, *I have judged, sentenced him that hath thus done this*; and what the sentence is appears by the 4th and 5th verses, the 4th containing the solemnity wherewith it was to be inflicted in the public assembly of the church, to have power of the keys exercised on him, according to his apostolical office, παραδόναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ, *to deliver up such an one to Satan*, ver. 5, that is, to excommunicate him. See note [e].

5. [e] *deliver such an one unto Satan*] Παραδόναι τῷ Σατανᾷ, *to deliver to Satan* here, and 1 Tim. i. 20, is answerable to חרם among the Jews, called in Greek ἀνάθεμα, *execration*, the second species of excommunication among them, and in which, for the greater solemnity of it, there were curses out of the law of Moses, and such like execrations added to it, (an essay of which we have Acts viii. 20, *thy money be to thee to destruction*, &c.) This was inflicted on him who had first been under the first species, that of the נדוי, ἀφορισμός, *remotion or separation*, first for thirty days, and then, being allowed thirty days more, (which they called the doubling of the נדוי,) still continued in that contumacy; for then, say the Jews, מחרימין אותו, *they anathematize him* without defining any limited time, as in *niddui* they did. This in the Christian church is called *delivering to Satan*, for two reasons: 1st, because it was the depriving the offender of those daily means which are in Christianity afforded, and ordinarily useful to eject Satan and the power of his kingdom out of the heart; such are, 1st, the prayers of the church; 2dly, the public use of the word or doctrine of Christianity, (for he that is under Cherem, *nec docet, nec docetur*, "neither teaches, nor is taught," say the Jews; and in the ancient Christian church, they that were upon repentance received in again were first among the ἀκροάμενοι, *hearers* in the porch, θείων ἀκούειν γραφῶν, "to hear the holy scriptures," saith Zouaras, which argues that they were before excluded from it;) 3dly, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in which respect scandalous sinners συνευχαρίστησαν, *feasting with them*, are by St. Jude, ver. 12, called σπύλλαι, *spots in their feasts* or *agapæ*, (which, being annexed to the Lord's Supper, denoted the whole action,) that is, unfit, as blemished sacrifices, to be received there. And the use of all these means being in the economy of the gospel designed to so much advantage to the soul, for the casting Satan out of it, the depriving men of the use of those means is properly stiled the *delivering to Satan*, as the catechist, that instructed men, and made them fit for baptism, or entrance into the church, was wont to be called ἐξορκιστής, *the exorcist*, that cast Satan out. But then, 2dly, in the apostle's times there was a sad consequent of this excommunication, proportionable to the execrations in the Jewish Cherem, (which, say they, seldom wanted their effect,) viz. corporal power and possession, and inflictions of Satan on those who were delivered up to him, in like manner as we read befell Saul, after his defection from

God, when the *evil spirit came upon him*, 1 Sam. xvi. 14. For about Christ's time, and a little after, it was ordinary with the devil to tyrannize over the bodies of men, laying all kinds of diseases upon them, (as appears in the Gospel,) which is called *Satan's buffeting*, *κολαφίζειν*, 2 Cor. xii. 7, *βασανίζειν*, *tormenting*, Matt. viii. 6, *ποικίλοις νόσοις καὶ βασάνοις συνέχειν*, *taking or holding them with divers diseases and torments*, Matt. iv. 24, *δῆσαι*, *binding*, Luke xi. 16, (the word that is used for excommunication,) and so here the *delivering to Satan* is *εἰς δλεθρον σαρκὸς*, *to the destruction of the flesh*, to the inflicting bodily diseases on him. This Ignatius in his Epistle to the Romans calls *κόλασις διαβόλου*, "the punishment of the devil," for he wishes there that it were on himself, *μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτυχῶ*, "only that by that means he may come to enjoy Jesus Christ," which cannot be said of the punishments in hell, for those would not be reconcilable with that end, (see note [b] on Rom. ix.) And so as among the Esseni of the Jews, saith Josephus, *τοὺς ἐπ' ἀξιοχρείοις ἁμαρτήμασιν ἀλόγως ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ γένους, ὃ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς οἰκτίστῳ πολλάκις μόρῳ διαφθείρεται*, "those that are found in any considerable sin they cast out from their congregation, and they that are cast out commonly come to miserable deaths;" and as Heliodorus, 2 Macc. iii, in his sacrilegious enterprise was scourged by two angels in the shape of young men, ver. 26, and hardly came off with life, so the apostolical excommunication or *anathema* was attended with diseases and torments on the body, to lay a necessity on them of reforming. And this is the *ῥάβδος*, *rod*; see note [b] on ch. iv. Now for the word *παράδοῦναι*, *delivering*, that seems to have an elegant notation in it, for it is a relative to asking or demanding, and implies that truth which otherwise appears from scripture, thus; Satan is our adversary before God, (and therefore called *ἡσὺ*, *ἐχθρὸς*, *enemy*, *ἀντικείμενος*, *set against us*;) this he expresses by accusing (to which Rev. xii. 11 refers) or implending, and thence he is called *ἀντίδικος*, *an adversary*, *ἐν δίκῃ*, *in court of judicature*, 1 Pet. v. 8. This he doth falsely sometimes, as in the case of Job, ch. i. 9, 11, (in which respect he is called *διάβολος*, *a calumniator*, by which the Septuagint oft render *ἡσὺ*;) but sometimes truly, upon the real commission of some sin, to which purpose he is said, as an explorator or searcher for faults, to *go up and down to and fro upon the earth*, Job i. 7, when he hath any such accusation against any *ἀδελφός*, *brother*, Christian professor, or pious person, then, as perhaps it was in the case of Peter, (see Luke xxii. 31,) he is said *ἐξαιτήσασθαι*, *to require him of God*, demands to have him delivered up to him, as to a *licitor* or *executioner*, *σινιάσαι*, *to sift and shake him terribly*; and that perhaps is the meaning of his *ζητῶν τίνα καταπιῇ*, *seeking whom he may devour*, 1 Pet. v. 8; and if God think fit to answer this request of his, then God is said *to deliver up to Satan*: and from that course of God's is that disciplinè of the apostle's transcribed and copied out in the censures of the church, which therefore are thus expressed.

[f] *destruction of the flesh*] That Satan had (when he was permitted by God for sin) power to inflict diseases on men's bodies, appeareth by what hath been said note [e], and by most of Christ's cures of men possessed with devils, those possessions being generally accompanied with some ordinary disease, discernible by the symptoms there mentioned, the epilepsy, and the like. And to this purpose it is observable what we find in the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. ii. 14, supposed to be

said to the serpent by God, *Cum filii mulieris præcepta legis deseruerint, nec mandata observaverint, tu* (that is, the serpent) *firmus eris, et percutiens eos in calcaneo eorum aegritudine afficies*, "When the children of the woman shall forsake the commandments of the law, thou shalt be strong, and shalt strike them on the heel, and inflict sickness upon them."

9. [g] *company with fornicators*] What is the meaning of *μὴ συναμιγνύσθαι*, whether only interdicting ecclesiastical assemblies, or further excluding from civil commerce, is a matter of some question. In favour of the former of these, we may here observe one thing in the context, that it is somewhat which the apostle had before these words written to them about, *ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, &c. *I wrote to you in an epistle*; where there is no enforcing reason to conclude that the apostle refers to some former epistle of his, (not now extant, nor anciently mentioned by any,) the words being very capable of this other rendering, that *in this epistle* he had *so written to them*, and so he did ver. 2 of this chapter, just as Gal. i. 9. *As we have before said, even now again I say*, the word *προειρήκαμεν*, *before said*, looking no further off than to the eighth verse immediately precedent, where that was said that ver. 9 is repeated by him. As for the *νυνὶ δὲ ἔγραψα*, *but now I have written*, ver. 11, which may seem to oppose this to some former epistle, there is no force in that. For the *νυνὶ*, *now*, is not always a note of time, but, as it is ordinary amongst us, of transition, thus: When *I wrote to you not to converse with fornicators*, I meant not the heathen fornicators, *but I wrote to you* only in reference to the Christian professors, guilty of those sins. But whether this be so or no, yet it is apparent that ver. 11, which refers undoubtedly to this epistle, the same phrase is used, *μὴ συναμιγνύσθαι*, *not to converse with them*, which will therefore make it reasonable to explain this phrase by that which is mentioned ver. 2, *ἐξαιρίσθω ἐκ μέσου*, *removing the offender from among them*, which is the ordinary phrase for excommunication, (see note [c],) and the brief of the sentence set down vv. 3, 4, 5. *I have judged*, &c., and then there will be no necessity of extending it any further than to not joining with such an one in sacred meetings, excommunicating, *delivering up to Satan*; and so 2 Thess. iii. 14, *μὴ συναμιγνύσθε, ἵνα ἐντραπῇ*, *have no fellowship with him, that he may be ashamed*, may refer to these censures of the church inflicted on the *οὐχ ὑπακούοντες*, *disobedient*, or refractory there. But then a second circumstance in the context will be observable, that ver. 11, where the *μὴ συναμιγνύσθαι* is repeated again, there is added to it, *τοιούτῳ μὴδὲ συνεσθίειν*, *nor to eat with such an one*. This is indeed more likely to belong to the interdicting all familiarity of civil commerce, and the rather, because the Jews thought it unlawful to eat with the Samaritans, publicans, and sinners, (*μὴ συγχρῶνται*, *they will have nothing to do with such*, and, *Why eateth your Master with such?* say they to Christ's disciples,) and a special example we have of it, 3 Macc., where, speaking of the *ἀποχωροῦντες ἐξ αὐτῶν*, *deserters, apostates* from their law by any notorious breach, it is said, *ἐβδελύσσοντο, καὶ ὡς πολεμίους τοῦ ἔθνους ἔκρινον, καὶ κοινῆς ἀνατροφῆς καὶ εὐχρηστίας ἐστέρουν*, *they expressed a detestation of them, judged them as enemies of the nation, and denied them the civility of common commerce and good usage*; and the same is called afterward in that place *χωρισμός*, *a separating* from them, *ἀποστροφά*, (though it

be corruptly and without sense read καταστροφαι,) *aversion*, and expressed by ἀπεχθεῖς ἐφαίνοντο, *they appeared enemies* to them. And it is certain that the Jewish ירי, or first degree of excommunication, being a separation or remotion *ad quatuor passus*, not suffering any man to come within four paces of him that was under that censure, was an interdiction of civil familiar converse, or of eating with him. And for this there is one further argument from ver. 10. For if he had meant only church assemblies, the caution he there interposeth of not extending it to heathens had been superfluous, since they who never were within their communion could not be ejected out of it. And so again the reason he gives for their converse with them, *for else they must needs go out of the world*, seems to denote a civil commerce, which is here interdicted. It is true indeed that the not eating with the fornicator may be also applied no further than to sacred converse, (and accordingly the words may be thus read, μὴ συναμίγνυσθαι τοιοῦτο, μηδὲ συνεσθίειν, including what is between in a parenthesis, *not to join nor eat with such a man*), for in those they eat together, συνεσθίουμεν, saith St. Jude, ver. 12, *feasting together* in their agapæ, the common suppers that accompanied the sacrament in this epistle, ch. xi. 20; and when *fornicators*, &c. were received or admitted there, St. Jude calls them σπιλάδες, *spots in their feasts*, unfit to be present there, as blemished sacrifices to be offered to God. And if there be any more than this meant by the μηδὲ συνεσθίειν, *not eating with them*, it must probably relate to the particular case of the church of Corinth at that time, as being then torn asunder with schisms, ch. iii. 4, and ch. xi. 1. 8, in which case the censures of the church being neglected, (ch. xi. 31, and so here ver. 2,) the apostle might think fit to prescribe to private Christians this method of shewing their dislikes, by avoiding all civil commerce or familiarity with notorious offenders, and that the rather, in respect of the scandal of such sins, that being not practised by the Gentiles there, but detested by them, ver. 1, could not be committed by Christians among them without bringing great reproach on Christianity: and that would not be removed by exclusion from sacred meetings, which could not be visible to the infidels, and therefore might fitly be provided for by this separation from familiar converse or society, an expression of a clear detestation of so foul facts. And so it is possible the apostle might design his exhortation, Rom. xvi. 17, to *mark such as cause divisions*, &c. *among them*, and *avoid them*, and 2 Thes. iii. 14, to *note him that obeys not St. Paul's orders* by epistle, *and have no company with him*, as a direction not only for the public censures in a quiet church, where they may be seasonably exercised, but also what private Christians were to do for the discountenancing of offenders in case of schism, and of either the neglect or unefficaciousness of the censures of the church. And to that also may be applied that of Christ, Matt. xviii. 17. *Let him be to thee an heathen, and a publican*; it being in this case reasonable for private Christians to restrain themselves towards those who resist all fraternal methods of charity, and by outward behaviour to shew a dislike of their contumacy and obduration, especially when an apostle at a distance shall pass that judgment on any particular man, and the present state of the church leave no place for expectation of formal censures, the law of Charondas being not unreasonable in this case, Ἀδίκῳ ἀνδρὶ ἢ γυναικὶ μὴ ὁμιλεῖν μη-

δύνα, ἢ ἐνεδίξασθαι, ὡς ὁμοιον ὄντα, "That no man converse with a wicked man or woman, or bring a reproach on himself, as if he were like him." But this is not to be thought necessary, but when it is by the governor of the church, as it was here by St. Paul, prescribed; nor prudent, but when by so doing we may hope to bring offenders to some sense of their faults. And whensoever it is done, it ought only to be designed to charitable ends, and not to gratify a man's own pride or wrath, to express animosities or revenges on any.

10. [*h*] *extortioners*] What ἀρπαγες signifies here is somewhat uncertain. That which the other sins with which it is mentioned incline it to is, that it denote *violence* or *rapes*, *forcing* or *ravishing to uncleanness*, the δάσσις, 2 Pet. ii. 13, *preying* like vultures on all that come near them. The literal notation of the word from ἀρπάζω, *rapio*, by which, as by ἀλώω, the Hebrew מַחֲרִיץ is rendered. This was the sin of Sodom, forcing of strangers, and even of the angels when they came into the city to destroy it. And this is it which seems to be meant by the *earth's being full of violence*, Gen. vi. 11, joined with the *corruptness of it before God*; for which two there joined together, (as 2 Pet. ii. 12, δάσσις and φθορά, *taking* and *corrupting*.) the word *corrupt* is used alone, ver. 12, which, we know, in the New Testament signifies those pollutions (see note [*b*] on 2 Pet. i, and [*b*] on 2 Pet. ii.) which probably were the sin of the old world, a consequent of the *sons of God seeing and marrying with the daughters of men*, ver. 1, (the like as happened after on the like occasion, Num. xxv. 1.) and they are therefore joined with Sodom in this matter, 2 Pet. ii. 5, 6. For to that of uncleanness it is that this whole chapter belongs, on occasion of πορνεία, *unlawful lusts and incest*, at the beginning. And to that of *violence* or *ravishing*, or *using to unnatural sins*, ἀρπάζειν and ἀρπαγες ordinarily belongs. Thus in Harmenopulus, ἐξάββ. 5. τιν. ζ. (where τὰ τοῦ ἀρπαγος εἰς δημόσιον εἰσκομισήται, "the goods of the ravisher shall be carried and forfeit to the exchequer,") the word is used in this sense. So in the second book of the Sibylline Oracles, (written, I suppose, by some ancient Christian,) with

ἡλιδεῖν προλιπόντες, ἀναδείην ποθείοντες,
those that had put off all shame, are joined ἀρπασιαῖοι, *forcers, violaters of chastity*, and p. 216, with λεκτροκλόποι, εἰδωλολάτραι, and

Οἷς κακὸς ἐν στέρνοισιν ἐνι μεμανημένος οἴστρος
(which is in effect all one with πλεονεκταὶ and εἰδωλολάτραι here, *inordinate lusts and idolaters*.) there is joined

.... ἀρπάζοντες, ἀναίδια θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
violent forcers, and persons of impudent lusts, and στέρξουσι κρυφίως, *secret loves and adulteries*, to which the *brimstone*, the portion of Sodom, should be allotted,

.... θεῖον ἀποβήσεται ὀδμή.

And thus, I conceive, it is that ἀρπαγή and ἀκρασία, *violence and incontinence*, are joined together, Matt. xxiii. 25, and opposed both to καθαρόν and καθαρίζω, *pure and cleansing*, ver. 26, where St. Luke, ch. xi. 36, instead of ἀκρασία, *incontinence*, hath πορνεία, *villainy or wickedness*, as that is used here, ver. 13, and in Genesis, ch. vi. 5, in this sense for *abominable lusts*. The full description of this will be best fetched from

* Strabo, l. 10, setting down the customs, and among them the amours of the Cretans, altogether after this manner, of force and rape, *οὐ πειθοῖ κατεργάζονται τοὺς ἐρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἄρπαγῇ*. "they do not get their beloved youths by persuasion, but by force. The lover," saith he, "some three days before tells the friends that he means *ἄρπαγῇ ποιῆσθαι*, to commit the rape, and they must not hide the youth, or divert him from walking his wonted way; for to do so is to confess that he is not worthy of such a lover." The whole manner of it is there set down, not worthy to be here transcribed, by which it is plain that this of *ἄρπαγῇ*, *rape*, was among them the ceremony of their *Mascula Venus*, and very creditable and customary among them, and τοῖς καλοῖς τὴν ἰδέαν, καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανῶν, ἐραστῶν μὴ τυχεῖν αἰσχρὸν νομίζεται, "it was a shame to any handsome youth of good parentage not to have some such lover," that should take him by violence; which being the heathen custom of this island of Crete, may well be thought to have given occasion to that direction of St. Paul, Tit. i. 6, that he that were chosen to be bishop should be such an one who had faithful children, *μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἁσώτιας*, *not accused of riot*, not guilty of having suffered any such villainy as this.

[*i*] *idolaters*] That *εἰδωλολάτραι* here is not to be restrained to the particular sin of *worshipping pictures* or *images*, will be probable by the rest of the sins which are joined with it, for which a Christian professor is to be excommunicated, ver. 11. It seems rather to refer either to the joining in the idol-feasts, of which the Gnostic heretics were guilty, or else to those filthy practices so frequent and customary in their mysteries, as prime rites of the heathen false worships, and taken up in a most vile manner by the Gnostics also. That the word should thus be used, will appear most reasonable: 1st, because of the words used in the Old Testament to signify an idol; *גִּלְגָּל* is one which signifies *pollution* or *filth*, by which any man is contaminated, and which is sometimes rendered *βδέλυγμα*, *abomination*, and the false god or idol meant sometimes when *βδέλυγμα*, *abomination*, is used, as Wisd. xii. 23, referring to those abominable sins which those idol-worships were commonly guilty of; and to the same purpose is it that the Hebrew *גִּרְשָׁא*, *abomination* or *filthiness*, commonly rendered *βδέλυγμα* or *μίασμα*, *abomination* or *pollution*, is sometimes *εἰδωλον*, *idol* also. And so saith Lyra on Gen. xxi. of the word *גִּרְשָׁא*, that it signifies *idololatrantem*, and *coeuntem* or *lascivientem*, "idolatry, and any act of uncleanness or lasciviousness;" 2dly, because their heathen worships were so full of these foul sins. Thus Wisd. xiv, after an enumeration of many other wickednesses in their *τελεταὶ* and *κρύφια μυστήρια*, *sacrifices* and *secret mysteries*, ver. 23, (that *Cereris arcanum*, "the secret of Ceres" in Horace, *secreta Ceres* in Seneca, *Hercul. Fur.*, and *Cadmæis orgia condita cistis*, in Ceteus,) he concludes with *μιασμὸς*, *γενέσεως ἐναλλαγῇ*, *γάμων ἀταξία*, *ποικιλία καὶ ἀσέλγεια*, *pollution*, *inversion of nature*, *confusion of marriages*, *adultery* and *shameless uncleanness*, ver. 26, and concludes that *the worship of nameless idols*, or *idols not to be named*, is *the beginning and cause and end of all evil*, ver. 27. So Jer. xlv. 19, when they that dwell in Egypt justify themselves to Jeremy, that they did no harm in their sacrifices to the queen of heaven, because they did it not secretly,

without the privy of their husbands, it is clear that there were such night sacrifices used by women, and suspected and disliked by their husbands. Thus, 1 Kings xiv. 24, after the mention of idols and groves, it follows that *there were Sodomites in the land, doing according to the abomination of the heathens which the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel*; which withal notes the particularity of the sin of the Amorites and other nations, for which they were rooted out, set down more fully Lev. xviii. 24, 25, 27, 28, and an express threat from heaven, ver. 29, that *whosoever shall commit any of these abominations shall be cut off from among their people*. To which purpose no doubt it was that the sign of God's covenant with his people was that of *circumcision*, *σύμβολον ἡδονῶν ἐκτομῆς*, "a sign of the excision of pleasures," saith Philo, noting the casting off that *περισσεία κακίας*, "superfluity of naughtiness," which had been practised among those nations; and the same is more than intimated in our baptism, the outward part of which is *ἀπόθεσις ῥύπον σαρκός*, *the washing away the filth of the flesh*, and signifies the forsaking of all the sinful lusts thereof. So 1 Kings xv. 12, the *idols* and the *Sodomites* are mentioned together; and 2 Kings xxiii. 7, *the houses of the Sodomites are cast down*. Where there is also mention of the *groves* for those dark purposes, by which, under the name of *Ashtheroth*, *Astarte* seems to be designed. So when the Babylonians made *succoth Benoth*, that signifies "the tents of Venus," in which the virgins were solemnly prostituted to the honour of that false goddess, under the title of *Mylitta*; and so the prostitution of their daughters for the honour of their gods, which is mentioned not only by Herodotus, l. 1, and Strabo, l. 16, but in the Epistle of Jeremy, ver. 43, where, as the *θυμῶσαι πίτυρα* (from the Hebrew פֶּטֶרָה *apertura*) hath an unclean notation in it, so the *cords* there mentioned are the signs of their foul vows, and obligation to pay their sacrifices before they went. So Isa. lvii. 5, *You that inflame yourselves with idols under every green tree*, noting that prostitution of men and women in the groves about their idol-temples, in honour of their false gods. So 1 Macc. v. 43, the temple that was at Carnaim is expressed 2 Macc. xii. 26, to be the temple of Venus, for so Ἀτεργατεῖον signifies, אֶרְעַתָּא or ἀτάργατις being with the addition but of an α all one with אֶרְעַתָּא or Δερκετῶ, and with אֶרְעָא, *Athara*, or ἡ σπείρουσα, the expression of and title for Venus. And 2 Macc. vi. 4, when the heathens profaned the temple of God, and transformed it into the Gentile worship, the first thing that is mentioned is their *ἀσωτία* and *κῶμοι*, *luxury* and *unclean night-meetings*, (so the Scholiast on Theocritus explains *κωμάζειν ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ νύκτα εἰς τὰς ἐρωμένες ἀπερχομένων*), *ῥαθυμούντων μεθ' ἐταίρων, καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς περιβόλοις γυναιξὶ πλησιαζόντων*, &c., "committing all filthiness in the precincts of the temple." And so there is more than a trope or figure in it, that idolatry in the scriptures of the Old Testament is so oft expressed by *fornication*, having so much of the reality of that vice in it, Philo calling the *πάθος τῆς ἡδονῆς*, "sensual inordinate pleasures," *εἰδωλα*, "idols," and the heathen idols generally leading into those heathen sins also. Thus in the Sibylline Oracles, speaking of the Roman lust-rations, l. 3. p. 231, we find all the unnatural villainies mentioned, the same that Rom. i. 26, &c.

"Ἀρσεν ὃ ἄρσενι πλησιάζει, στήσουσὶ τε παῖδας
 Αἰσχροῖς ἐν τέγεσι, &c.

And therefore in those Oracles, p. 264, speaking of the Christians giving over idolatry, (οὐδ' ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων χρύσεια, &c.) it is added,

Κ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄρσενικὺς παῖδας μίγνυνται ἀνάγνως,

Ὅσσά τε Φοινικίς τ', &c.

naming all the nations of the heathen world that were guilty of it; and p. 279, exhorting against idolatry,

Φεύγετε λατρείας ἀδίκους τῷ ζῶντι λάτρευε,

Μοιχείαν πεφύλαξο, καὶ ἄκριτον ἄρσενος εὐνήν.

“ Avoid unlawful worships, and serve the living God, keep from adultery and unnatural mixtures;” and, l. 4. p. 287, the true piety is set in opposition, as to the idol-worship, so to

Ἄλλοτρίης κοίτης πόθος αἰσχρὸς,

and

Ἄρσενος ὕβρις ἀπεχθής τε στυγερή τε,

“ all unlawful and abominable lust;” and p. 216, the heathens' title is, Λεκτροκλόποι εἰδωλόλατραι, “ Idolaters that use stolen venery;” and so pp. 296, 315.

Μοιχῆται παρὰ σοὶ, καὶ παίδων μίξις ἀθεσμος,

all to the same purpose, concerning the Romans' practice. And infinitely more in other authors, of the Eleusinia sacra, Cybele's mysteries, Venus's and Flora's feasts among the Grecians. By this may appear the notion of εἰδωλολάτρης, idolater and idolatry in this place for all those foul sins so practised by the worshippers of false gods, and from them taken up and improved by the Gnostics. So Col. iii. 5, *fornication, uncleanness, πάθος, evil concupiscence and inordinate desire, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία, which is idolatry*; where St. Cyprian, Ep. 51, will have ἥτις refer to all the foregoing sins, *for which the wrath of God comes, &c.* So Eph. v. 5. *Every fornicator, and unclean person, and πλεονέκτης, inordinate luster, who is an idolater.* To this may be referred that of Maimonides, More Neboch. l. 3. c. 37. speaking of the unnatural sins of the Gentiles, and instancing in one of them, *Propter hoc, saith he, prohibita sunt commixtiones, scilicet insitio arboris in aliam speciem, ut elongemur a causis idololatriæ et fornicationum, making fornication, in that notion of sins against nature, to be all one with idolatry, or that which idolaters freely practised.* This may be also the notation of idolaters, when the apostle saith, 1 Cor. x. 6. *Be ye ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, They sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play*; for the Greek παιζειν, there rendered to play, may refer in that place to those sins of uncleanness; see note on that place. But no question this is the meaning of ἀθέμιοι εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, *abominable, nefarious idolatries*, 1 Pet. iv. 3, as appears by the ἀσελγειαὶ just before, that is, the τὰ παρὰ φύσιν, *unnatural sins of uncleanness*, in Phavorinus, and the ἀνάγνους ἀσωτίας, ver. 4, *confusion of sexes*, and all kinds of villainy not to be named, as those words denote; see note on that place. And so most manifestly in this Epistle, ch. vi. 9, where *fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, effeminate, abusers of themselves with mankind, &c.* are joined together in the same matter. And Gal. v. 20, where among the *works of the flesh* are in the front, *adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, &c.*, all clearly of a making, if this notion of idolatry be accepted. And Rev. xxi. 8, where among the severals to which fire and brimstone belong, (the portion of Sodom,) we have

ἁβελυγμένοι, *abominable* (in the sense that ch. xvii. 4 and 7, ἁβελύγματα and ἀκάθαρα τῆς πορνείας, *abominations and uncleanness of fornication*, are put together) *fornicators, idolaters, &c.*; and ch. xxii. 15, *fornicators, idolaters, &c.* And this sure was it that St. John referred to in his first Epistle, ch. v. 21, when he persuades his *little children*, his new converts, to *keep themselves from idols*, that is, from those Gnostic practices which had overrun all Asia, as appears by the Epistles to the churches there, Rev. ii. and iii. Thus in Polycarp's Epistle, "He that abstains not from unnatural lusts," (under the name of πλεονεξία, which is there mistranslated *covetousness*; see note [h] on Rom. i.) *ab idololatria coinquinabitur, et tanquam inter Gentes judicabitur*, "shall be infected by idolatry, and judged as among the Gentiles." And so when Bede on Matt. v. 32 saith of *fornication*, that by that word is not only understood *adultery*, but *omnis concupiscentia vel avaritia*, (for πλεονεξία again,) *vel idololatria*, "every concupiscence, inordinate lust or idolatry." And all these uses of the word *idolatry* in the New Testament, distinctly referring to the Gnostics' practices, who, as they were content to be present at the idol-sacrifices, making it an indifferent thing, (rather than be persecuted by the heathens,) so they practised all these heathen villainies in the highest manner imaginable. I shall add but one testimony more to this purpose, that of the Illiberitan Council, can. 2. *Flamines, qui post fidem lavacri et regenerationis sacrificaverunt, eo quod geminaverint scelera, accedente homicidio, vel triplicaverint facinus, coherente machia, placuit, &c.* "The priests that, after the receiving the faith, and being baptized, have sacrificed, in respect that they have doubled their sins by the accession of homicide, (the bloodshed in the gladiators' prizes, which were ordinarily joined with their heathen sacrifices,) or trebled them by the adherence of adultery, or sins of uncleanness, it is decreed," &c.; where, it seems, these followers of the Gnostics, that, after the receiving of the Christian faith, sacrificed as heathen priests, undertook the office of their Flamens, lay under a treble guilt, worship of false gods, bloodshed, and uncleanness also.

11. [k] *railer*] That λοιδορος signifies a *railer*, or *opprobrious, contumelious speaker*, there is no doubt; but that it signifies reproachful actions, as well as words, there is as little question; and therefore Hesychius, that renders it κακολογῶν, in reference to words, renders it ὑβριστής, "a contumelious person" it may be, in respect of actions also. And then it may be here another notation of the heathen Gnostics' sins of uncleanness, which in all languages have been civilly expressed by words that note *contumely* or *reproach*. So in the Sibylline Oracles,

"Ἀρσεως ὑβρις ἀπεχθής τε στυγερή τε,

"the contumelious using of mankind, abominable and base." So when the apostle calls them ἄτιμα πάθη, *infamous, dishonourable*. So to *abuse* or *defame* in English, is ordinarily taken for these sins of uncleanness committed on any, and in the Hebrew dialect, *to mock*, (and παίζειν and ἐμπαίζειν, see note [c] on 1 Cor. x,) as of Joseph, *He hath brought in as Hebrew to mock us*, Gen. xxxix. 14, and so saith Lyra of πῆν, *to mock*, (mentioned note [h].) that it notes *ludentem et coeuntem*, "mocking and defiling." And thus sure it may signify in this place; and so all that are mentioned here will be reducible to the same head, of sins of uncleanness or incontinence, save only that of drunkenness, which,

as another heathen rite, and sensual sin, is fitly joined with them. But if this be not it, it may then, according to the ordinary use of the word for *reproachful speeches*, refer to the uncharitableness of the Gnostics in accusing the Christians, and so stirring up persecutions against them.

12. [1] *For what have I to do*—] Some doubt there is of the reading and rendering the words from this place to the end of the chapter. Theophylact tells us of some that set the point after οὐχί, and then began a new sense without an interrogation. And then the reading must be, *What have I to do to judge those that are without? No, judge ye those that are within*, adding as in a parenthesis, (*but those that are without God judgeth*), and *ye shall take away the evil from among you*, which best agrees to the καὶ (and, not therefore) in the Greek, and to the reading of Chrysostom and Theophylact, who read ἐξαίρει τὸ πονηρὸν, *ye shall remove the evil thing* (not ἐξαίρει τὸν πονηρὸν, *remove the evil or wicked person*) *from among you*, referring, I say they, to the passage in the Old Testament, Deut. xiii. 5, and xxii. 21. And accordingly Theodoret and the Vulgar read τὸ πονηρὸν, *the evil*. For this latter part, that this reading and rendering is to be adhered to, there will be little doubt to any that considers how evidently these last words, καὶ ἐξαίρει—, and *ye shall remove the evil from among you*, refer to the phrase in the Old Testament, Deut. xxii. 21, (though there the Rome edition reads corruptly τὸν πονηρὸν,) all the question is of the former part, which depends on the pointing of the οὐχί, of which Theophylact adds, *τινὲς δὲ συναπτῶς, καὶ ἐρωτηματικῶς*, “some read it conjoined with what follows, and by way of interrogation,” as we do, and all the copies that now we meet with. And that I prefer this reading, beside the consent of copies, these are my reasons: 1st, because the context agrees very well to it, the thing that the apostle now hath in hand, being to disclaim meddling with heathens, in the beginning of the verse, upon which that which is here added, οὐχί τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, τοὺς δὲ ἔσω θεὸς κρίνει; if it be read all in one interrogation, *Do not ye judge those that are within, but those that are without God judgeth?* will follow, and cohere very commodiously; for thus it will lie, *I have nothing to do to judge those that are without*, but as ye, that is, the church, use to censure those that are within, who belong to your cognizance, so for all others they must be referred and left to God’s tribunal: (many speeches of this kind are taken notice of, note [d] on Matt. ix.) 2dly, because in the former reading οὐχί is made an answer to τί, which I believe to be without example, the question by τί being so strong and familiar a negative, that generally there is not any negation added to it, and if there were, οὐδὲν would be it most regularly: 3dly, because οὐχί is very frequently an interrogative form, and οὐκ and μή, οὐδαμῶς and μηδαμῶς, the forms of answering the question, and that argues the necessity of retaining the second reading. The only difficulty remaining is how καὶ ἐξαίρει, and *ye shall take away the evil from among you*, shall fitly connect with this sense. For that καὶ should be rendered *therefore* is not very reasonable, and that also which supposeth the right reading to be ἐξαίρει τὸν πονηρὸν, *take away the evil person*,

ἡ Ἐμνημόνευσε ῥήσεως ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ κειμένῃ.

not *ἐξαίρει τὸ πονηρὸν*, *ye shall take away the evil thing*, which we have already with great reason pitched on for the true. The probablest way to salve this difficulty is, either to affix these last words of the chapter, and of this matter, as a testimony out of the Old Testament, to conclude, and to belong to the whole business of this chapter, that by their obeying his directions in it, they should thus *put away the evil from among them*, and secure themselves from the punishments which else might fall on them, among whom notorious sinners were thus permitted to live *impune*, as it had oft fallen out among the Jews : or else to put the whole 12th verse, and the beginning of the 13th, in a parenthesis, (and not the beginning of the 13th only,) and then to read it in sense thus, from ver. 11 : *But now I have written to you not to accompany, or so much as to eat or use any familiar converse with any unclean or drunken professor ; and by so doing ye shall put away the evil from among you, secure yourselves from the judgments which else you have reason to fear will come upon you* ; then adding the parenthesis in its due place, to give an account of his restraining these censures to professors or Christians only. And this seems the fairest way of composing all difficulty.

CHAP. VI.

2. [a] *to judge*] That the word *κριτήρια* signifies not *matters*, but *places of judicature*, appears by Hesychius, (*κριτήριον, δικαστήριον*,) and authors and glossaries generally ; and so in the sacred style, Susan. 49, where we read, *the place of judgment*. So Judges v. 10, *sit in judgment* ; and Dan. vii. 10, *the judgment was set*, that is, the court of judges. And James ii. 6, *κριτήρια* are distinctly and necessarily rendered *judgment-seats*. And so here the Arabic interpreter renders it by words which are thus in Latin, *subsellia judicii ad mundum pertinentis*, "*seats of judgment belonging to the world*."

7. [b] *a fault*] The word *ἥττημα* is used Rom. xi. 12, and is opposed to *πλήρωμα*, *fulness*, noting there the great paucity of the Jewish converts to Christianity. Accordingly, though it be here applied to another matter, yet in the same notion it is a going less, or an inferior degree, which in respect of that which is to be expected of the higher proficients in Christianity, is a defect or failing, a low pitch for any Christian, but not such as can absolutely and universally be counted a sin, as not being against any precept. *Contending*, or *going to law*, for light inconsiderable matters, is forbidden by Christ, Matt. v. 40, but not absolutely, all contending for the recovering or defending one's own, when the matter is of weight or importance. Only they that have gotten a superiority and contempt of the world, they will go higher than that strict precept, and rather endure considerable losses than engage themselves in such disquiets of mind and turmoils as such contentions use to bring with them : and to this is to be applied that which here follows in this place, *why do ye not rather suffer injury and defraudation* ? that is, it is more Christian and excellent to do so. And in this respect, or comparatively to this higher virtue, the going to law at all, though it be not a sin, *ἀμάρτημα* or *παράπτωμα*, yet it is *ἥττημα*, a *diminution*, a less degree of Christian perfection ; and that is all that is meant in this place. As for the word *ὄλως*, although that be left out

in the king's MS., which reads *ἥττημα ὑμῖν ἔσται*, it is a diminution for you, yet it may be well retained, add note, that this defect was universal among them. See note [a] on ch. v.

CHAP. VII.

3. [a] *due benevolence*] What *εὐνοια* here signifies will be best conjectured by the use of the Hebrew עֲנוּהָ, Exod. xxi. 10, (mentioned after food and clothing,) that must not be denied the wife. The Septuagint render it *δουλίαν αὐτῆς*, *accompanying with her*; the Hebrew word also signifies *εὐνοια*, *benevolence*, which is therefore here used as a modester word, instead of the other; the Syriac reads *the love which he owes*; and some other Greek copies read *ὀφειλομένην τιμὴν*, *due honour or worship*; which perhaps is the ground of the use of the word *worship*, retained by our church in the form of marriage, meaning that kindness which is here said to be due unto her: but the king's MS. hath *ὀφειλὴν* only, all that by vow of marriage is due unto her.

5. [b] *for your incontinency*] What *ἀκρασία* signifies here will be best guessed by the context, where the reason of the advice, *συνέρχεσθαι*, for the man and the wife to *accompany together*, being this, *that the devil tempt them not διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν*, *ἀκρασία* being the occasion or advantage that the devil takes hold of to tempt, must signify their want of ability to contain; not that it signifies *incontinence*; for that is a sin against the marriage vow, and will not agree with the context, which supposes no such sin; but, I say, a *want of ability to contain, or abstain* any longer from the lawful pleasures of marriage, as *ἐγκρατὴς* is he that *ταυτὸν ἐν κράτει ἔχει*, *hath himself in his power*, his own command, and so *οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται*, ver. 9, *they that have not the command of themselves*, so as to live chastely without marriage, and so *ἀκρατὴς*, and thence *ἀκρασία*, the contrary *inability to contain*; which inability or weakness is an occasion of temptation, and will be an advantage also to the tempter, by which, when he tempts, he may be most probably able to overcome.

6. [c] *permission*] That *συγγνώμη* may signify *advice or counsel*, will be gathered from the grammarians, Hesychius and Phavorinus; *συγγενώσομαι*, say they, (it should be *συγγνώσομαι*,) *συμβουλευέω*, "giving counsel," and *συγγνωσκόμενοι, πειθόμενοι*, "they that are persuaded by advice or counsel." And then the plain importance of this verse is, that in respect of the contrary dangers of fornication, &c., vv. 2, 5, he generally gives his advice, that men should marry, &c., vv. 2, 3. Yet for this he is far from giving any command, or laying obligation on any. For if upon experience and long trial there be no fear of those dangers, then his advice is to live unmarried. For so he had said, ver. 1, that it is good for a man not to touch a woman; and again he subjoins it, ver. 8, that it was good for them to continue as he was himself, that is, in single life. And so each of these, marrying and not marrying, is according to several circumstances matter of counsel, but neither absolutely of precept. If there be danger of fornication, then it is his advice, that for the avoiding of that, marriage be chosen, ver. 2, and to the same purpose, *rather let them marry than burn*, ver. 9. And because every man hath not the gift of continence, and it is not presently discerned who hath, therefore in general speaking, and as far as belongs to those who do not discern that they have this gift, the con-

trary danger is so strictly to be avoided, that the apostle's advice (though not command) is, that ἕκαστος and ἐκάστη, men and women generally, ver. 1, betake themselves to that safer course. But this still far from any universal precept; for in case security from that danger of fornication be otherwise to be had, then the apostle's counsel and advice is to follow his example, vv. 7 and 8, and, either in *virginity* or *widowhood*, to remain unmarried. This is the meaning of θέλω γάρ, *for I will* or *would*; not that he commands or prescribes that, but that, in case a man hath the gift of containing, he prefers the single life. For the Hebrews, for want of a word in their language to denote comparative degrees, use positives instead of comparatives, and accordingly θέλω, *to will*, signifies here *to wish rather*, or *to be more willing*, *to prefer* or *recommend* as better. And that is the meaning of καλόν ἐστι, *it is good*, both vv. 1, 8, and 26, that is, κρείσσον, *better* or *more eligible*, if that circumstance of the contrary danger do not hinder it, or outweigh on the other side. Of this speech of the apostle's concerning marriage it is Tertullian's saying, lib. De Monogam. *Dixit hoc apostolus indulgens, non præcipiens*, "What the apostle here said, he spake by way of indulgence, not by way of command," rendering συγγνώμη, "indulgence," according to that other notion of the word, whereby it signifies "pardon or forgiveness of a fault;" and so saith Hesychius, συγγνώμων, ἐλεήμων, it denotes "pity or mercy." Thus it is possible Tertullian might interpret the place, being by the Montanists' infusions somewhat unkind to marriage. But against this the apostle's words are plain, (even when he advises single life as best at that present,) *If thou marriest, thou hast not sinned*, ver. 28. And in this place the context is no way favourable to that notion. For the ἕκαστος ἐχέτω, *let every man have his own wife*, &c., ver. 2, and the γαμησάτωσαν, *let them marry*, ver. 9, (in case of the forementioned danger, διὰ τὰς πορνείας, *because of fornications*, and εἰ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, *if they have not command over themselves*; see note [b].) is certainly more than this, even a free concession of marriage to all, and in case of that danger, an advice and counsel also. To which purpose it is observable, that as here συγγνώμη is opposed to ἐπιταγή, *command*, so is γνώμη also, ver. 25, where that γνώμη signifies *advice* or *counsel*, and not only *permission* or *indulgence*, appears by the consequents, Νομίζων οὖν τοῦτο καλόν—, ver. 26. *I think this is good* (that is, as was said, *better*) *for the approaching instant distresses*; and again, ὅτι καλόν, *that it is good* or *better* *for a man to be so*. From whence, as it follows evidently that γνώμη signifies *counsel*, as that looks on that which is better, and as counsel is generally opposed to precept, and as many things which are not under precept are yet under counsel, so in all reason the συγγνώμη, differing so little from γνώμη, will by the opposition to ἐπιταγή, *precept*, (common to both of them,) be determined also to this signification of *advice* and *counsel*. And so there is no question of it, that for all those who have not that command over themselves, which may give them some degree of security against the danger of fornication, it is κρείσσον γαμῆσαι, ver. 9, *better to marry*, and so matter not only of permission or indulgence, but of counsel to them.

14. [d] *else were your children unclean; but—*] The meaning of οὐκ ἀκάθαρα, ἀλλὰ ἅγια, *not unclean, but holy*, in this place, appears by the context to be clearly this, that the children of Christians are not

refused or rejected from baptism, are suffered to come to the font when others are not suffered: in the same sense that *ἀκάθαρα* is used, when Peter refuses to preach to the Gentiles, because they are *κοινὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρα*, *profane and unclean*; where God, reforming his error, bids him *call no man common which God hath cleansed or sanctified*, that is, reputed fit to be made partaker (there) of the privilege of preaching, (here of baptism.) For the ground of this saying here, that *else were your* (that is, the Christians') *children unclean, but now are they holy*, is only this in the beginning of the verse, *For the unbelieving husband hath been sanctified by the believing wife*, &c.; that is, it is of common experience, and from thence presumed very probable, that a Christian living with an unbeliever will instil Christianity into him or her, and therefore they should live together. This he further proves by the practice of the church about children, thus, Were it not for the great probability that the Christian living with the heathen should infuse Christianity into him, there could no reason be rendered of the practice of the church, why the Christian's child, which is no more a Christian than the child of an heathen, (Christianity being no natural gift born with them,) should yet be capable of baptism, and thought fit to receive that sacrament, when the heathen's child is not wont to be so admitted; and this, it seems, by the general judgment and practice of the church, with whom it is thought reasonable thus to presume that the Christian's child shall be educated in Christian knowledge, which of the heathen's child they cannot presume, unless he be taken out of the hand of the parents. This consideration, thus proposed by the apostle here by the way, is of great authority to prove the apostolical use and practice of baptizing the infants of Christian parents, viz. upon presumption that those parents will see them educated and instructed in the knowledge of their undertaking, and vow of baptism; and when any other Christian will undertake the same for the children of heathens, there is little doubt but they may be admitted to baptism also, *paritate rationis*, "by analogy of the reason." And thus it was the custom of the Jews before Christ, in their receiving and baptizing of proselytes, (from whence that the Christian baptism was deduced, see note [a] on Matt. iii.) For, say they, this baptism belonged not only to those which, being of years, came over from heathenism to the Jewish religion, but also to their infant children, if their parents, and the *consensus* under which they were, did desire it in behalf of the children, promising to let them know and understand, when they came to age, what was required of them by their proselytism, and on condition that they should not then renounce the Jewish religion; which is since the office of the *sponsores* or *susceptores*, "the godfathers" in the church, who do it in the name of the *consensus*, the *church* or *congregation*. This practice of the church seems clearly deducible from this place, where by the context is concluded, that it is strongly probable (and being by the parents and *sponsores* undertaken and promised, it is by the church presumed) that the Christian's child will be catechised, and consequently that such an one may be allowed baptism on that presumption, and that it was then in the apostle's time the custom of the church to baptize them, which is here expressed by *νῦν δὲ ἁγιά ἐστι*, *but now they are holy*, the word *ἁγιά*, which is vulgarly to *sanctify*, signifying among the Jews to *wash*, as when the high priest's washing his

hands and feet ten times on the day of expiation is called קדושין עשרה, *the ten sanctifications*, Joma c. 3. §. 3, which being the word that notes *the washing of some part of the body*, and distinguished in use from the word טבילה, which is *the immersion of the whole body*, (see note [b] on John xiii,) may perhaps be an intimation that the primitive baptisms were not always a dipping or immersion of the whole body, but that the washing or sprinkling of some part might be sufficient, for that was the meaning of the קדושין. As for any privilege which the parents' faith hath to save the child, or infuse saving grace into it, it is not concludible from hence, nor any thing, save only this, that Christians' children, it is presumed, will be catechised and instructed in the Christian faith, and so may, and frequently used to be baptized, but the children of heathens brought up with them, will not probably be so instructed, and therefore are not to be thus admitted to baptism. That this should be the notion of *ἀγια* and *ἀκαθάρα*, will further also appear by remembering the nature of legal uncleanness or pollutions. They made the man to be separated from the congregation; they that were so unclean might not enjoy the privileges of the temple till they were washed or sanctified; and that is just proportionable to the notion here given of it. And accordingly *ἀγιάζεσθαι*, *to be sanctified*, in Gregory Nazianzen and the ancients, signifies *to be baptized*.

17. [e] *But as God hath*—] In this place some ancient copies give us another reading thus, *τί οἶδας ἀνὲρ εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα σώσεις, ἢ μὴ; ἐκαστῷ*—*What knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife, or no? As God hath distributed to every man*— This we learn from Theophylact upon the place: *τις, saith he, οὕτω ἀνέγνωσαν*, “some have read thus.” And then this will take away all debate what should be the proper notation of *εἰ μὴ* in the beginning of the verse, reading it *εἰ μὴ ἐκαστῷ*— For though, if it were certain that that were the true reading, some probable account might be given of it, as that *εἰ μὴ* might signify *only*, or the like; yet when other copies have read it in a form thus perspicuous and free from all question, it will be more reasonable therein to acquiesce, especially considering that if it should be as our copies have it, *εἰ μὴ*, not *ἢ μὴ*, yet joining that to the end of ver. 16, and not transferring it to the beginning of ver. 17, (as it is certain the ancient copies were not divided into verses, or so pointed as ours now are,) then still there will be as little difficulty in it; for so the words will be very current, *τί οἶδας, ἀνὲρ, εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα σώσεις, εἰ μὴ; What knowest thou, O man, if thou shalt save thy wife, if not? that is, whether thou shalt or whether thou shalt not*.

18. [f] *become uncircumcised*] *Ἐπιστομασμός* signifies *attraction*, and particularly belongs to a practice of some Jews, who, under the Egyptian tyranny first, then under Antiochus, and lastly under the Romans, being oppressed for being Jews, of which their circumcision was an evidence, used means by some medicinal applications to get a new *præputium*: and these were called by the Talmudists *משוכים*, that is, *ἐπιστομαστοί*, *attractores*. And that it is possible to be done, is affirmed by Cor. Celsus the famous physician, but easier, saith he, in a boy than a man. So saith R. Aleai of Achan, that he made himself a *præputium*, in Excerpt. Gemar. Sanhedr. c. 6. §. 2. This the author of the books of the Maccabees affirms, 1 Macc i. 15. *ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀποθυσίας, they made themselves foreskins*. So under the tyranny of the Romans there

were many who therefore were circumcised again by Barchuziba, when he took upon him to be the Messiah, and got power among the Jews two years and a half, and was at last slain under Ælius Adrianus. This also Epiphanius observes of the Jews when they turned Samaritans, and of the Samaritans when they turned Jews; for in both those cases there was use of the ἐπισπασμός, *attraction*, that they might be capable of being initiated by circumcision, of which number Symmachus is said to be one, (the Greek translator of the Old Testament,) when, being hated by the Samaritans, he betook himself to the Jews in the reign of Severus the emperor. Now that this practice is here forbidden the Corinthians by the apostle, may seem to be from hence, because some that were converted to Christianity from Judaism did so zealously renounce all their Judaical rites, that they used means to attract the *præputia* again, which was an act of too much superstition and curiosity, and so is censured here.

23. [g] *bought with*—] In this place the whole context persuades to read Τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε interrogatively; for so will it best answer Δούλος ἐκλήθης; *Art thou called being a servant?* or *is thy calling that of a servant?* Thus ver. 18, both parts of the speech are delivered in-terrogatively, Περιτεμνόμενος τίς ἐκλήθης; *Is any man called being circum-cised?* and presently, Ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ τίς ἐκλήθης; *Is any man called in uncircumcision?* For the confirming of this reading, it is to be observed, 1st, that as before and after those two questions, ver. 18, the rule is given, that *every man walk in, or abide in, that calling or condition wherein God hath placed him*, contentedly, without making advantage of Christianity for his pretence of a change; so it is here likewise before, ver. 21, (where the interrogation is varied, *Art thou called being a ser-vant?*) and after this verse, which assures us of the continuing the same manner of speaking, and so that this latter is by way of interro-gation also. Secondly, that after the first question, and the short answer to it, *Art thou called being a servant? care not for it*, all that fol-lows, as far as to this, ver. 23, is but as in a parenthesis, (*but if thou mayest be free, use it rather, For he, &c.*) and so what here follows, ver. 23, answers to that, by way of parallel, Τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε, &c. Which yet will not be a parallel, or answerable to the former question, unless, as before uncircumcision was opposed to circumcision, and the mention of the latter was interrogative as well as of the former, so here the *being bought with the price* be opposed to being *called a servant*, (which it cannot be, unless it signify manumission from service,) and the form of delivering it interrogative also. Lastly, it is apparent that the design of the whole place is to assure Christians that they are not to expect secular immunities or privileges by being Christians, that their being spiritually redeemed by Christ doth not make them free men that before were servants, and this 23rd verse is a medium to infer that, and the conclusion repeated immediately upon it, ver. 24, *Let every one, &c.* Yet such a medium it would not be, (but the contrary, if speaking still to the person or persons last spoken to, ver. 21, that is, to servants, he should here tell them, they were *bought or redeemed by Christ*, (as the same phrase evidently signifies, ch. vi. 20.) and there-fore must not be *the servants of men*. And that he speaks to any other, viz. to free men, it can no way be collected from any words, unless from these, ver. 23, nor yet can it from these, unless τιμῆς ἡγο-

πρόθυμ signify being bought out from human servitude by some sum of money, &c., as we know it was ordinary to buy freedom from heathen masters. Therefore in all probability that is it which is here meant, and then that is best expressed by form of interrogation.

34. [4] *There is difference*—] For the right understanding of the word *μεμέρισται*, it will first be necessary to set down out of the king's MS. a various reading of this whole place, which differs much from that which is vulgarly received, and seems very probably to be the truer: it is thus, ver. 33. Ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεμιμῶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πῶς ἀρίστη τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μεμέρισται, ver. 34. Καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἀγαπῶσα, καὶ ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἀγαπῶσα μεμιμῶ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἵνα ἡ ἀγία τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, &c. *He that is married careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and is divided or distracted. And the unmarried woman (that is, the widow) and the unmarried virgin careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit.* Here *μεμέρισται* signifies being divided between two, the service of God, which lies upon him as a Christian, and the *pleasing his wife*, which lies upon him as an husband; and contrary to this is the *ἀνεπιστάσως*, without distraction, ver. 35, which belongs to the unmarried. Thus the Hebrew *קָלַח*, to which *μερίζω* is punctually answerable, signifies ordinarily to divide an inheritance, but among the rabbins, in *partes distractum esse*, "to be distracted several ways," and when it is rendered *dividi*, "to be divided," it is yet oft to be taken in that notion of distraction. Hence it is that the Jerusalem Targum, Gen. xxii. 14, describing Abraham's faith and ready obedience, without any doubting or anxiety or distraction what to choose, describeth it thus: *Tibi perspicuum est, nullam fuisse in corde meo divisionem, quo tempore jussisti me offerre Isaacum*, &c. "Thou seest, O Lord, that I had no division or distraction in my heart when thou badest me offer Isaac;" and Gen. xxv. 26, speaking of Jacob's not believing the news of Joseph's being alive, instead of *non credidit*, "he believed not," the Targum reads, *et divisit cor ejus*, "and he divided his heart." The word in all other places in the New Testament signifies simply to be divided into two parts, Matt. xii. 25, Luke xii. 13, 1 Cor. i. 13, and so doth *μερισμός*, Heb. iv. 12, and *μεριστής*, Luke xii. 14. And there is no appearance of reason that it should do otherwise here. Now for the vulgar reading of the words, *μεμέρισται* in the front of verse 34, (which indeed is very ancient among the Latins, as appears by Tertullian's using it *De veland. Virgin. c. 4. Divisa, inquit, est mulier et virgo; quare? quoniam innupta, i. e. virgo, cogitat ea quæ sunt Domini*—) that cannot well be imagined in the notion of *differing*. For though the Hebrew *קָלַח* signifies with the rabbins *divisio arithmetica*, "division in numbering," and thence *differentia* and *discrimen*, "difference" of one from another, yet first that importance of the noun is not observed to belong to the verb among them; and, 2dly, the verb in the singular cannot be applied to the two nouns, ἡ γυνὴ and ἡ παρθένος, the woman and the virgin in conjunction, (*mulier et virgo differet* would not be true Latin, nor would it be better Greek,) and therefore if that should be the reading, the words must be rendered severally, *the woman is divided*, that is, distracted, and likewise *the virgin*. But there would be no great sense in that, the context speaking only of the distractions of the married, whereas in the other reading, to which we adhere, the whole context is very current, and the meaning perspicuous,

as we have expressed it. But the not understanding of this notion of *μεμέρισται* for *distraction*, seems first to have been the occasion of taking away the *καὶ*, and then the *μεμέρισται*, which is in the end of ver. 33, was of necessity to be put in the front of ver. 34, and from thence all the perplexedness of the place, which is clearly taken away by the other reading.

35. [i] *that you may attend* —] This rendering of *πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημον καὶ εὐπρόσθετον τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως*, *that you may decently wait upon the Lord without distraction*, is avowed by the Syriac, and the figure of *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν*, expressing one thing by two words, in the *εὐσχημον καὶ εὐπρόσθετον*, will bear it very well.

CHAP. VIII.

4. [a] *an idol is nothing*] The meaning of this assertion of the Gnostics, and concession of St. Paul's, that *εἰδωλον οὐδὲν ἐν κόσμῳ*, *an idol is nothing in the world*, must be fetched from the notation of the Hebrew word לֵילִי, from לָא, that signifies *nothing*, that which hath no existence, Job xiii. 4. Jer. xiv. 14. Zach. xi. 17; and from thence comes עֲלִילִים, *idols*, that is, so many nothings, so far from being gods, that they are *οὐδὲν ἐν κόσμῳ*, *nothing in the world*, no parts of God's first creation, only inventions and fancies of men, creatures of men's own creating, Πονηροὶ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων καὶ πλασταὶ καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ, saith Greg. Nazianzen, "Wicked men are the formers first, and then the worshippers of their wicked deities."

7. [b] *weak*] That *ἀσθενεῖν* signifies *being sick*, in the New Testament, hath been formerly made clear, note [m] on Rom. viii. And being applied to the soul or conscience, as here, it must needs signify the disease or wound or sickness of the soul or conscience, which is sin or error. Thus in the Greek of the Old Testament, Nahum ii. 5, where we read out of the Hebrew, *they shall stumble in their walk*, there it is, *ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν ταῖς πορείαις*, *they shall be weak*. And so generally the Hebrew *לָפַג*, *impingere* and *cespitare*, "to stumble or fall on gall-traps," or any other mischief by the way, is rendered by the LXX. *ἀσθενεῖν*, *being weak*, because they are wounded and galled by these means, and so made unable to go forward. So Rom. xiv. 21, we have together in the same sense *σκανδαλίζεσθαι* and *ἀσθενεῖν*, *being offended* (or *galled*) and *being made weak*. So Rom. v. 6, *ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν*, *when we were weak*, signifies when we were in a wounded, mortally wounded state, noted by *when we were enemies* in other places, and there by *ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν*, ver. 8, *when we were sinners*, and by *ἀσεβῶν*, ver. 6, *impious* or *ungodly*. So saith *Theophylact, *Ἀσθενῶν, τούτεστιν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ἀσθένεια γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὥσπερ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑγίεια*, "weak, that is, sinners, for weakness is sin, as righteousness is health." And thus it is clear it signifies in this place, the discourse being of those who take the idol gods to be true gods, and consequently that the eating or partaking of their sacrifices, which is a part of the worship of those idols, will stand them in stead, prove beneficial to them, and therefore go on purpose to those feasts, and eat the idol sacrifice, *ὡς εἰδωλόθυτον*, *as or because* (or under that very notion, or upon that reason that) it

* In Rom. 5. 6.

is so; which certainly is an erroneous, and so an idolatrous, sinful conscience, though it be in one that hath embraced Christianity. So ver. 9, it is used again for these same men of those erroneous consciences, leading them into that heathen sin, to whom a Christian's going to (or being present at, and eating of) their idol feasts, though he eat it but as ordinary meat, will yet be a means of scandal, that is, an occasion of confirming them in their sin. Thus again, ver. 10, 11, where they are called *brethren*, which notes that this heathen error was yet, *ἕως ἄρτι*, ver. 7, continued among some Christians at Corinth, not the Gnostics, (for they pretended to know that an idol was nothing, and so professed not to eat of those feasts as idol-feasts, but only as of ordinary meat, who therefore are here warned to take heed that they do not confirm these others in their sin,) but some more rude, ignorant, heathen Christians, that through the customariness of their former practice, *συνήθεια τοῦ εἰδώλου ἕως ἄρτι*, the custom of the idol until now; and secondly through their *νηπιότης*, ch. iii. 1, their *infancy* or *rawness* in Christianity, (which made St. Paul look upon them not as *spiritual*, but as *carnal* men, not as Christians, but heathens still;) and thirdly, through the infusions of corrupt false teachers, (mentioned in the following chapter, the *wood*, and the *hay*, and the *stubble*, ver. 12, that must be fired out of the church;) and fourthly, through fear of losing all that they had by the heathen persecutors, (which seems to be mentioned ch. x. 13, and which occasioned many to offer sacrifice in after-times, when Christianity had taken deeper root than it had yet at Corinth,) were still in these dregs and lees of heathenism, after their embracing of Christianity; which will be no wonder to any that observes in this very Epistle, that they thought all kinds of fornication, and even incest, no sins, ch. v. and ch. vi. 15, *suing one another at heathen tribunals*, no sin, ch. vi, yea and believed not the resurrection, ch. xv. And the villainies that were under pretence of Christian liberty practised by the Gnostics, who took themselves to be persons of far deeper knowledge, at the beginning of this chapter, were yet as gross and as heathenish and abominable as could be imagined, setting Christians at liberty from all their former obligations toward husband, master, prince, and engulfing themselves in all the filthiness in the world, 1 Tim. vi. Jude 8. From this explication of *ἀσθενεῖ* will appear also the notion of it, Rom. xiv. 21, where being placed also with *προσκόπτειν*, *stumbling*, and *σκανδαλίζεσθαι*, *being scandalized*, it must needs signify to sin also.

12. [c] *wound* Τύπτειν, signifying to strike or give any blow, and being here applied to the *weak* or *sick*, that is, erroneous, sinful conscience, and being parallel to *σκανδαλίζειν*, *scandalize*, ver. 13, must be understood in a notion which will be common to that other. Thus he that lays a stumblingblock in any man's way, at which he falls or breaks his shins, or otherwise hurts himself, is said *τύπτειν*, to strike, or hurt, or wound him; and so it best agrees with this place, noting the confirming that man in sin, betraying him to all his after-commissions, whose conscience was before erroneous, and his practices sinful, which is as if instead of curing a sick man, which sure stands in need of that charity, I should wound and hurt him more.

CHAP. IX.

17. [a] *willingly*] What is the meaning of ἐκὼν πρᾶσσω, *to do any thing voluntary*, or as a *volunteer*, appears by several parts of the context, first, by the opposition to ἄκων, *involuntary*, as that is explained by a *necessity is laid upon me, and woe is to me if I preach not*, &c. ver. 16, and, *I am intrusted, or a trust is reposed in me*, ver. 7. For that notes the involuntary action to be that which is by law required, and cannot be omitted without sin, and so becometh necessary. So saith Theophylact, Εἰ δὲ ἐνεχειρίσθην, πρόδηλον ὅτι οὐκ ἂν' ἐμαυτοῦ τοῦτο ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικὴν ἐντολὴν πληρῶ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἄκων, by these words, "If I am intrusted, it is manifest he means that I do it not of myself, but perform the Lord's command, for this is to do it involuntary." And therefore to do it ἐκὼν, *voluntary*, is to do it of one's self, without any command or obligation on him to do it. So Theophylact interprets it, Εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἐνεχειρίσθην τὸ κήρυγμα, ἂν' ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν, it signifies, "If this were not committed to me as a trust, but I did it of myself." Secondly, by the mention of καύχημα, *boasting*, ver. 16, and 2 Cor. xi. 9, 10, for that implies what is done to be done without obligation, and above that which was necessary by engagement of any precept. And so, thirdly, by μισθὸν ἔχω, *I have reward* here; and ver. 18, for *reward* signifies a return or retribution to somewhat, which a man was not bound to do. So the phrase is used among the Jews; and Maimonides hath a rule, Mor. Neb. l. 3. c. 17, *Ei datur premium, qui injussus aliquid facit*, "To him a reward is given who doth any thing unbidden." And therefore the whole phrase here, εἰ γὰρ ἐκὼν τοῦτο πρᾶσσω, must thus be rendered most clearly, not *if I do or shall do this voluntary*, as supposing that possible that he may, (for speaking of *preaching the word*, he had before said, that *necessity was laid upon him*, and therefore he cannot be free or at liberty to do or not do it,) but as *suppositio non ponit*, "a supposition doth not affirm," so the εἰ is to be rendered, *if*, that is, *on supposition that I did this voluntarily, a reward would then belong to me*, εἰ δὲ ἄκων, but seeing it is not so, seeing I do it not of my own instinct, but by appointment from God, &c. διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φιλοτιμία τὸ πρᾶγμα, *therefore there is nothing heroical, or matter of holy emulation, or ambition in it*. And accordingly it follows that the matter of preaching being to him distinctly under precept, there was but one thing which could bring him any reward, viz. the ἀδάπανον θῆσω, *making it costless* to the auditors, εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρήσασθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μου, ver. 18, *in not making use of that power which he had*, that is, the power of receiving maintenance from others, ver. 5, which he might most lawfully have done, ver. 7. 12. 14, and which Cephas and others freely did, ver. 5, and the *not using* it would therefore be *thankworthy* with God, and yield him some reward from him. To this purpose clearly St. Chrysostom, Τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίταγμα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως κατόρθωμα, "One was a precept, the other a virtuous action of his choice." ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολὴν γίνεται, πολλὴν δὲ ἔχει τὸν μισθὸν κατὰ τοῦτο, "for what is done above the command, hath proportionably a great reward." And again of the word ἀνάγκη, *necessity*, that it refers to the command, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἐν τῷ λαμβάνειν, "in opposition to the freedom or liberty of receiving," ver. 12. So again Theophylact,

Τὸ εὐαγγελίσασθαι ἐπιταγὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ χρέος, καὶ ἴαν πληρῶ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν κα-
τόρθωμα, &c. "Preaching the gospel is a command, and so a debt;
and if I do it, there is no great matter of virtue in it," τὸ δὲ ἄδανῶς
κηρύσσειν προαιρέσεως φιλοτιμία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καύχημά ἐστι, "but to preach
without charging them is the ambition of my free will or choice, and
in that respect there is place of boasting," or I may boast. And so
St. Augustine, *Potuit beatus Paulus ex evangelio sibi victum querere,
quod maluit operari, amplius erogabat*; "Blessed Paul might get his
food by preaching the gospel; but in that he chose to labour" with his
hands, "he erogated the more," did more in God's service than by any
particular precept was required of him.

19. [b] *servant unto all*] *Servants* or δοῦλοι, *bondmen* or *slaves*, were
wholly in the power of their masters; they had power of life and death
over them, much more of their bodies for labour, without giving them
any wages or reward. To do all that they are commanded is but the
due debt to their masters, which if they perform they are not praised,
but punished if they do it not; whereas they that are free, if they do
any office for any, they may in reason expect to be paid for it. So
here St. Paul being a free man, no slave to the Corinthians, that is,
under no obligation to preach without maintenance, ver. 1, might in
reason expect from them reward for all his service, his preaching, &c.;
but he did all this for nothing, and that he calls ἐδούλωσα ἑμαυτὸν πᾶσιν,
his *serving them as a servant doth*, without any wages, or as though he
were their servant.

24. [c] *Know ye not*—] The discourse that here begins, and goes
on to the end of the chapter, is all perfectly agonistical, no way to be
explained but by observation of the customs in the Grecian games or
ἀγῶνες. Of these there were four most famous in Greece,

Τέσσαρες εἰσι ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱοί,
in the Anthology, l. 1. the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, Isthmian,
differing one from the other only in the places of the πανηγύρεις or
celebrations. The last of them, the Isthmian, were kept among the
Corinthians, and that occasions his speech in this place, Οὐκ οἶδατε; *Do
you not know?* as presuming their particular knowledge of all those
customs which he is about to mention or refer to.

[d] *run*] In every of these four ἀγῶνες, there were five exercises,
as was said, note [f] on Rom. ix, *wrestling, cuffing, running, leaping,
quoiting*, πάλη, πυγμή, δρόμος, δλμα, δίσκος, which the Anthology sets
down with some little change,

"Ἄλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην,
putting ἄκοντα for πυγμήν not very fitly. Beside these five single ones,
there was another kind made up and compounded of the two foremost
together, cuffing and wrestling both; and because to the performing
of that all kind of strength and agility was required, it was therefore
called παγκράτιον, from κράτος, *strength*, not from κρατῖω, *to overcome*.
Now the particulars that are here referred to are only two of these,
that of δρόμος or ποδωκείη, *running*, the third of the five, and this of
παγκράτιον, the one compounded of the other two; the former of these
in this and the two next verses, the latter in the last verse of the
chapter.

[e] *a race*] Στάδιον was the space wherein they run, ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ

ἔτρεχον, ἣν δὲ πηχέων τριακοσίων διάστημα, &c., saith the Scholiast on Pindarus, "it was three hundred cubits long."

[f] *one receiveth*] This race is open to all to run in, that is, to all that aspire to the crown or prize, who come from all coasts to that end, and from thence the *agones* were called πανηγύρεις or *frequentiæ*, "places of meeting or assembly." But when never so many ran, there was no possibility for above one to overcome, to wit, he that came foremost to the goal; for to him only the reward or prize belonged, which was called in their idiom βραβεῖον, *bravium* or ἄθλον, which two words differ no more than δῶρον and λῆμμα, the first in respect of the βραβευτής, that adjudges, the second in respect of the ἀθλητής, that receives it. This he was said λαμβάνειν, or καταλαμβάνειν, or ἐπιλαμβάνειν, (see note [l] on Rom. ix. and note [c] on Phil. iii.) which we render by *receiving* or *obtaining*, that is, catching of the prize or βραβεῖον from the top of the goal, the βραβευταὶ or *judges* having passed their sentence that he hath overcome, and it belongs to him.

[g] *So run*] The οὕτω here refers to the laws or rules of the *agones*, the observing of which was as necessary toward the obtaining the victory or prize, as the swiftness was. For in the race there was not only the two terms, from whence and to which they ran; the first called βατήρ and τέρμα, the latter ἑσκαμμένα, βαλβίς, τέλος, σκοπός, but also κακὸν, *the rule*, a white line marking out the path, within which they were to run, τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ βατήρος καὶ τῶν σκαμμάτων, "the middle space betwixt the two terms, from which and to which they ran or leaped," saith Jul. Pollux: and if they transgressed or ran over it, they did not νομίμως ἀθλῆσαι, 2 Tim. ii. 6, *run regularly*, and consequently they lost the prize: so saith St. Chrysostom, Ἄν μὴ πάντα ἀπλῶς διαλθεῖσι τὰ τοῖς ἀθλήταις προσήκοντα οὐδέποτε στεφανοῦσθαι, "If they do not absolutely pass through and perform all things that befit the combatants, they are never to be crowned." Nay, if others observe aright, (that they were bounded with swords on one side, and the river Alpheus on the other,) the danger was greater than that of losing the prize; if they transgressed, they not only lost, but fell into the river, or on the sword's point; which is very applicable to our Christian race. Beside these, many other νόμοι ἀθλήσεως, *laws* or *rules of combating* there were, all which were to be observed in order to obtaining the crown, and that is the meaning of the οὕτω τρέχετε here, *so run*.

25. [h] *is temperate*] What is here meant by ἐγκρατεύεται πάντα will be best collected by recounting the manner of the *athletæ* in preparing themselves for the games: first, negatively, that it was not by λεπτή διαίτα, *temperance*, or *thin diet*, but directly the contrary, many times ἀναγκοφαγία, *cramming*, *forcing themselves to eat*, that by that means they might become παχεῖς and πολύσαρκοι, *fleshy* and *corpulent*. So saith *Lucian of Damosias, the *athleta*, whom Charon durst not take into his boat, τοσαύτας σάρκας περιβεβλημένον, *having such a weight of flesh about him*. To this agrees the phrase among physicians, ἀθλητικὴ ἔξις, and *athletice*, and *pancraticæ valere*, for "a full habit of body." So ^b Julian of Constantius, that he did not think agreeable to an emperor, τὴν τῶν παλαιστῶν κατελιγφῶτων θρυλλουμένην εὐεξίαν, "that famous full

* Tom. i. p. 266.

^b Or. i. p. 19.

habit of the combatants," or *palestrite*, and therefore that he used τροφῆς οὐ πολλῆς, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος, οὔτε κατὰ ποιότητα πάντως ὀρισμένης, "neither much meat, nor prescribed either for quantity or quality," τῆς δὲ ἐπιτυχούσης, "but any that came next to hand." By which it appears, that the further he was from the diet of the athletæ, the more temperate he was esteemed, but yet withal that the diet of the athletæ was a prescribed, set diet, both for quality and quantity, prescribing so much, and of those kinds which were fittest for the turn, to give them a full habit of body, and requiring them to force it upon themselves. And ^c Andronicus Rhodius gives the reason of this, Ἡ γὰρ ἰσχὺς γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ πολλὴν τροφήν λαμβάνειν, "Strength is acquired by receiving much nourishment." It will not then be proper to render ἐγκρατεύεται here by *temperance*, especially when Suidas labours a whole page together to prove that it differs ἀπὸ σωφρονισμού, *from temperance*: but one of these three notions will be agreeable enough to it, and will by the way set down the manner of preparing them to their games. First, it may be rendered *continence*; so the word signifies in the matter of Felix, Acts xxiv. 25, and I conceive Gal. v. 22, and 2 Pet. i. 6, where the addition of it to γνώσις, *knowledge*, seems to refer to the Gnostics of that time, which pretended to great knowledge of their Christian liberty, and by that fell into all uncleanness and incontinence. So Titus i. 8, it signifies being annexed to δσιος, *clean* or *pure*, and differing from σώφρων, *temperate*, which went before. And then the meaning of this phrase here will be, that whosoever fits himself for these *agones*, either wholly abstains from women, or for the time containeth, according to that of Horace, De Art. Poet.

*Qui cupit optatam cursu contingere metam,
Abstinuit Venere, &c.*

And so saith Eustathius on Homer Π. ω'. Ἀθληταὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀθλεῖν πάντα καιρὸν οὐκ ἀφίσταντο πλησιάσειν γυναίξει, "The combatants, all the time of their combating, were not permitted to come near women." So ^d *Ælian* of the Tarentinus Luctator, Ἀθλήσεως χρόνον διατελέσαι Ἀφροδίτης ἀμαθῆ, "He knew nothing of venery all the time of his combating." So Clem. Alexand. speaking of the athletæ, saith, they did δι' ἀσκήσεων σωματικῶν ἐγκρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀπέχειν, "contain in respect of their bodily exercise, and abstain from venery." And so in Ignatius's Epistle to the Philippians, εἷς τις ἀγνέυει καὶ ἐγκρατεύεται, "if any be pure and continent," &c. And after this example it was that the ancient Christians that contained strictly, and lived a virgin chaste life, were called ἀσκηταί, *exercisers*, and thence Hesychius renders ἐγκράτεια, *continence*, by ἀσκησις, *exercise*. A second possible notion of ἐγκρατεύεται may be to signify a constancy of mind in abstaining from all things that are hurtful: so doth Suidas render it ἡ τῶν κακῶν ἀποχή, "abstaining from evil;" and in Hesychius, ἐγκρατῆσαι is καρτερῆσαι: and so saith ^e St. Chrysostom of Job's great constancy in avoiding the occasions or beginnings of sin, that he did πάντα σιδήρον καὶ ἀδάμαντα τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγκρατεῖα παρελθεῖν, "go beyond iron or adamant in constancy of mind:" and agreeable to this saith the Italian note here, *S' astiene da tutte le cose che possono esserli in qual si voglia modo d' impedimento*, "He ab-

^c Par. in Eth. l. 2. c. 2.

^d Var. Hist. l. 11. c. 3.

^e In Job c. 31. 1.

stains from all things that can in any manner be hinderance to him." So ^fAntiochus, Hom. 6, Ἐγκράτειαν δὲ φάμεν οὐ τῶν βρωμάτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὴν περιετικὴν, τοιούτῃ τὴν ἀποχὴν τῶν πάντων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων, "We mean abstinence not only from meats, but that which is comprehensive, that is, abstinence from all things that are forbidden;" and so it may be applied to the matter in hand of abstaining from the use of Christian liberty when that abstaining may tend to the edifying of the brethren, or be profitable to his ministry. Lastly, it may signify his *having all things in his power*, πάντα ἐν κρᾷτι ἔχων, (see note [b] on ch. vii.) and then the meaning of the place will be, that the combatant keeps a mastery over himself; suffers not himself to be brought under the power of any thing, but is superior to all carnal desires; first conquers himself, then attempts victory over others also; first subjugates one desire, denieth himself the use of one liberty, then of another, and so πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται gets all into his power.

[i] *corruptible crown*] The ground of this phrase φθαρτὸς στέφανος, a *corruptible fading crown*, hath been mentioned, note [l] on Rom. ix. For in all those famous games of Greece, that were so honourable in respect of their institution, their authors, and the celebrity and concourse of people to them, there was yet no reward proposed or obtainable by any of them, but the leaves of some plant, or boughs of some tree, which therefore ^gLucian calls τὸν φυλλιδὸν στέφανον, a *leafy crown*, and in the person of Anacharsis sufficiently derides, περὶ γυμνασ. p. 727, to which is opposed not only the στέφανος ἀφθαρτος here, but more clearly the ἀμάραντος, 1 Pet. i. 4, the *not-fading crown, the not-withering inheritance*; to which perhaps may be applied also that of Heb. xii. 11, where having made mention τῶν γεγυμνασμένων, of them that are exercised, he saith there is laid up for them καρπὸς εἰρηνικὸς, a *peaceable fruit*, which, saith Peter Faber, denotes the crown made of the olive-tree, the emblem and token of peace.

26. [k] *as uncertainly*] The phrase οὐκ ἀδήλως refers to the form or manner of the *stadia* or *courses* among the Grecians, wherein every racer had his course chalked out to him, both the place where he set out, the goal whither he went, and the way that he passed; so that unless a man winked, he could not but see perfectly, and know (for ἀδήλῳ and ἄγνοια, *uncertainty* and *ignorance*, are all one in Hesychius) which way he must go, and whither aspire. To this may be further added the δηλότης, *certainty* of the victory, and the assurance that he shall have the crown, if he do regularly perform the race and overcome. So in ^hLucian saith Anacharsis, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδήλῳ καὶ ἀμφιβόλῳ τῆς νίκης τοσοῦτοι ποιοῦσι, "If they labour so, when the victory is uncertain and doubtful," &c.

[l] *fight*] Here is the allusion changed from that of running to the other of cuffing, (for that is the particular notation of πυκτεῖν and πυγμῇ,) or rather to that of παγκράτιον, compounded of cuffing and wrestling, and so of which πυγμῇ was a part; for so saith St. Chrysostom here, καὶ γὰρ δρόμος καὶ παγκράτιον, &c., the apostle speaks of two exercises, *racing* and that called *pancratium*. (See notes [d] and [o].)

^f Bibl. Pat. Gr. tom. 1. p. 1035. C.

^g Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνοντ. p. 321.

^h Περὶ λυμνασ.

[m] *beateth the air*] 'Αέρα δέπειν or δαίρειν, *beating or striking the air*, belongs to that of cuffing, a *prælude* or *preparative* to which was *σκομαχία*, *fighting with or beating the air*, which Virgil describes by

Alternaque jactat

Brachia protendens, et verberat ictibus auras.

"He thrusts out his arms one after another, and beats the air with his blows." And ¹Lucian, "Ἦν τινα ἀθλητῶν ἰδὼς ἀσκούμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, λακτίζοντα εἰς τὸν αἶρα, ἢ πῦξ κενὴν πληγὴν τινα καταφέροντα, "If you see a combatant exercising before the combat, kicking into the air, and with his fists giving it an empty blow." This was only a brandishing before the fighting: of which, saith Buddæus on the *Pandects*, p. 74, that there is nothing more ordinary than that they that excel in skill and dexterity at this, (so that they can before they meet with their adversary shew their readiness to take all advantages of striking and wounding the enemy,) yet when they come to fight in earnest, and proceed *a prolusione ad cruentum discrimen*, "from the prolusion to the bloody combat," *considerint statim animo, nec artis suæ præceptorum meminerint*, "miscarry, and fall presently in spirit, and forget all the precepts of their art." Where the opposition between this *beating of the air* and *bloodiness of the combat*, coming to *sharp*s, as we call it, may give us the understanding of that phrase, Heb. xii. 4, *Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin*; all that they had yet suffered being but a *προπυγμὴ* or *σκομαχία*, as it were; they were not yet come to the real blows, had but been in some skirmishes as yet. Another notion there may be of this phrase, to signify the missing of the adversary, and hitting the air only. So saith Eustath. on 'Ιλ. ε'. Οἱ πυγμάχοι πολλάκις οὐκ εἰστοχοῦντες μάτην κινεοῦσι τὰς χεῖρας, "They that contend by cuffing do many times miss, and move their hands" (that is, strike) "to no purpose." And thus will it here agree with the former phrase *οὐκ δόλως*, for as those that cuff in the dark, though they strike never such *καλὰς πληγὰς*, saith Aristotle, *lucky blows*, yet many times miss their aim, wound nothing but the air; so here, should the apostle not be perfectly skilled in the *ἀγὼν* or *combat* he was about, he might often lose his blows; but being perfectly instructed in his race, and what will bring him first to the goal, and being entered into the lists with his adversary, and set knowingly about his business, as it follows, *ὑπωπιάζει καὶ δουλαγωγεῖ*, he plays the *pancratiasta* notably.

27. [n] *keep under*] What is the notion of *ὑπωπιάζειν* hath been formerly touched on, Luke xviii. 5; and though there it signify by a secondary borrowed signification *to reproach* or *put to shame*, yet here it is certainly in a primary notion *to strike under the eye* or *in the face*, as the *πύκται* were wont to do. This being here joined to *τὸ σῶμά μου*, and applied to the matter in hand, of denying himself the use of his Christian liberty, must be rendered, (according to the notion of *ἡμῶν*, which is Hebrew for *σῶμά μου*, *my body*, before mentioned, note [a] on Rom. vi. and is no more than *ἐμαυτὸν*, *myself*.) *I do give myself blue eyes*, as in cuffing the combatant doth the adversary, *pugnis ductis cæstibusque impactis lividum reddere*, "I use great severity upon myself."

[o] *bring it into subjection*] *Δουλαγωγεῖν*, *to bring under*, belongs to

¹ In Hermot. p. 219.

wrestlers, who strive to throw the fellow combatant, to get him under them, that so he may not be able to resist or strike. And this being adjoined to the former, is the character of *παγκράτιον*, according to the plain words of Aristotle, *Rhet. l. 1. c. 5. Δυνάμενος θλίβειν, &c. παλαιστικός, ὁ δὲ ὄσαι τῇ πληγῇ, πληκτικός, ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις, παγκρατιστὴς λέγεται*, "He that can oppress and get down his adversary, is called good at wrestling; he that can strike him down with his fist, an able cuffer; but he that is for both these is the *pancratiasta*." And so the plain sense of the place applied to the matter in hand will be this; That the apostle is so far from making use of all his Christian liberty, that, saith he, *I subdue and bring myself down*; I bind myself to abstain from many things, which I might very lawfully enjoy, to labour with my hands, and suffer many hardships which I need not; and all this to acquire the crown, which belongs not to the idle person, or to him that doth no more than he is bound to, but to him that enters the lists, and overcomes there; and in order to that,

*Multa tulit fecitque—sudavit et alsit,
Abstinuit, &c.*

Thus is fasting expressed by the Arabians, that it is *sui domatio et depressio, et subjugatio concupiscentiæ*, (see Greg. Abul Farai de Arabum Moribus, p. 29.) "the taming and depressing of himself, and subjugating of concupiscence." And so Philo Judæus, speaking of immoderate fasting, (*lib. Pejorem insidiari meliori*), saith, they do *λεμψὲ καὶ ταῖς κακώσεσι ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἐκτραχλίζειν*, "by fasting and ill usages subdue their body and mind, as wrestlers do their adversaries;" and accordingly this of fasting, &c., is ordinarily styled *ἀσκησις* and *γυμνασία*, *exercise*, relating to these *agones*.

[*p*] when I have preached] *Κήρυξ*, in the Olympic or Isthmian games, is the *præco* or *herald*, (the word by its origination seeming to come from the Hebrew *קרא*, *clamavit* and *proclamavit*, "to cry," and "proclaim," and from thence *κράζω* and *κηρύσσω*, by an easy change,) whose office it was from a scaffold or eminent place to proclaim the combat that was to be entered, to call the *agonistæ*, to name the prizes, to admonish the *athletæ*, to animate them, to set them the laws of the *agones*, to subject all to the examination of the judges, and as they shall determine to pronounce the conqueror. So in Isidor. Pelus. Epist. l. 3. *Ὁ κήρυξ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀγώνων τοὺς νικῶντας ἀνακηρύττει, ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἄλλοις διατιθεῖς*, "He proposes the combat, and proclaims the conqueror and conquered." Such are the apostles under Christ, at once *κήρυκες* and *στεφανίται*, *heralds* and *crowners*, saith Isidore, pronouncing, proclaiming, citing, admonishing, binding, loosing, pronouncing some conquerors, and *ἀποκηρύσσοντες*, *rejecting* others as unworthy.

[*q*] *a castaway*] What *ἀδόκιμος* signifies hath been said in note [*h*] on Rom. i. *to miscarry*, and lose the reward that he is contending for. Thus in good authors *ἀδόκιμον γενέσθαι* and *ἀποκηρυχθῆναι* are all one, and are opposed to *στεφανοῦσθαι*, *being crowned or rewarded*. And so that will be the importance of this close of the apostle, that he denies himself many things which he might enjoy, as combatants are wont to do, puts himself to many hardships also, that (whilst he is an apostle to others, directing them to that course that will bring them to their crown, to

wit, that of self-denial and the cross, by which Christ our Captain attained it before us) he may not himself miscarry, or be found unworthy to receive it.

CHAP. X.

1. [a] *under the cloud*] The Jews have a known saying, (see note [c] on Luke xiii.) that "he that enters into God's covenant is gathered under the wings of the majestic presence." See Maimonides, Tit. Isuri bia, cap. 13. "Whensoever," saith he, "a Gentile will enter into covenant, וְלִהְיוֹתוֹ פֶּתַח כְּנָסִי דִשְׁכִּינָה, and be gathered under the wings of God's presence, or glory, or majesty," &c. The foundation of this speech is to be taken from that plain truth, that God obliges himself to take care of and protect all those that undertake obedience to him; but the peculiarity of the expression refers to the manner of God's exhibiting himself in the holy of holies, viz. by the cherubims' wings overshadowing the covering of the ark, to represent to us, that as the bird covers and defends the young ones with her wings spread over them, (to which our Saviour refers, Matt. xxiii. 37.) so doth God, that is every where present, peculiarly exhibit himself to those that keep his covenant and think upon his commandments to do them. And what was thus represented in the tabernacle and the temple was before more really exhibited in the departure of Israel out of Egypt; for there we find mention of *the cloud* and *the fire*, Exod. xiii. 21, in or by which (*the cloud by day, and the fire by night*) *God went before* or conducted them. Where, first, it must be remembered, that this *going before* doth not necessarily denote any distance of space from them, so as a guide goes before the rider, when he is only to teach or direct him the way, and he follows after, but (as was more agreeable to their condition at that time, who were to be shielded and protected, as well as led, and that protection noted by God's *going before them*, the same God going behind them too, *The Lord shall go before thee, and the Holy One of Israel shall be thy rereward*) an encompassing them on every side. So in ^h Rabbi Eleezer, עומר הענן סובבאת מחנה ישראל כעיר מוקפת חומה, "the pillar of cloud encompassed the camps of Israel as a wall environs a city;" and therefore when it is said, Exod. xiv. 19, that *the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them*, I suppose it must be interpreted by ver. 20, that the inner part of the cloud that was next the Israelites, being a lightsome part, and the external superficies of it not so, (now, when the Egyptians pursued the Israelites,) the cloud was so disposed as to be behind as well as before them, shining round about them, and yet so to be (in respect of the luminous part of it) confined to them, as to give light only to the Israelites, but none to the Egyptians that followed them. And secondly, that the word *pillar*, applied to it, is not to be looked on as a solid body, standing and fastened on the ground, and so still passing before them, but as pillars were anciently built hollow, as a kind of house or dwelling-place, (and accordingly Simeon the Anchorite is called στυλάτης, because he dwelt always in a pillar,) a concave body over their heads, and so coming down to the ground, like wings enclosing and

^h In Pirki, c. 44. f. 40.

encompassing them on every side; and accordingly it is here said that they were *ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην*, *under the cloud*, (and so the cloud over them, not placed or fixed before them,) which is all one with what is expressed in other places by *the cloud's overshadowing them*, that it comes upon, hovering over them, as a dove before it lights on any thing; to which the Psalmist refers, when he saith, *Under the shadow of thy wings I will rejoice*; and, *Thou shalt hide me under thy wings*, &c." Thirdly, That this *pillar of cloud* and of *fire* were all one, viz. a bright shining cloud, such as is described Matt. xvii. 5, *φωτεινὴ νεφέλη ἐπισκιάζουσα*, *a lightsome cloud overshadowing*. For that the same word in Hebrew signifies both *light* and *fire* hath been formerly observed, (see Luke xxii. 56.) and that a *fiery* or *lightsome cloud*, though in the daytime, when the sun shines, it shineth not, doth yet shine in the night, and give light, as fire, it is evident. And this may yet be further demonstrated by a passage of Pindarus, in his description of Etna:

ποταμοὶ
Δ' ἀμέραισι μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
Αἰθων', ἀλλ' ἐν ὀρφναῖσι πέτρας
Φοίνισσα κυλινδομένη φλόξ ἐς βαθεῖαν
Φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.

Which is, in his poetic expression, this plain historical truth, that "it was ordinarily seen in Etna, that it ¹sent out smoke in the daytime, and flames of fire in the night:" and though that poem which Virgil left imperfect hath confounded the times, and not taken notice (in his imitation of Pindar) of the distinctions of seasons, noted by him in the words *ἀμέραισι* and *ὀρφναῖσι*, yet hath he also mentioned both the smoke and the flames, the first in the style of "a black cloud,"

— *atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem*
Turbine fumantem piceo—

the latter by great "globes of fire" going up to heaven,

Attollitque globos flammarum, et sidera lambit.

Just as here, a *dark smoky cloud* in the daytime, when the sun outshone it, and made the light of it useless and indiscernible; and a *fiery flaming shining cloud* in the night, when they needed such a conduct. And that I suppose is the reason why here is mention only of *the cloud*, not of *the fire*, though in Moses there is mention of both. All this being thus premised, it appears, first, how fitly it is here said by the apostle that *our fathers*, that is, those Israelites that then went out of Egypt, *were under the cloud*, and *passed through the sea*, these two being varied phrases of the same importance. For it must first be remembered that the Israelites passed not so through the Red sea as to go over it, entering on one side and going out at the other, but came out again on the same side that they went in, as appears Num. xxxiii. 6, (where, before their passing through the sea, *they pitched at Ethan, in the edge of the wilderness*.) compared with ver. 8, where, after their *passing through the sea*, they go *three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham*. And therefore, secondly, this *passing through the sea* must be their entering into the channel, so as the sea first gave way to them,

¹ Usu veniebat oculisque videbatur interdum fumare Ætnam, noctu flammigerare.—
A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 17. c. 10.

and then returned up to the shore again, dry ground being left to them in the midst of the channel, and the sea encompassing on every side of them, before them, behind them, on the right hand and the left; and so as the cloud environed them, in like manner the sea environed them also; and as they were protected and secured by the one, so they were by the other. And therefore, secondly, from hence it also appears why it is here said of them that they were *baptized in the cloud and in the sea*, and why by both *baptized into Moses*. For baptism being among the Jews (as well as Christians) the ceremony of initiation of all that entered into the covenant, by the same reason that such are said to be *received under the wings of the divine presence*, they may also be said to be *baptized in or with the cloud and sea*, that covering them with the cloud, and environing them with the sea, being on God's part the receiving them under his protection to bring them safe to Canaan, and so to perform to them his part of the covenant, and on their part an obligation to be for ever obedient to God, under the conduct of Moses; the assuming of which is *being baptized into Moses*. And this may serve for the literal explication of the verse, as it belongs to the *fathers*. Now for the application of it to the matter in hand, to which it is accommodated by the apostle, it seemeth to lie thus: The Gnostics were great pretenders to liberty, by reason of their being spiritual and perfect; and among the branches of their heresy, St. Irenæus, insisting at large on Marcus's followers, observes of them, among other things, their pretence that they were *φύσει πνευματικοί*, *naturally spiritual*, by which means, said they, no sin was able to defile them, any more than gold was defiled by being in a sink, or the sunbeams by shining on a dunghill; then that they had a shield, or cloud, or covering, which, whatsoever they did, made them *ἀοράτους τῷ κριτῇ*, *invisible to the Judge*, and that this belonged to all that had their *ἀπολύτρωσις*, *redemption*, as they styled their baptism. That these scholars of Marcus were after the apostles' time, there is no doubt, but yet being branches of the Valentinians, it is to be thought that they did, as the same Irenæus saith of them, take the old doctrines of the Gnostics, and *εἰς ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα μεταρμόζειν*, *accommodate them to their own manner of speaking*; and so we may, from what we find in these latter, discern the deceits of those former heretics, that unclean sink of the Gnostics, that pretended to that perfection of knowledge, called themselves *the spiritual*, and Simon their leader pretending that he was that God the Father that appeared in Mount Sinai, they were those Israelites, shielded by him with the cloud, carried safe through the Red sea, and had a special kind of baptism or *ἀπολύτρωσις*, which they, by their *γῶσις*, that is, mystical interpretations of Moses's writing, made proportionable and parallel to the several things here named of the Israelites, vv. 2, 3, 4. And this seems to occasion the apostle's discourse in this place, where, following their language of themselves, and supposing but not granting them parallel to those Israelites that were so miraculously led and fed, he shews by their example, that if they go on in their sins, they must expect that usage that the Israelites then had, viz. to die in the wilderness, and not come to Canaan.

4. [6] *that spiritual Rock that followed them*] The Jews have now a relation, whether by way of story or of parable, that the water that

came out of the rock in Horeb, Exodus xvii. 6, or *the streams* that *flowed* or *overflowed*, psalm lxxviii. 20, did follow the Israelites through their journeying in the wilderness: and that it did so may appear probable, because in that dry wilderness we hear no more of their wanting water, till Cadesh, which was some thirty-six years after this, when they had taken a contrary way in their journeying, by which means (as also by God's making this new trial of them, and to that purpose ordering the change of their journey) that water might now cease to follow them, which before, as long as the miraculous flowing lasted, might naturally, without any new miracle, follow them all their voyage. This saying of theirs St. Paul makes use of in a mystical sense, making Christ indeed to be the Rock in a spiritual sense, and that Christ, following, (coming really, so long after, into the world,) but even then (so long ago) spiritually and in power present among them.

7. [c] *to play*] That the word *παίζω* here is to be taken in an unclean sense, may appear probable by the use of the word *mocking* among the Jews. This will be discerned by the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xxi. 9, on that of Ishmael's mocking. Instead of these words in the Hebrew, *Sarah saw the son of Hagar mocking*, they read by way of paraphrase, *Et vidit Sara filium Egyptiæ facientem opera mala, quæ fieri non oportuit, illudentem, et cultum peregrinum exercentem*, "And Sarah saw the son of the Egyptian doing evil works which ought not to be done, mocking, and exercising strange worship." Where the *opera mala quæ fieri non oportuit*, "the evil works that ought not to be done," are the *ἀθέτμα*, 2 Pet. ii. 7, and *ἀθέμια*, 1 Pet. iv. 3, that is, those unnatural filthy sins which were so ordinary among the heathens, used as part of their Gentile worship, and those, it seems, noted by the phrase of *illudere* or *mocking*, which there and here, and in other places, (according to the civility of the sacred style,) is made use of, rather than others which signify more grossly those acts of unnatural filthiness. So Rabbi Solomon mentions an interpretation, that Ishmael had committed uncleanness, and that that is the meaning of the Hebrew *קטץ*, *to mock*, Gen. xxxix. 17. And Lyra on that of Gen. xxi. saith, that the Hebrew word is equivocal, and signifies *ludentem, idololatrantem, occidentem, et coeuntem, vel lascivientem*, "mocking, committing idolatry, killing, committing uncleanness and wantonness." And then there will be little doubt but the words of the same Targum on Exod. xxxii. 6, (the place from which the words in this place are taken,) *Et surrexerunt sibi ludentes cultu peregrino*, "And they arose, mocking themselves after the strange or heathen worship," may belong to that also. To which purpose it is further observable that *ἐπαίζω*, (which may well be resolved synonymous to *παίζω*, but cannot so well be mistaken for *playing* as the other may, but distinctly signifies *illudere*, "to mock,") is the rendering of *קטץ*, (which is the word in Exodus, whence these words are cited,) Gen. xxxix. 14 and 17, in that story of Potiphar's wife and Joseph, and certainly signifies *uncleanness* there. Thus Tobit iii. 18, where Anna, to shew herself free from all uncleanness, *ἀπὸ πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἀνδρὸς, from all sin of or with man*, ver. 17, adds in St. Jerome's translation, *Nunquam cum ludentibus miscui me*, "I never associated myself with them that mocked;" where no doubt uncleannesses are meant; and it is probable that the Greek, which he trans-

lates ludentibus, was *παιζόντων*, though our Greek copies wholly leave out that part of the period. And if the comparing of the story, Acts vii. 41, where it is said in this matter *εὐφραίνοντο*, *they rejoiced in the works of their hands*, be apt to incline to the other interpretation, as supposing that *παιζέω*, *to play*, is all one with *εὐφραίνεσθαι*, *to rejoice*, and consequently that both denote their dancing before the idol, it will be easily answered, that *εὐφραίνεσθαι*, *rejoicing*, there signifies most properly the rejoicing at a feast, Luke xii. 19. and xv. 23, 24. 29. 32. and xvi. 19; and so following the offering of sacrifice to their idols, shall note the sacrificial feast, and be all one with *eating and drinking* here, but not with *παιζέω*, whether *playing* or *mocking*, that attends it; and so still *παιζέω* may fitly thus be interpreted, especially when in this place it follows immediately after *ἐπιθυμηταὶ κακῶν*, *lusts after evil things*, (in the notion that *κακῶς ζῆν*, *to live ill*, is used by Phavorinus in the word *ἀσελγῆ*, *wanton*, that is, for this very sin, and so *κακία*, *illness*, Rom. i. 29.) and is attended with *μηδε πορνεύωμεν*, *neither let us commit fornication*, &c., referring to that other act of the like sin, Numb. xxv. 2, 3, and thence, I suppose, it is, that to his exhortation of *flying from idolatry*, ver. 14, he subjoins, ver. 15, *I speak to wise men, judge ye what I say*; not willing to speak more plainly, or to add more words on that subject. (See note [f] on Eph. v.)

10. [d] *destroyer*] That which is here called *ἐξολοθρευτής*, *destroyer*, is in the Jerusalem Targum, Exod. iv. 26, called *perdens*, and that there explained by *angelus mortis*, *a messenger of the Lord's*, ver. 24, *that came to kill him*. This is elsewhere called *the destroying angel*; for what is here said, *they were destroyed by the destroyer*, is in the story from whence it is taken, Numb. xiv. 37, *they died by the plague before the Lord*. So the angels that came to Lot's house are sent to destroy the city, Gen. xix. 13. In all which, and many more places where plagues are said to be inflicted of God by angels, it doth not appear that the angels used as instruments of those plagues are the fallen angels or devils, but those heavenly that wait on God to execute his wrath, as well as convey mercies. Thus God's *coming with his angels* is an expression of destructions, and yet those are *μυριάδες ἁγίας*, *holy myriads*, Jude 14, or multitudes of heavenly angels, (see note [d] on Jude.

16. [e] *cup of blessing*] The Jews used to conclude the feast wherein the paschal lamb was eaten with a cup of wine. This they called *כוס הברכה*, *ποτήριον ὑμνήσεως*, *the cup of praising*, because they sang an hymn at that time, see Matt. xxvi. 30, and *εὐλογίας*, *of blessing*; and from thence the receiving the wine in the sacrament, being by Christ instituted after his paschal supper, is here called by that title. Of the word *εὐλογεῖν*, *to bless*, see note [c] on Matt. xiv.

28. [f] *the earth is the* —] If these words be to be read in this place, the meaning of them will be, that in a matter of this nature of eating they have little temptation to sin against conscience, when they consider the great store of other food, even all the plenty of the world, which they may lawfully enjoy, and let the idol sacrifices alone. But the king's MS. which leaves them out, seems to be in the right, (and it is easy to imagine how the transcribers might here insert them on occasion of *δὲ συνειδήσιν* here, the same words after which, ver. 25,

these words had followed,) and then the 29th verse will immediately adhere to the end of ver. 28, *because of conscience; conscience, I say, &c.*, which connection will be otherwise disturbed.

CHAP. XI.

4. [a] *dishonoureth his head*] It was a part of the punishment of malefactors among several nations to have a covering put over their faces; and therefore in the Roman form of giving sentence this was part, *Caput obnubito*, "Cover his head;" and that belonged to the whole head, the face also. So among the Persians, in the story of Esther, ch. vii. 8, *The word went out of the king's mouth, and they covered Haman's face*. And this seems to be the literal notation of κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων, *having over the head*, which is here used, *so having upon the head, as comes down upon the face also*, as that differs from ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχων, *having the veil upon the head only*. This, therefore, which was the fashion of condemned persons, is justly said κατασχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, *to reproach or shame his head*.

7. [b] *glory*] The Hebrew כבוד signifies both *glory* and *beam*, (the beams of the sun being so glorious that all glory is described by them,) and is rendered both by δόξα and ἀπαύγασμα, and one of them may be here taken for the other, δόξα, *glory*, for ἀπαύγασμα, *beam* or *irradiation*, such a beam which, flowing from another, derived from another, implies that from whence it flows to be more honourable. Or else the word may signify *similitude, likeness*, in both places of this verse; for so it is used by the Septuagint, Numb. xii. 8, δόξα Κυρίου, *the similitude of the Lord*, and psalm xvii. 15, δόξα σου, *thy likeness*, where the Hebrew hath תמונה in both places. And so here it will agree with εἰκών, *the man is the image and similitude of God, and the woman of the man*.

10. [c] *power*] What the word ἐξουσία signifies here will be best conjectured, not by hearkening to the critical emendation of ^k Jacobus Gothofredus, who would read ἐξουσίαν, the Latin *exuviam*, instead of it, but by looking on the Hebrew word, which signifies *the woman's hood* or *veil*, and that is רִיר, whose theme רִיר signifies *dominion* or *power* over any thing or person; according to which notion of the theme, the word ἐξουσία must needs be answerable to the Hebrew רִיר, and consequently, though it signify *power* primarily, is yet fitly set here to signify *a veil*, (and by the Vulgar translation in some copies rendered *velamen*,) by the same proportion as רִיר, deduced from the root signifying *power*, is put for *a woman's veil*, Cant. v. 7, and Isa. iii. 23, and so Gen. xxiv. 65 and xxxviii. 14, and explained by the Targum by צִיץ, *a veil, peplus, theristrum*, such as Rebecca and Tamar used. And this more fitly in respect of the discourse or rational importance of this place, which, ver. 8, proves that the woman should wear a covering in token of her husband's power over her. So when ^l Eustathius, a bishop of Sebastia, in Constantine's time, among other things, τὰς γυναῖκας κείρεσθαι παρειαύειν, *caused women to be polled*, against him the council of Gangra made a ^m canon in these words: Ἐκτίς γυναικῶν διὰ νομιζομένην ἀσκησιν ἀποκείροιτο τὰς κόμας, ὡς ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς

^k Ἐξουσία de Dom. Maris, c. 3.

^l Socrates, Hist. l. 3. c. μβ'. ^m Can. 17.

ὑποταγῆς, ὡς ἀναλύουσα πρόσταγμα τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. "If any woman for some exercise of pretended piety shall poll her hair, which God gave for a remembrance of subjection, let her be excommunicate, as one that dissolves the ordinance of obedience or subordination," of the woman to the man. So Photius Epist. 210. "The woman ought to be subject to the man, καὶ τῆς ὑποταγῆς σύμβολα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κάλυμμα φέρειν, and bear the sign of her subjection, a covering on her head," which he there sets as the meaning of this place. As for that on which this whole interpretation is founded, the custom of using one Greek word for another, when the Hebrew signifies both, it hath been formerly observed, (note [f] on Mark xiv.) and need not now seem strange, or be repeated again.

[d] *on her head*] The woman's head signifies her head and face both, which were customarily covered with a veil, and it was counted immodest to be without it, according to that saying of Rabbi Abraham in the Talmud, tract. Sota, that "the bare uncovering of the head is immodest for the daughters of Israel." See Schickard De Jure Regio, p. 134. Thus among other writers also. Plutarch in Problem. Rom. *Συνηθέστερον ταῖς μὲν γυναῖξιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένας, τοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσιν ἀκαλύπτους εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προσίεναι*, "It is the custom" (and consequently decent) "for women to come into the public covered, and for men uncovered." And Clemens Alex. Pædag. l. 2. c. 10, *Ἐγκεκαλύφθαι δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπισκιάσθαι προστέτακται, οὐ γὰρ δσιον εἶναι θηρατρὸν ἀνθρώπων τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος*, "It was appointed that the heads and faces of women should be covered and shaded, and that the beauty of the body should not be a snare to catch men." So saith ^a Dicaearchus of the Thebans, *Ἰματίων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κάλυμμα τοιοῦτό ἐστιν, ὥστε προσωπιδίῳ δοκεῖν πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον κατελήφθαι, οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ διαφαίνονται μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ προσώπου πάντα κατέχεται τοῖς ἱματίοις*, "Their heads and faces were all covered as with a mask, and nothing but their eyes to be seen." And so of the city of Tarsus, (St. Paul's country,) saith ^o Dio Chrysostom, that "the women came so attired into public, ὥς μηδὲν αὐτῶν μέρος ἰδεῖν τινα, μήτε τοῦ προσώπου, μήτε λοιποῦ σώματος, "that no part, either of their face or the rest of their body, might be seen." And for those that have not used or retained that custom of wearing veils or coverings, yet the universal custom of women among all people is to wear their hair at length, and that is useful to cover their faces and necks and shoulders, and that is the reason of the mentioning their *long hair*, that *nature teaches* them, ver. 15, and that it is as fit for her to be shaven as uncovered, ver. 6.

[e] *because of the angels*] The presence of God in any one place more than in another is not easily conceivable by any. And therefore that any place should be called *his house* or *place of residence*, *his temple wherein he dwells*, 2 Cor. vi. 19, must needs be in some other respect, and what that is, is sufficiently explicated by Jacob, who upon the vision of angels at Luz, *awakes, and says*, that the place was venerable, and that *God was in it*, and that it was *the house of God*; which concludes that the appearance or presence of angels is that from which God is said to be peculiarly present anywhere, and which fits that place to be God's house; and thus, Eccles. v. 5, when we read, from the

^a P. 58.^o Or. 1. Tars.

Hebrew, *before the angel*, the Septuagint interpret it *πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *before the face of God*, making the *angel* and *God's presence* all one. Thus, psalm lxviii, the *myriads of angels* are said to be *God's chariots*, places to receive God, as he is said to *sit on the cherubims*, and to *fly on the wings of the wind*, or angelical spirits, psalm xviii. Agreeable to this was it that God was said to be in the ark between the *cherubims*, and that the ark was therefore called *the glory*, *the schekinah* or *inhabitation of God*; and many things of this nature in the Old Testament, (see note [k] on Matt. iii.) And proportionably, both under the Old and New Testament, the angels have been thought to be present in the places of God's public service. Thus Phil. Περ. Ἀγάπ. p. 541, speaking of the hymns of Moses, saith, "they were composed *διὰ παντός ἁρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας ἔδους ἦν κατακούουσιν ἄνθρωποι τε καὶ ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί*, with all kind of harmony and symphony, that men and angels which attend do hear;" making the angels, as well as men, auditors of the hymns in the temple, and, as it follows, *ἐφοροι θεασάμενοι μὴ τι τῆς ψῆδης ἐκμελῆς*, "overseers, to look that all be done as it ought." So Tertullian De Orat. *Angelo adhuc orationis adstante*, "The angel of prayer standing by." So P Chrysostom, speaking of the disorderliness of some in the church, *οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι μετ' ἁγγέλων ἔστηκας*; saith he, "Knowest thou not that thou standest with the angels?" *Μετ' ἐκείνων ᾄδεις, μετ' ἐκείνων ὑμνεῖς, καὶ ἔστηκας γελῶν*; "Thou singest with them, praisest God with them," (referring questionless to the ancient form in the Liturgy, "With angels and archangels, &c., we laud and magnify," &c.) "and standest thou laughing?" Agreeable to which is that of the psalmist in the Septuagint translation, psalm cxxxviii. 1. *ἐναντίον ἁγγέλων ψαλῶ σοι*, *In the presence of the angels will I sing unto thee*; which that it belongs to the temple appears by that which follows, ver. 2. *προσκυνήσω πρὸς ναὸν ἁγίων σου*, *I will worship toward thy holy temple*, that is, the sanctuary, they standing *ἐν αἰτίῳ*, "in the court," not in *ναφ*, *in the sanctuary*, when they worshipped. So in St. Basil's Liturgy we have this form, *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καταστήσας ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὰ τάγματα, καὶ στρατίας ἁγγέλων, &c. εἰς λειτουργίαν τῆς σῆς δόξης, ποιήσον σὺν τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἡμῶν εἰσόδον ἁγίων ἁγγέλων γίνεσθαι σὺν λαοῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ συνδοξολογούντων τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα*, "O Lord our God, that constitutest the orders and hosts of angels in heaven for the ministry of thy glory, make thy holy angels enter with us, that we may officiate and praise thy goodness together." Thus saith P Procopius of God, that "he doth by the angels *οἰκίαν ποιεῖν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐν ναφ*, exhibit himself or appear" peculiarly "in the temple." And so in the very heathen Plutarch, (Περ. Ἐκλελ. Χρηστ.) speaking of the *δαίμονες*, which differ little in their notion from that of angels among Christians, he saith of them, that they are *ἐπίσκοποι θεῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ μυστηρίων ὀργασταί*, "overseers of their divine offices, and priests of their mysteries:" and Iamblichus to the same purpose, that "every temple hath its keepers." Which being supposed and taken for granted, the account will be clear why the woman must be covered because of the angels; that is, that she ought to do that which was most decent in that place where the angels were present to behold them, and that yet more particularly when she hath those angels (which use to be present in such places) for her ex-

ample also, who by covering their faces use to testify their subjection toward God; for so we read of the seraphim, Isa. vi. 2, *with two wings they covered their face*. To which Photius adds, Epist. 210, that "the angels are ἐπὶστυαὶ καὶ μάρτυρες τῆς ἐξ ἀνδρὸς γενέσεως αὐτῆς καὶ προόδου, lookers on, and witnesses of the woman's production out of the man."

14. [f] *nature*] What is meant by φύσις here, which is said to teach that men are to cut, women not to cut their hair, may be guessed, first, by the practice and vow of the Nazarites, of never cutting their hair, which yet was allowed and commended by God in some men, which it would not have been, if the practice had been against the law of nature, or if that were the notion of φύσις here; secondly, by the words precedent, ver. 13, *πρέπον ἐστὶ*, &c. *is it decent?* which though it belong to the woman's *praying uncovered*, yet when *being uncovered and cutting her hair* are made unfit upon the same principle, ver. 6, the *τὸ πρέπον, or decency*, will be an interpretation of the φύσις, *nature*, as ver. 6, *αἰσχρὸν, uncomely*, is applied to both the being *shaven* and *uncovered*; thirdly, by the notion of φύσις, in other authors, for *custom*, so *ἡθη ἐπίκτητοι φύσεις, customs are acquired natures* in Galen: and in Aristotle Rhet. l. 1. c. 11. καὶ γὰρ τὸ εἰθισμένον ὥσπερ πεφυκὸς ἤδη γίνεται, ὅμοιον γὰρ τὸ ἔθος τῇ φύσει, ἔγγυς γὰρ τὸ πολλάκις τῷ αἰεὶ ἐστίν· ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ μὲν φύσις τοῦ αἰεὶ, τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦ πολλάκις, "Custom and nature are near and like one another; and that which is frequently done is next that which is always done." And therefore when in Lucian, in the person of Demosthenes, we have, Συγγίνωσκέ μοι μὴ πεφυκότες κακῶ γενέσθαι, "Pardon me, that am not born to be ill or naturally ill," Phil. Melancthon renders it, Ignoscas mihi, qui non consuevi inconstans esse, "Pardon me, that am not wont to be so," that being an ordinary notion of πεφυκέαι among authors; and so it is ordinary for that to be called the law of nature which was but the law of nations, ὃ τινι ἔθνος ἐν, ἢ ἔθνη χρῶνται τινι, "which one nation or some nations use," in Harmenopulus, Ἐξαβ. l. 1. tit. 1. And so in the Digests, (de Stat. Hom. l. *lex natura*,) that which was but the law of many nations, ut qui nascitur sine legitimo matrimonio matrem sequatur, (which, though it held among the Grecians and Romans, did not among other nations,) is called *lex natura*, "the law of nature;" as on the other side, Dio Chrys. περὶ ἔθους, of *custom*, comprehends the law of nature under that style. Fourthly, by the use of the word φύσις in the New Testament, as Ephes. ii. 3, τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, *children of wrath by nature*, applied to the national universal custom of idolatry among the Gentiles, as appears ver. 2, in which you (Ephesian Gentiles) sometimes walked; and ver. 3, among whom we all (we Romans, from whom he wrote,) ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε, *sometime conversed*, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, *as the rest also* of the heathen world. Just as the same idolaters, Wisdom xiii. 1, are called φύσει μάταιοι, *vain*, that is, idolatrous, by that general custom among them. To this matter the testimony of Suidas is most clear on the word φύσις, where having enlarged on the signification of it in philosophy, he adds, Ὅταν δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγη, καὶ ἡμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ λοιποὶ, οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ σημαυνόμενον τῆς φύσεως λέγει, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἂν ᾔην τὸ ἔγκλημα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔμμονον καὶ κακίστην διάθεσιν καὶ κρονιὰν καὶ πονηρὰν συνήθειαν, "But when the apostle hath those words, which were by nature, &c., he takes not the word *nature* in this notion, but for an evil durable disposition, or chronical

custom." So when the apostle saith of the Gentiles, that *παρὰ φύσιν, beside nature they were grafted into a good olive tree*, being but a *wild olive* themselves, Rom. xi. 24, he sure means by *nature* the custom of the Jews, which by analogy with Levit. xix. 19. was extended to a prohibition of grafting one fruit tree into another kind, or else he refers to the constant custom and rules of gardening, never to graff an ill fruit upon a good stock. And so sure it is in this place, either the universal custom of all nations, or the fashion of the place or of the generality of people, for men and women to distinguish their sexes by cutting or not cutting of the hair.

29. [g] *discerning*] The Hebrew *שרף* signifies two things, *to sanctify* and *to discriminate*, and is accordingly sometimes rendered by *ἀγιάζειν*, and once by *διαστᾶλιναι*, Jos. xx. 7. From hence it seems to be that *διακρίνειν* here, being the literal rendering of one notion of the Hebrew *שרף*, is taken for the other of *hallowing* or *sanctifying the Lord's body*, that is, eating the Lord's supper (in a different manner from that of eating our ordinary meal, or *ἰδίον δείπνον, our own supper*, viz.) as the institution of Christ, to represent his death for the world, and the diffusive mercy of that by our Christian liberality, and furnishing a common table, where the poor as well as rich may feast, and not the rich eat all to themselves; which is the profaning of that feast of the body of Christ.

CHAP. XII.

1. [a] *spiritual gifts*] That *πνευματικῶν* may here be used in the masculine, not neuter gender, is most evident; and if it be so, then it must signify *spiritual persons*, not *things*. So the word is certainly used, ch. xiv. 37, *If any seem to be a prophet or spiritual*, such as have any divine afflation. Thus in Palladius, Lausiaca. Hist. c. 43, *Ἐγὼν ἀκριβῶς πνευματικὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ προγινώσκω πάντα*, "I knew exactly that he was a spiritual person, and foreknew all things."

28. [b] *apostles*] The word *ἀπόστολοι, apostles*, is known to signify here, not *messengers* of a common nature, but *commissioners* from Christ, sent with the same power which he had from his Father, John xx. 21, to plant and govern the church, and to that end to part the world between them into so many *μερίδες* and *κλήροι* and *ἴδιοι τόποι, portions and lots and proper places and provinces*, Acts i. 25, over which they were set. And so, though when Christ was here on earth these were disciples and followers of his, yet after his departure, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, they are instated in the supreme authority in the church. See note [b] on John xx.

[c] *prophets*] Next after the apostles are prophets placed in the church, both here and Ephes. iii. 5 and iv. 11. Their office was to preach more fully the gospel of Christ to those who had formerly received it, and to that end they were inspired by God with that special gift of interpreting the prophecies, &c. of the Old Testament, thereby to confirm the Jews in the faith; and beside many other spiritual gifts, they had that of foretelling things to come, as appears by Agabus, and those that went down from Jerusalem to Antioch, Acts xi. 27. These differed from apostles on one side, were inferior to them, *οὐκ εἶχον τὴν*

ἀποστολὴν, “had not that higher commission,” saith Theophylact; and being joined with doctors, Acts xiii. 1, did yet in this differ from them, say the Scholiasts, that “the prophets did speak all from the Spirit, πάντα ἀπὸ Πνεύματος φθεγγόμενοι, οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι οἴκοθεν, but the doctors from themselves.” Such were Judas and Silas, Acts xv. (see note [e]) who being bishops of Judæa, were further furnished with this gift of prophecy, and προφηταὶ ὄντες, *being prophets*, ver. 32, διὰ λόγου πολλοῦ παρεκάλεσαν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐπιστήριξαν, *exhorted and confirmed the brethren*, or Christians, as other the like did lay on hands on Paul and Barnabas by revelation from the Holy Ghost, Acts xiii. 3, their revelation being an evidence of their gift of prophecy, their laying on of hands an exercise of their episcopal power. And such were the two witnesses, Rev. xi. 3, who are there said to prophesy in sackcloth, that is, after the manner of prophets in the Old Testament, to preach the will of God, and foretell things to come, who that they were the bishops of Jerusalem, see note on that place.

[d] *teachers* Διδάσκαλοι, *doctors*, are here set down in the third place, differing, as hath been said, from prophets only in this, that they spake οἴκοθεν, *from themselves*, and had not the gift of foretelling things to come. But for the office of teaching and confirming those which had already received the gospel, and for the governing of the churches as bishops, in that they agreed with them; and accordingly, Acts xiii. 1, the same persons are there called *prophets* and *teachers*. And therefore it is to be observed, that Ephes. iv. 11, *teachers* are set as all one with ποιμένες, *pastors*, (the *bishops*’ title, saith Chrysostom, and so say the Scholiasts, τοὺς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐγκεχειρισμένους, &c. “those that govern the churches,” the bishops, “he calls pastors,” such was Timothy, Titus, and the like.) So in Bede Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 2, *episcopus sive doctores*, “bishops or doctors.” So † St. Chrysostom, Epist. β, speaking of the incestuous Corinthian, Πολλοὶ φασιν εἶναι καὶ διδασκάλου τάξιν εἶχε, “Many say he had the place of a doctor,” straight adds, τὰ πρωτεία ἔχειν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, “he had the presidency of the church:” τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, “some pastors and teachers,” not distinguishing them as *apostles* and *prophets* and *evangelists*, with a τοὺς δὲ, *some*, to each, but only connecting them with the καὶ, ἐξηγητικὸν, the particle *and*, by way of explication, and so noting them to be two names for one thing, and accordingly ποιμένες, *pastors*, is not mentioned here. The particular notation of the word διδάσκαλοι must be first taken from the difference observable betwixt κηρύσσειν and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, *preaching*, on one side, and διδάσκειν, *teaching*, on the other, so as the *word* and *doctrine* differ, 1 Tim. v. 17; the first belonging to the *planting*, the second to the *watering*, that is, instruction and exhortation and confirmation superadded to the preaching or planting the faith anywhere. This office of instructing and confirming certainly belonged primarily to the bishop in every church, Acts xiii. 1, and was not competent to any but him, or whom the bishop appointed to it, (as the apostles sent the evangelists to preach for them, where they could not come themselves,) by neglect of which wholesome practice all heresies and seeds of new doctrines have gotten into the church. Thus in Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, when the *anagnostes* or *reader* hath read the portion of scripture out of

* On Ephes. iv. 11.

† Tom. 7. p. 57. l. 4.

the apostles or prophets, he holds his peace, and the *προεστὴς*, *prefect* or *bishop*, τὴν νουθεσίαν ποιεῖται, *makes the exhortation*, after the manner that we see practised by Paul, Acts xiii. 15, 16. And agreeable to that it is that the bishop should be styled διδάσκαλος, *teacher*. So Chrysostom and Theophylact on 1 Tim. iv. 14, Τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ ἱερωσύνης ἀξίωμα μέγα ὄν, &c. *The dignity of teacher or priest being great, &c.* by both noting the ἱερωσύνη or *priesthood*, to which ὁ Τιμόθεος ἡρέθη, *Timothy was there chosen*, that is, his episcopal power. (Of this see more, note [a] on James iii.)

[e] *miracles*] Having set down the three prime sorts of dignities in the church, *apostles, prophets, teachers*, with the distinctive terms of πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον, *first, secondly, thirdly*, the apostle adds now in another style, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, εἰς χάρισματα ἰαμάτων, *after powers, then gifts of healings*. Of which two it must first be observed, that they do not denote several persons distinct from the former, (for it is evident the apostles had both *the powers* and *the gifts*,) but only several *χάρισματα*, or *extraordinary gifts*, with which the apostles and prophets and teachers were all endowed. And consequently these cannot be imagined to constitute new orders in the church, nor those that follow in this place, *helps*, &c. Secondly, for the meaning of δυνάμεις, *powers*, it is most probable that by it is denoted the same thing that by the ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ver. 10, *operations of powers*, (which are there also joined with *gifts of healing*,) and those may denote those operations or exercises of powers which we find exemplified in St. Peter on Ananias and Sapphira, in Paul on Barjesus, (either inflicting immediate death, or diseases upon them, or pronouncing that they should come, and accordingly it followed,) and in those first times, in the governors of the church, by their censures delivering men up to Satan, εἰς δεικνόν σαρκὸς, *to the destruction of the flesh*, to inflict diseases on them. And this may very probably be the meaning of δυνάμεις, *powers*, here also; and so it is acknowledged by Theophylact. And these seem to be the τέρατα, *prodigies*, wrought by the apostles, Acts ii. 43, upon which it is said that *fear was on every soul*, in like manner as it was said upon the death of Ananias, ch. v. 10, in respect of these powers of the apostles.

[f] *helps*] That ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι signifies *to succour* or *relieve* any in distress, hath been said, note [b] on Luke x; and there is no doubt but ἀντιλήψεις here is to be taken in that sense, relieving and providing for the poor out of the stock of the church; and this here set down as a special part (as the κυβερνήσεις is another) of the office of those men which were set down in the beginning of the verse, *the powers* and *the gifts of healing*, referring to the virtues and assistances by which they were backed in the discharge of their office; and so, in an inferior degree, the γλῶσσαι, *sorts of tongues*, in the close of the verse, skill in some languages, which was useful to their preaching to the nations; but these two, *helps* and *governments*, denoting two special parts of their office, under which all was indeed contained, which had not been before intimated in their names. For as to the former of these, the relieving of the poor, that always belonged to the apostles and bishops; and though the deacons were employed in one inferior part of it, the *serving tables*, Acts vi, the distributing of the several portions daily to the poor widows, &c., as διάκονοι under the οἰκονόμος,

servants under the *steward*, yet the supreme trust and charge was reserved to the apostles and bishops of the church. So Acts xx. 35. St. Paul appoints the bishops ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων, *to relieve or succour those that were weak or sick*, which by the context (the mention of Christ's words, *It is better to give than to receive*) is applied to acts of charity, supply of corporal wants. And so in the 41st canon of the apostles, Δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, &c. "A bishop must have the care of the monies, so that by his power all be dispensed to the poor by the presbyters and deacons; and we command that he have in his power the goods of the church." So Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, Συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προστώτῳ ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοὺς τε καὶ χήρας, "That which is gathered is deposited with the prefect or bishop, and he helps, relieves the orphans and widows, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσιν ἐν χρείᾳ οὐσι κηδεμὼν γίνεται, and becomes the curator or guardian to all absolutely that are in want." So Ignatius, in his Epistle to Polycarp the bishop of Smyrna, Μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ χηρῶν φροντιστὴς ἔσο, "After the Lord, thou shalt be the curator of the widows." And accordingly Polycarp himself, speaking of the elders or bishops, among the parts of their office reckons, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, "they visit and take care of all that are sick, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος, not neglecting the widow, or orphan, or the poor;" and therefore, saith he, "must be far from the love of money," as St. Paul appoints in the qualification of the bishop. And therefore as the bounty of the first believers, Acts ii, was brought to the apostles' feet, and they by that means were made the dispensers of it; so the contribution that Paul and Barnabas brought in time of famine to the poor brethren in Judæa was by them delivered into the hands of the elders or bishops of the churches of Judæa, Acts xi. 30, as to the stewards which had the supreme power on earth of ordering this family of Christ. And so Epaphroditus that was sent with the liberality of the church to Paul, Phil. iv. 18, and is therefore called λειτουργὸς τῆς χρείας μου, *he that ministered to his wants*, Phil. ii. 25, is by Theodoret and others affirmed to be the bishop of the Philippians at that time. By all which the account and reason appears why the ancients do explain ἀντιλήψεις by προστασίας, *helps* here, by *prefectures*, this office of providing for and looking to the poor being a special part of the bishop's power which he had over the goods of the church in the forecited canon apostolical.

[9] *governments*] The word κυβερνήσεις is all one with the Latin *gubernationes*, and so denotes the power and office of ruling and governing particular churches already planted by the apostles, and by them committed to the care of the bishops, set down here under the style of διδάσκαλοι, *teachers*, who, as they further instructed the congregations which had received the faith, so did they rule and order and administer them, (κυβερνᾷ, διοικεῖ, saith Hesychius.) Hence I suppose it is, that as ποιμήν, *pastor*, and ποιμαίνειν, *to discharge the office of a pastor*, denotes this power of ruling, and is the description of an ἡγούμενος, a *ruler*, Matt. xxvi, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν, *who shall rule the people*, and is applied first to Christ, Matt. xxvi. 31. John x. 11, 14. Heb. xiii. 20. 1 Pet. v. 4. (and joined with *bishop*, 1 Pet. ii. 25.) then to St. Peter, John xxi. 16, then to the bishops of Asia, Acts xx. 28, then to the bishops of the Jews in their several dispersions, 1 Pet. v. 1; so it is joined with διδάσκαλος, *teacher*, Ephes. iv. 11, and not as a several office

from that, (as *apostles, prophets, and evangelists* had been,) but as two parts of the same person's office, τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, *some pastors and teachers*, noting these governors of the several churches to have been the teachers also: and so here the διδάσκαλοι being named in the former part of the verse, κυβερνήσεις is added in the latter, to denote *the ruling powers* that belonged to those teachers; διδάσκαλοι, with the addition of ἀντιλήψεις and κυβερνήσεις here, being all one in effect with the pastor and teacher in one person, Eph. iv.

[*h*] *diversities of tongues*] What γλώσση here signifies will be best discerned by ^u Eustathius, who expresseth it by ἀποξενωμένην διάλεκτον, *a strange language*, and by ^x Clemens, who calls them ἀπεριλήπτους τὰς βαρβάρων φωνάς, "the voices of barbarians which have not been learned." And though this equally belongs to all strange languages, yet it must be observed, that γίνη γλωσσῶν, *kinds or sorts of tongues*, in this place, and ver. 10, signifies with some restraint, not all the languages of the world, as was in the effusion of the Spirit on the apostles Acts ii, but some sorts of languages which they had never learned, in order to their preaching to those people which used those languages. For it must be observed, that though the power of miracles, indefinitely *all miracles*, even to *the raising the dead, removing mountains*, &c., were bestowed on the apostles by Christ, and so in like manner power of speaking all languages of the world; yet these in this full latitude were not thought fit to be bestowed on other persons after them, but with some limitations, to one this, to another that, which was useful toward the building up of the church, now that the foundation was already laid by Christ and the apostles. Hence is it that some are peculiarly endowed with gifts of healing, not having those other powers called δυνάμεις or ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων here and ver. 9, nor the πίστις, *faith*, ver. 9, that which extended to all miracles, even to *removing of mountains*, ch. xiii. 2. And so in like manner some had some certain languages (as a χάρισμα or *gift*) by inspiration, yet not all, because that was not in order to their business. And as the power of speaking with all tongues is called indefinitely λαλεῖν ἑτέρας γλώσσας, Acts ii. 4, *speaking with other tongues*, and here, ch. xiii. 1, γλώσσας ἀνθρώπων λαλεῖν καὶ ἀγγέλων, *speaking with the tongues of men and of angels*, that is, all kind of languages imaginable, (proportionable to the πᾶσα πίστις, *all faith*, ver. 2.) so this more limited gift is expressed by γίνη γλωσσῶν, *sorts or kinds of languages*, and γλώσση λαλεῖν, ch. xiv. 2, *speaking with a tongue*, that is, some one tongue or more; for of him it is said, ver. 13, *Let him pray that he may interpret*, which it seems he is not yet able to do, and so not to *speak with all tongues*. For if he could, then understanding himself well enough, (as he is supposed to do, ver. 4. 14.) it must needs follow, that he would also be able to interpret himself, and not need another qualified to that purpose, ver. 27. In like manner, as here, ver 30, tongues and interpreting belong not both to the same persons; nay, ch. xiv. 28, when *two or three speak in unknown tongues*, it is supposed possible that neither of them may be able to interpret or declare intelligibly to the people what hath been said, in which case the apostle bids them that *speak strange languages hold their peace in the church*, that is, in the presence of believers, for to

^u In *Iliad*. i.^x *Strom.* i.

them the strange language is wholly useless. Thus though St. Paul *thank God that he doth γλώσσας λαλεῖν μᾶλλον πάντων ὑμῶν*, c. xiv. 18, *speak with tongues more than all*, in the church of Corinth, yet his very saying so is an intimation that he had not the gift of all tongues, as being not one of those twelve on whom that gift descended, Acts ii, yet furnished abundantly for his office with the languages of all those to whom he was to preach.

CHAP. XIII.

1. [a] *sounding brass*] That κύμβαλον, *cymbal*, here, is an instrument of loud music, may appear, not only by the epithets which are given it, psalm cl. 5, *the loud cymbals*, and *the high sounding cymbals*, but also by the rest of the consort there mentioned, *the sound of the trumpet in the first*, and (after *the psaltery and harp, timbrel and pipe, stringed instruments and organs*.) this of the *cymbal* in the last and highest place, and that no doubt a πνευματικόν, *a wind instrument* of brass, as appears by Hesychius, who renders χαλκόστομα, *instruments with brassen mouths*, by χάλια κύμβαλα, *brassen cymbals*. So improbable is it that this should be that tinkling instrument of so slight and low a sound that now we call by that name. This more appears by the epithet here added to it, ἀλαλίζον, which certainly signifies a loud noise or cry, a shout either of mariners and the like, when they set all uniformly to some work of difficulty, to hoise the mainsail, to which they all must join, and summon one another to it by that shout; or else of conquerors in a field, ἀλαλίζει, ἐπινικίως ἡγεῖ, the word notes *shouting for victory*, saith Hesychius, and ἀλαλαγμός, ἐπινίκιος ὕμνος, ἢ εὐφημος βοή, it is *a song of victory or shout of acclamation*. And that signifies this instrument to be such as was then used (as the trumpet, meant, I suppose, by the χαλκός ἡχών, *resounding brass*, is now) for those solemn military ovations and triumphs; and in that respect it seems most applicable to the gift of tongues in the church, as that is opposed to charity. Charity is all for the edification, the benefiting and profiting of others; but the gift of tongues being only useful, as a miracle, to convince unbelievers, and to speak intelligibly to them which are of another nation, and not at all useful to believers of their own nation that understood not a strange tongue, may, in respect of them, fitly be compared to a cymbal, or trumpet, sounding a triumph for ostentation, but not for edification, as is insisted on at large in the fourteenth chapter.

4. [h] *suffereth long*] The notion of μακροθυμεῖν for *slowness to wrath or revenge*, in opposition to quick resentment of injuries, is sufficiently known, Rom. ix. 22, and so it is to be taken here, as a first and principal act of charity, on which χρηστεύεται, *is kind, or good, or gentle, or gracious*, fitly attends. This differs from the οὐ παροξύνεται, *is not exasperated or highly provoked to anger*, ver. 5, especially in two things: 1. παροξυσμός notes the height or pitch to which it advanceth, as the paroxysm is the sharp fit of the fever; and so that part of the character of charity is, that where that is planted, it moderateth anger, and suffers it not to boil to that height; but this of μακροθυμία is the *deferring and putting it off*: the charitable man is so far from rash anger, or sudden revenges, that he can bear and forbear long. 2. Παροξυσμός is restrained to the *passionate, sharper part of anger*, which is called ὀργή, as the former to the rational and heavier part of it, θυμός, which

relates to revenge, or inflicting of punishment. This is elsewhere expressed by βραδύς εἰς ὀργήν, *slow to wrath*, James i. 19, by ἀνεξίκακος, 2 Tim. ii. 24, *bearing with evil*, not apt or forward to punish those that do amiss; to which is annexed ἐν πραότητι παιδεύων, *in meekness instructing opposers*. Contrary to this are the ἀνήμεροι, *fierce*, 2 Tim. iii. 3.

[c] *is kind*] Χρηστότης signifies εὐσπλαγχνίαν, τὴν πρὸς τὸν πέλας συν-διάθεσιν, τὰ αὐτοῦ ὡς οἰκεία ἰδιοποιουμένην, saith Phavorinus, "tenderness of compassion, kindness toward the neighbour, making all things that belong to him as if they were his own;" and so it seems to signify here, that it is the property of charity, where it is planted, to infuse a benignity into their nature, making them consider others as they do themselves, and so extend the same liberality and kindness to them that stand in need of it, that in the like case they would wish to themselves; a God-like quality, attributed to God himself, ὅτι Κύριος χρηστός, *the Lord is gracious*, 1 Pet. ii. 3.

[d] *vaunteth not*] What the word περπερεύεται signifies, or of what origination it is, whether Greek or Latin, is somewhat difficult. Among the ancient Greeks it is not met with, but among the most ancient Latins it is; *perperi* in Accius, and *perperitudo*, and *perperam facere* very ordinarily: which makes it reasonable to resolve it a Latin, not a Greek word originally. Then for the meaning of it; in the Latin it signifies generally to *do amiss*, *perperam* opposed to *recte*; but in the Greek, the Glossaries and the ancient Fathers do differ, and yet prettily well agree. Περπερεύεται, καταπαίρεται, saith Hesychius, *is elated*, sets himself out at the greatest advantage; and *πέρπερος μετὰ βλακείας ἐπαϊρόμενος*, *lifted up, and foolish*, (and therefore when in Phavorinus we read περπερεία, ἡ κολακεία, it should doubtless be read ἡ βλακεία, *foolishness*, and so presently to the same word he hath ἡ καὶ βλακεία.) And Phavorinus hath pointed to this place, οὐ περπερεύεται, ὁ ἀπόστολὸς φησι, *τούτέστιν, οὐ προπετεῖ*, (for which St. Chrysostom reads οὐ προπετεύεται, and what that is will be best judged from Antiochus, ὧς λογ. σ'. Μὴ ὑπεραιρόμενος—μήποτε προπετευόμενος, *not lifted up above measure, not exalted with an opinion of himself*, as appears by the opposites there, ταπεινόφρων, *lowly-minded*, καταγμένος τῇ καρδίᾳ, *depressed in heart*, λογίζόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον εἶναι, *accounting himself to be an unprofitable servant*.) "when the apostle saith, οὐ περπερεύεται, the meaning is, *that he runs not headlong, precipitous*, as giddy proud fools are wont to do. Προπετής, saith Hesychius, *προπίπτων πρὸ τοῦ λογισμοῦ, that falls upon any action before consideration or deliberation, rash, unadvised*. So ^z Antiochus, λογ. ρε'. speaking of longanimity and lenity of mind, saith, that he that hath it is (among other things) ἀπέρπερος, *not guilty of that precipitous rashness that wrathful men are subject to*, (and therefore when Hesychius hath περπερᾶ, προτρέπει, it will be reasonable to correct, and read it προπετεῖ.) ^a Clemens Alexandrinus renders περπερεία καλλωπισμός, *adorning and dressing one's self gaily*. And ^b St. Basil, τί ἐστι περπερεύεσθαι; πᾶν ὃ μὴ διὰ χρείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ καλλωπισμὸν παραλαμβάνεται, *What doth it signify? all that is put on not for use but ornament*. So in ^c Cicero ad Attic. *Ego autem ipse, Dii boni,*

^y Bib. Pat. Gr. tom. 1. p. 1133. C.

^z P. 1204. B.

^a Pædag. l. 3. c. 1.

^b In Definit.

^c Lib. 1. Ep. 13.

quomodo ἐπεπερευσάμην novo auditori Pompeio? That is, Πῶς ἐκαλλω-
πισάμην, *How did I set myself out, play the orator, decking or adorn-*
ing my speech with borrowed beauty? where, it seems, it notes an *ostenta-*
tion of eloquence, as of any thing else. From these severals put
together, the result may seem to be this, that *πεπερευέται* signifies that
ambitious ostentation, setting himself out, which proceeds from a fool-
ish giddy pride and elation of mind, and puts a man forward upon all
headlong precipitous actions in pursuit of his own glory, or to satisfy
his own intemperate humour. Thus in Accius, *ductabilitas nimia*, and
perperitudo, are put together, *an easiness to be led*, and *an hasty, rash,*
precipitous behaviour. And then the excellence of charity (as in other
things) appears in this, that where it is truly planted it keeps a man
from this foolish giddy elation of mind, which breaks out precipitously
into all ambitious ostentatious actions, and renders him ridiculous by
an undue unconsiderate pursuit of his own glory or praise; whereas
the true Christian love of others, so contrary to self-love, the source
of all this, is busied in the advancement of the real concerns of
others, and sets considerably about that, and runs not headlong after
such improper ways of getting in any aerial empty good unto them-
selves.

5. [e] *behave itself unseemly*] What οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ here signifies is a
matter of some question. That which seems most commodious to some
circumstances of the place is, that it is one effect of the grace and duty
of charity to our brethren, that he that hath it doth never use others
unseemly in words or gestures, but especially not reproachfully. Thus
will it fitly be joined to οὐ φυσιοῦται, *is not puffed up*, contumelious
behaviour being a natural concomitant of pride and arrogance. And
accordingly as Hesychius renders ἀσχημονεῖ (for so it should be read,
not as the copy corruptly hath it, ἀσχημεῖ) *ἀκοσμεῖ, doth uncomely* in
general, so he explains ἀσχημῶν θάνατος, *an uncomely death*, by ἐπὶ
δυστοῖς, *reproachful, contumelious*, to which it will be consequent, that
the verb may also signify *to deal reproachfully*; and to do so is very
contrary to charity, of which therefore it is here denied. The notion
which Erasmus hath of it for *being ashamed of nothing*, doing any the
meanest offices, though it might be agreeable to the context, as an act
of high charity, doth not yet any way agree with the nature of the
word. And the other notions, of *doing no dishonest thing*, &c., affixed
by others, will not agree with the context, which belongs all to duties
of charity to other men, whereas this is terminated in ourselves. Only
it may be worthy of consideration, whether (this chapter of the marks
and effects of charity being founded in the discourse of gifts in the
church, ch. xii. and both compared with and set before them here,
ver. 1, 2, 8, and also set opposite to the factions and divisions incident
to the irregular use of them, and so particularly pursued, ch. xiv.)
this and many other parts of the character of charity be not so to be
interpreted, as may most immediately refer to that matter. Thus the
three immediate precedents here, οὐ ζηλοῖ, οὐ πεπερευέται, οὐ φυσιοῦται,
envieth not, vaunteth not, is not puffed up, seem peculiarly to mark out
the malice and pride and ostentation of the Gnostics, and then, pro-
portionably, so may οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, *behaves not itself disorderly*; that is,
where true Christian charity is, (opposed to γνώσις, *knowledge*, ch. viii.
1.) it hath this effect, it keeps men from irregular disorderly behaviour

in the church, such as are mentioned, ch. xiv. throughout, but especially vv. 23. 35, and in respect of which it is prescribed in the end of the chapter, *that all things be done*, (in the church certainly,) *εὐσχημῶς*, *orderly*, which may very reasonably be thought to interpret the contrary here, *οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ*, and therefore I have not omitted this interpretation in the paraphrase.

[f] *thinketh no evil*] What *λογίζεται τὸ κακὸν* signifies must be doubtful, because both *λογίεσθαι* and *κακὸν* are capable of two interpretations: *λογίεσθαι* may signify *to think*, as that signifies *to design*; *λογεῖται* *διαλογίζεται*, *ἐνθυμείται*, saith Hesychius; and *κακὸν*, *evil*, may be *hurt* or *mischief*: and then *λογίεσθαι τὸ κακὸν* will be *to imagine mischief*, *design in the mind*, *contrive hurt* to any; and so *thinking evil* signifies, Gen. i. 20; and *διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί*, *evil thoughts*, are wicked machinations, (see note [e] on Matt. xv.) On the other side, *λογίεσθαι* is *to reckon*, *to account*, and *τὸ κακὸν*, *evil*, is also wickedness in any man, as well as mischief to him. And then *λογίεσθαι τὸ κακὸν* is *to impute* or *account sin* to any man. Thus *λογίεσθαι ἁμαρτίαν*, Rom. iv. 8, is rendered truly *imputing of sin*, that is, accounting sin to any, reckoning it, charging it on him. To this purpose St. Chrysostom, *Οὐδὲν πονηρὸν ὑποπτέει κατὰ τοῦ φιλουμένου*, “He suspects no ill of him whom he loves;” and, *Μηδὲ ὑπόνοιαν πονηρὰν δέξασθαι ἀνεχομένη*, “Charity endures not to receive any ill suspicion of any.” And this latter is more probably the meaning of the phrase here. For this may fitly be reckoned among the excellent effects of charity, that it keeps a man, in whom it is, from *reckoning* or *imputing of evil* to any man; whatsoever good another doth, it makes one impute that to him, commend him, reward him for that, as it was God’s charity to Abraham (and to all sincere believers) that he did *λογίεσθαι δικαιοσύνην*, *impute righteousness* unto him, though he performed not exact obedience, or such to which the reward was due. But *τὸ κακὸν*, *the evil*, that which is amiss, (all one with *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*, *the sin*), *οὐ λογίζεται*, it will not suffer him to impute that any way to his disadvantage. This a man will be otherwise apt enough to do, if charity do not restrain him; and a most commendable virtuous act it is, a special ingredient in raising that great elogy of charity premised in the first verses of the chapter, that it *accounts*, *reckons*, *imputes the good*, but *not the evil*; whereas the designing of mischief is itself so vile a thing, so contrary to the laws of common humanity, that an heathen virtuous man, without the advantage of Christian charity, will not think fit to do so: and merely to restrain one from that diabolical malicious humour, is not so commendable or so excellent a thing. To this rendering of it agree the several glosses in Hesychius: *λογισμοῖς*, *ψήφοις*: and *λογιούμενοι*, *ἀπαριθμούμενοι*: and *λογίζεται*, *φημίζεται*: it is certainly a false print for *ψηφίζεται*: for it follows, *λογίζομαι*, *τῇ χειρὶ ψηφίζω*—and *λογίζομαι*, *ἐνθυμούμαι*, *φημίζω*. it should certainly be again *ἐνθυμούμαι*, *ψηφίζω*. All tending to this, that it signifies *to reckon*, (see note [d] on Rom. iii.) as generally it doth in the New Testament. Another notion yet there is which is affixed to this phrase, that *λογίεσθαι τὸ κακὸν* is *to suspect evil*, but that is expressed by another phrase, *ἐνθυμεῖσθαι πονηρὰ*, Matt. ix. 4; and that charity permits not a man to do that, is in effect said, ver. 8, in *πάντα πιστεύει*, *it believes all things*, believes always the best of every man; for that is all one with *suspecteth not evil*.

6. [*g*] *rejoiceth not in iniquity*—] For the explaining this verse it must first be resolved what is meant by *ἀδικία*, *iniquity*, and *ἀλήθεια*, *truth*. 'Αδικία may signify (in opposition to the peculiar notion of truth) *deceit* or *falseness*; as when it is said of Christ, οὗτος ἀληθὴς ἐστίν, *this is true*, and οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία ἐν αὐτῷ, John vii. 18, *there is no unrighteousness in him*, that is, no deceitfulness, (see note [*a*] on Luke xvi.) And then the meaning will be, that true charity infuses such a value of truth and dislike of deceit and cozenage, that it permits not any man to be pleased with any such act either in himself or others. But as *ἀδικία* is oft used in a wider sense for all wickedness, and peculiarly for the villainies of the Gnostics, Rom. i. 18, so is *ἀλήθεια* taken for purity and sincerity of goodness, 1 Cor. v. 8; and so 3 John 3; and often in other places: and then as οὐ χαίρει, *rejoiceth not*, denotes the taking no pleasure, but on the contrary being very sad, extremely grieved, (as Isa. lxi. 4, *that in which I delighted not is their abominations*, ver. 3,) so the full meaning of the verse will be, that charity will make a man truly mourn and grieve at any sin committed by others, (so far is it from the practice of the Gnostics, which delight in debauching men to unchristian sins,) and most heartily rejoice to see men discharge their Christian duty, live in all manner of sincerity. And thus saith St. John, 3 John 4, that he *hath no greater joy than to hear that his children walk in the truth*.

7. [*h*] *beareth*] That *στέγω* signifies *to cover*, and is, within a very little, the Latin *tego*, and from thence *στέγος*, *tectum*, is sufficiently known; and therefore by Hesychius it is first expressed by κρύπτει, *conceals*, *to cover*, *to contain*, and then by βαστάζει, *upholds*, *to carry*, *to endure*. And that this notion of *covering* belongs principally to concealing, in opposition to speaking out or reporting, may appear by Hesychius also, who in the word *στέγανον* explains it by τὸ δυνάμενον στέγειν τοὺς λόγους, καὶ μὴ ἐξαγγέλλειν, *to cover words, and not report them*, and σερανότερον, σιωπηλότερον, *referring to silence or holding the peace*. And this is the most probable notion of the word here, where speaking of charity, that it *rejoiceth not in iniquity*, (that is, is so far from joying to see another offend, that it produceth great sorrow and compassion for it, (*but*, on the other side, *rejoiceth together in the truth*, is very glad to see men do as they should do, live in all Christian sincerity, he adds, πάντα στέγει, as a further evidence of that temper, *conceals all the ill of another*, unless when it is greater charity to reveal it, (as Prov. x. 12, it is said of love, that it *covers all sins*;) and then goes on, πιστεύει πάντα, *believeth all things*, that is, all things that are said for the excuse or mitigation of a fault, (which is the quality of the supernal wisdom, James iii. 17, that it is εὔπειθης, *easy to be persuaded* of that which tends to mitigate the fault;) and when nothing is said in defence or excuse, yet ἐλπίζει πάντα, *hopeth the best* that the matter is capable of: and then follows πάντα ὑπομένει, *endureth all things*; whatsoever of injury comes to him by another's fact, he is most ready to bear, and never meditate revenge. Which is the very thing that must be meant by this phrase πάντα στέγει, if it were rendered *beareth all things*; as in Hesychius it is manifest that *στέγω*, in that notion of *bearing*, is ὑπομένω, *to endure*. And that is one further evidence that *στέγω* is here in the other notion; for else there would be no avoiding a tautology. It is true that ch. ix. 12 it may bear another sense, (for

the word certainly signifies *to endure*, as well as *to conceal*,) and yet that with somewhat of this notion in it; for the sense lies thus: we might use our liberty or authority, claim the privilege of labourers, that is, to be provided for by those for whom we labour; but we have not done so, but πάντα στέγομεν, make no such claims, but endure hardship rather than hinder the propagating of the gospel by insisting on this right.

[i] *all things*] The word πάντα, *all things*, though it be an universal, is not to be taken in the utmost extent, but according to the use of the like phrases in all languages, wherein the universal sign, affixed either to persons or times or places or things, signifies only a greater number, but not all without exception. So when, psalm xiv. 4, it is said of the children of men, that *they are all gone out of the way, all become abominable*, it is manifest that it is not spoken of all men without exception; for, ver. 8, there is mention of *God's people*, and, ver. 9, of *the righteous*. So for things, John xiv. 26, *the Holy Ghost shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your memory*; not absolutely all, but all that were useful to their office. So 1 Cor. x. 23. *All things are lawful to me*; that is, many of those things which are unexpedient, or all indifferent things. So Phil. iv. 13. *I can do all things*, is determined there to the things there spoken of, *to want* and *to abound*, &c., and so here *the covering*, and *believing*, and *hoping*, and *enduring all things*, is the concealing and burying in forgetfulness many considerable injuries and evils of other men, believing, and hoping, and enduring very many things, which they which have not this excellent divine grace of charity will never do.

CHAP. XIV.

16. [a] *Amen*] The word *Amen* is an expression ordinarily used by the people, by way of assent to the prayer made by another before them, being an Hebrew adverb of *affirming*, and so rendered by Symmachus πιστωμένως, *faithfully*. For, as Maimonides saith, it was a custom of the Jews in their daily prayers, that he that had not skill or ability to pray himself, should say *Amen*, but he that had ability should pray himself. The former of these was he that is here called ιδιώτης, *the private* or *vulgar person*, νεώτερος, 1 Pet. v. 5, *the younger*, as Lucian defines ιδιώτης, Πολὺς ὄμιλος, οὗς ιδιώτας καλοῦσιν οἱ σοφοί, "the multitude or congregation, which the wise men call *idiots*." This custom is clearly deduced from Deut. xxvii, where all the people of Israel join in this; and so in the Psalmist, particularly on this occasion of εὐλογία, *blessing of God*: *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting, and world without end: and let all the people say, Amen*. So Neh. viii. 7. *All the people answered, Amen*, λαός, *the laity* peculiarly, (as that differs from the priests,) who therefore in all reason are here meant by ιδιώτης. The Talmudists have a threefold *Amen*: 1st, *Amen pupillum*, saith e Caninius, when one prays, and another that understands not what he saith gives answer to him, parallel to this of the idiot in this place; 2dly, *Amen surreptitium*, a stolen *Amen*, when it is before the end of the prayer; and, 3dly, *sectile*, when he cuts it into two parts, *A-men*, as he that yawns, or is a doing or minding something else.

Now the use of this *Amen*, ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, at thy giving thanks, seems here to refer to the custom of the ancient, and it seems apostolical, primitive church, which was at the consecrating of the Lord's Supper, for to that the giving of thanks seems to belong, according to the use of the word εὐχαριστία or εὐλογία, ch. x. 16. At the ending of which, saith Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, there was a solemn ἐνευφημία, Ἀμήν, "acclamation of Amen" by the people.

30. [b] revealed] That ἀποκάλυψις doth not always signify a vision, or passively, a receiving a revelation by ecstasy or dream from God, but only a sense or notion, a meaning or interpretation of a piece of scripture, that through some figure (or the like) hath much difficulty in it, may appear by ver. 6, where, in opposition to the miraculous speaking of tongues, those four ways of expounding in the church are set down, and the first of them ἀποκάλυψις, revelation or expounding of sacred figures, &c. So ver. 26. ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, hath a revelation, as hath an interpretation, is of him that can expound any such figure, as the other is he that can interpret a strange language; and so here in this verse, that which is here hath a revelation, must be expounded by the prophets' speaking, ver. 29. For thus it lies, Let the prophets speak, two or three, that is, so many in a meeting: If another that sitteth by have any revelation, that is, if whilst one is a speaking another be, or conceive himself able to expound the difficulty, then let the first, that is, the prophet then a speaking, hold his peace, give way to him; where, as the prophets' speaking is all one with having a revelation, so the thing thus delivered being to be judged of by others, whether it be right or no, (let others judge, ver. 29,) is concluded not to be any special revelation from God; for if it were supposed such, it ought not to be subject to others' judging of it. And then what is here said will clearly be explained by that which we read in Philo, (lib. *Omniem probum liberum esse*,) where, speaking of the doctors of the Jews, when they are set in the synagogues, Ὁ μὲν, saith he, τὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκει, "One reads the Bible," some part of it, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθὼν ἀναγινώσκει, "and another of the more skilful, or doctors, passing through those that are not known," that is, the more difficult passages, "expounds." This was called among the Jews דרש, preaching or expounding in their synagogues. See note [c] on ch. i.

CHAP. XV.

7. [a] seen of James] What is here said of Christ's appearance unto James is not mentioned in the Gospels, yet is it by St. Jerome mentioned from the tradition of the church, and that presently after his resurrection, before those other appearances which are here mentioned before it; which if it be true, it is necessary that ἔπειτα be not rendered *afterward*, but either as an ordinal of dignity, not of time, or as a form of numbering up several times, without exact observation of the order of them, then, besides, or in the next place, as the word is used in this Epistle, ch. xii. 28, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, where nothing of order is considered. Now what James this was, is affirmed by St. Hierome also, that James, the brother of our Lord, whom he calls the thirteenth apostle, styled James the Just, saith Eusebius, l. 2. c. κγ', and, saith he,

† Comm. in Isa.

reckoned by St. Paul among the special witnesses of the resurrection, James the known bishop of Jerusalem, whom therefore some of the ancients affirm to have been constituted bishop there by Christ himself at this appearance of his unto him; see Jerome in Catal., and on Gal. ch. i. Epiph. Hær. 78. Greg. Turonens. l. i. c. 17. Chrysostom Hom. i. on the Acts. Theophyl. on 1 Cor. xv. 7. "Ὁφθῇ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Κυρίου τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντι ἐπισκόπῳ πρώτῳ Ἱεροσολύμων, " He was seen by James the brother of the Lord, constituted by him the first bishop of Jerusalem." So Photius the patriarch of Constantinople, Epist. ρζ'. Ἰάκωβος ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων, καὶ δεσποτικῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἱερὸν χρίσμα, καὶ τὴν ἐφορίαν Ἱεροσολύμων λαχὼν, " James the first of high-priests, (or bishops,) who by the Lord's hand received the holy unction and bishopric of Jerusalem." What is thus said of his being constituted bishop by Christ, is by others said to have been done by Christ and the apostles, (Euseb. l. 17. c. ιθ'. Ἰάκωβος πρῶτος τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξάμενος, " James the first bishop of Jerusalem received it from Christ himself and the apostles,") by others from the apostles immediately. So Eusebius from Clem. Ὑποτυπωσ. l. 5'. Πέτρον, φησὶ, καὶ Ἰάκωβον, καὶ Ἰωάννην, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτήρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν Δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων εἰσεῖναι, " He saith that Peter, and James, and John, after the assumption of Christ, as being the men that were most favoured by Christ, did not contend for the honour, but chose James the Just to be bishop of Jerusalem." So, before Clemens, Hegesippus Ὑπομν. ε'. in Euseb. l. 2. c. κγ'. Τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαδέχεται ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ (or, as others read, παρὰ) ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ὁ Ἰάκωβος, ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων Δίκαιος, " After this manner did the brother of the Lord, James, called by all men the Just, receive the church (of Jerusalem) from the apostles." And that this was done the first year after the death of Christ, is the affirmation of Eusebius in Chronico, p. 43, which makes it out of question that this was the James that is mentioned Acts xii. 17, when Peter, being delivered out of prison, commands word to be carried to James and the brethren, that is, the bishop and the believers there. And thence is it that he is called *an apostle*, Gal. i. 19, and Acts xv. 6 and 22, *the apostles came together*, and, *It seemed good to the apostles*; so saith Theodoret, Τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον, &c. "Those whom they now call bishops, they called apostles," bringing this for a proof of his affirmation, οὕτω ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, "so the apostles wrote from Jerusalem to those in Antioch." And this is the reason that in this his church of Jerusalem, James is set before Peter and John, Gal. ii. 9, and is said to *give the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas*, and accordingly Paul, as soon as he comes to Jerusalem, presently goes in to James, Acts xxi. 18. And this is the James that wrote the Epistle, and is called *James the Apostle* in the inscription of the Epistle, though in the beginning of it he style himself *a servant of Jesus Christ*. See note [b] on the inscription of that Epistle.

8. [b] *born out of due time*] The full importance of this phrase ὥσπερ ἐκ τρώματι may best be taken from a proverbial form among the Romans, begun in Augustus's time. It is, from Suetonius, taken notice of by Baronius, An. Ch. 44. n. 74, but somewhat misrepresented. The

words of Suetonius lie thus in the life of Augustus, c. 35. *Erant super mille (senatores) et quidam indignissimi, et post necem Cæsaris per gratiam et præmium allecti, quos Abortivos vulgus vocabat*, "There were at that time an enormous number of senators, above a thousand, and some of them most unworthy of that dignity, having after the death of Cæsar, by favour and bribery, gotten to be elected. These the multitude proverbially styled Abortives." To this proverbial style of reproach St. Paul in great humility seems here to refer, making his own election into the apostleship parallel to the choice and admission of those supernumerary unworthy persons into the senate, viz. that he, like them, was none of the regular number of the twelve, none of those first taken in, in Christ's lifetime, no way *worthy to be an apostle*, as having *persecuted the church of Christ*, ver. 19, and yet by Christ's grace and special favour called and admitted to this dignity, (*by the grace of God I am what I am*, ver. 10,) and in these so many respects, fit to be looked on, in his own opinion of himself, as they were reproachfully by the people, viz. as an *ἔκτρωμα*, an *untimely birth*, which consequently hath not those full dimensions which those children are born with who have stayed in the womb their full time; to which most aptly agrees that which follows, ver. 9, as the reason of this expression, *for I am the least of the apostles*, as the *abortive* is the least of children. And this is still but proportionable to what he everywhere, when he speaks of himself, is forward to say, calling himself *the greatest or chief of sinners, less than the least of all saints*, and attributing all to the superabundant mercy and grace of God, that he so unworthy was thus vouchsafed and dignified by Christ.

29. [c] *for the dead*] It is to little purpose to set down the several interpretations of this place, (see Justell. in Cod. Can. Eccl. Universæ, p. 173.) This which hath been set down in the paraphrase is most natural, rendering *ὑπὲρ*, *for*, answerable to the Hebrew *על*. For the *νεκροί*, *the dead*, is but the title in brief of that grand article of the Creed, that of *the resurrection of the dead*, just as among the Hebrews, *על עבודה זרה*, *of or for strange worship*, denotes that precept of the sons of Adam and Noah, which prohibiteth the worship of any strange gods, or *על ברכת השם*, *of or for the benediction of the name*, is the precept of worshipping and serving the one true God: and so generally titles of *Constitutions* and of *Articles* are abbreviated in a word or two. To this purpose it is the observation of the learned §Jos. Scaliger, that not only the rabbins, but generally other doctors, *notissimas et vulgo tritissimas sententias dimidiatas solent citare*, "use to cite by abbreviature known and vulgar sentences," instancing in *δῶρον*, Matt. xv. 5. So it appears by Suidas, using the proverb *ἀπὸ καταδυμένης*, "from the sinking," which is but the abbreviature of *Ἀπὸ καταδυμένης ὁ, τι ἂν λάβῃς, κέρδος*, "From a sinking ship, whatsoever thou gettest must be counted gain." Of this interpretation of *ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν*, we have the testimony of Harmenopulus de sect. ια'. who, refuting the Marcionites, adds, *ἀγνοοῦντες ὡς διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως — τοῦθ' οὕτως εἴρηται*, "not knowing that it is spoken of the confession of the resurrection of the dead——." Of this also see Chrysostom, tom. 3. p. 514. Of whose understanding of it, because I see

some possibility of doubting, I shall more largely consider the words ; Μετὰ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν μυστικῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ φοβερῶν, καὶ τοὺς φρικτοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθέντων δογμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τέλος προστίθεμεν, ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, κελεύοντες λέγειν ὅτι πιστεύω εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ταύτῃ βαπτίζομεθα, "After recitation of the sacramental and dreadful word, and the venerable rules of the doctrines brought from heaven, this at the end we add, when we are about to baptize, we command him to say, I believe in the resurrection of bodies, and we are baptized in or on this faith." Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ὁμολογῆσαι τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τότε κατιέμεθα εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ναμίστων ἐκείνων, "For after professing this with the other articles, we are put into the fountain of those sacred waters." Τοῦτο τοίνυν ἀναμνησκῶν ὁ Παῦλος ἔλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἔστιν ἀνάστασις, τί καὶ βαπτίζῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, τούτεστι, τῶν σωμάτων ; "St. Paul therefore remembering them of this, (viz. this custom of professing before baptism, with other articles, this of the resurrection of the dead,) said, *Why also art thou baptized for the dead*, that is, the dead bodies ?" Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ βαπτίζῃ τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος ἀνάστασιν πιστεύων, ὅτι οὐκέτι μένει νεκρὸν, καὶ σὺ μὲν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων λέγεις νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, "For on this thou art baptized, believing the resurrection of the dead body, that it abides no longer dead, and thou indeed by words believest the resurrection of the dead." Here it is evident that the phrase ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν βαπτίζεσθαι, "being baptized for the dead," is otherwise expressed by him by ἐπὶ τούτῳ βαπτίζεσθαι, "being baptized in or on this," and that further expressed by τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος ἀνάστασιν πιστεύειν——, "believing the resurrection of the dead body," and διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων λέγειν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, "by words reciting the resurrection of the dead." Nothing then can be more manifest, than that this was his understanding of St. Paul's words, that *being baptized for the dead* was being baptized in the faith and profession, as of other articles of the Creed, so of this particularly, and in the last place, of *the resurrection of the body*. To this indeed he further adds, Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς, ὥσπερ ἐν τινὶ εἰκόνι, ἅπερ ἐπίστευσας, καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων ὁμολόγησας, δείκνυσι σοι καὶ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, "Then the priest, as in an image or representation, demonstrates to thee, by what he doth, the things that thou hast believed and professed by words," ὅταν χωρὶς σημείου πιστεύης, τότε σοὶ καὶ τὸ σημεῖον παρέχει, "when thou believest without a sign, he allows thee a sign——," viz. in putting in and taking out of the water, which is σύμβολον τῆς εἰς ἄδου καταβάσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν ἀνόδου, "the sign of descending into the state of the dead, and ascending from thence." Where, though the action of the priest *putting in* and *taking out of the water* be a significative proof of the same thing, that *the baptized are baptized into the faith of the resurrection of the dead*, yet was the interpretation of the apostle's words fully accomplished in that former, of *being baptized into that article of the resurrection*, of which this action of the priest was the lively sign. And accordingly Theophylact, who ordinarily copies out St. Chrysostom's interpretations, doth content himself with the first only, Οἱ μέλλοντες βαπτισθῆναι πάντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο πρόκειται, πιστεύω εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, "They that are to be baptized do all profess the symbol of the faith, (that St. Chrysostom had called the venerable rules of the doctrines that were brought from heaven,) in which, after others, this is set down, I believe

in the resurrection of bodies :” *φησιν ουν, οτι οι πιστεύοντες οτι εστιν ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν σωμάτων, καὶ βαπτισθέντες ἐπὶ ταύταις ἐλπίσι, τί ποιήσουσιν ἀπατηθέντες* ; “ The apostle therefore saith, that they that believe there is a resurrection of the dead bodies, (there is Chrysostom’s explication of *dead*, by *bodies*,) and have been baptized in or on these hopes, (there is his *ἐπὶ τούτῳ, on this*,) if they be deceived, (that is, if there be no resurrection,) what shall they do ?” *Τί δὲ ὅλως καὶ βαπτίζονται ἄνθρωποι ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ἀναστάσεως, εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται* ; “ And indeed why are men at all baptized for the resurrection, that is, on the expectation of the resurrection, (still *ὑπὲρ* and *ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ, for* and *on* the expectation of the resurrection, are all one,) if the dead are not raised ?” Zonaras also, on Can. 18. of the Council of Carthage, though with Chrysostom he take in the action of the priest, in “ putting in and taking out of the water,” (which is but the confirmation of this, and is not a new interpretation of St. Paul’s words,) yet he first insisteth on this, that “ they that are baptized are instructed in the power of the sacrament, and so taught to hope for, (that sure comprehends *to believe*,) *μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων*, among others, (the articles wherein the catechumeni are instructed,) *καὶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν*, the resurrection also of the dead.” And Balsamon on that Canon is just to the same purpose. To this there is but one thing necessary to be added, which will remove all difficulty from it, viz. that *τινὲς ἐξ ὑμῶν*, ver. 12, is the nominative case to *βαπτίζονται*, those of the Corinthians, that now doubted of the resurrection, had in their baptism, among other things, made profession of the belief of it. Which makes the apostle’s argument unanswerable, because they had not yet renounced their baptism, though they denied the resurrection. The truth of the fact, that some of the church of Corinth did deny the resurrection, is the express affirmation of the apostle, ver. 12. And that that may not be thought strange, it may be remembered what Photinus relates of some of the philosophers, that this was the last article of the Christian faith which they received, as thinking it most contrary to those philosophical principles imbibed by them ; and, by name, of Synesius, that he was made a bishop before he believed the truth of that article ; for which they that had made him, being questioned, made this apology for so doing, that they found so many excellent graces in him, that they could not but think them useful to the church of God, and confidently hope that God would not let them all perish, but would in time give him this grace also ; which accordingly came to pass.

32. [*d*] *after the manner of men I have fought with beasts*] That St. Paul here refers to that which befell him at Ephesus, Acts xix, may appear, 1st, by 2 Cor. i. 8, where he mentions his great persecution in Asia, (of which Ephesus was the metropolis,) and pressure so heavy, *that*, saith he, *I despaired even of life, having the sentence of death passed on him*, as far as he could guess of himself, and so making his deliverance a wonderful unexpected act of God’s, a kind of raising him from the dead ; 2dly, by the mention of *fighting with beasts*, which was a punishment that malefactors were condemned to in those days. And of that, particularly in Asia, we have an instance in those first times in the ^hEpistle of the church of Smyrna there, about the martyrdom of

^h Euseb. l. 4. c. 15.

Polycarpus, where they call the asiarcha to let loose a lion upon Polycarp: and by his answer there, (that he might not, because *πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια*, *the agones were ended*,) three things will be observable: 1st, that at that time in Asia (where that was done) their festivities or solemnities, kept in honour of their gods, had these *fightings with beasts* on the theatres annexed to them, as a chief ceremony of them, (see note [f] on Acts xix;) 2dly, that malefactors were wont to be punished at such their festivities, (as among the Jews at the passover; see Acts xii. 4.) not only to make their punishments more exemplary, but as a piece of sacrifice to their gods; 3dly, that the asiarchæ, the governors of Asia, that is, the chief officers among them, as they had the ordering of the *agones*, (see note [e] on Acts xix,) so they had the punishing of malefactors committed to them. Now that St. Paul was condemned, at least by the multitude designed to this punishment at that time, Acts xix, may thus appear; 1st, by the express words of 2 Cor. i. 9, *we had the sentence of death in ourselves*, that is, passed on us, *but*, as it follows, *God delivered him out of it*; 2dly, by the phrase *κατ' ἀνθρώπων* here, (in the same sense as *κριθῆναι κατ' ἀνθρώπους*, 1 Pet. iv. 5, and *τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ*, *as much as in me* is, nothing on my part wanting, Rom. i. 15,) that is, *ὅσον τὸ εἰς ἀνθρώπους*, saith Theophylact, “as much as related to or concerned men,” (parallel to that of *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*, *in ourselves*, in that place to the Corinthians,) that is, men so designed me, though God took me out of their hands, *ἐξήρπασε τῶν κινδύνων*, *snatched me out of the dangers*, (parallel to God's raising him from the dead there, and delivering him from so great a death, ver. 10;) 3dly, by the story in the Acts, ch. xix, where, ver. 29, the city being in an uproar, they all with one consent run to the theatre, the place where these bloody tragedies were acted, and hailed Gaius and Aristarchus, two of Paul's companions, thither. And if Paul had come into sight they would have done so to him also, but the Christians there would not permit him to come amongst them, ver. 30. And, ver. 31, the asiarchæ having some kindness to Paul, (a great work of God's providence that they should,) sent and gave him warning that he should keep close, and *μὴ δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον*, *not give himself to the theatre*, that is, not run the hazard, by coming out, to be carried thither, knowing the full purpose of the people to set him to the *θηριομαχία*, *combating with wild beasts*, if he did. Which further appears by the register's words, (in his speech whereby he pacified the people,) ver. 37: *Ye have brought these men, being neither robbers of your temple, nor blasphemers of your goddess*; that is, ye have dealt with them as if they were some notorious malefactors, to be thus publicly punished on the theatre, whereas they have done nothing worthy of such proceedings. This is a clear interpretation of these words, and gives a fair account of the *κατ' ἀνθρώπων*, so as to signify *as far as man's purpose concerning us*, (who had condemned us to this death, though God delivered us,) of which learned men have given so many and so wide conjectures.

33. [e] *good manners*] What *χρηστὰ ἦθη* here signifies, may perhaps be best understood by Hesychius in the word *εὐήθης*, which he there explains by *βλάξ*, *χρηστοσύνης*, *ἀνότητος*: by which it appears that the phrase refers not to *goodness of manners*, as that signifies actions, and as Hesychius renders *ἡθεα*, *συνηθεῖς τρόποι*, (for which the ordinary print reads *τόποι*,) and *κακοθελίας*, *κακοτροπίας*, but to *simplicity* and *de-*

ceivableness of mind, and accordingly it is most properly rendered *good dispositions* or *good natures*, of which it is ordinarily observable, that they are subject to be seduced, and misled into error or false doctrine, as here the denying of the resurrection. And accordingly it is introduced and enforced with a *μη πλανᾶσθε*, *be not deceived*, noting what corruption was here to be taken heed of, that of error. The rendering the phrase *good manners* refers it peculiarly to the sense of being debauched and corrupt in their lives, which is not commodiously applicable to this place, which treats only of intellectual error, and therefore this other sense is with more reason to be here fastened on, That conversation and discourse (so *ὁμιλία* signifies) with heretics or philosophers, that disputed against the possibility of the body's returning to life, after it was once perfectly dead, might probably seduce and deceive *εύθεις, χρηστοίθεις*, *easy, well-natured auditors*, who are not so circumspect as they should be: and thus hath Theophylact interpreted *χρηστὰ ἦθη, τὰ εύεξαπάτητα*, the *good dispositions* denote "those that are easily deceived or cheated."

50. [*f*] *flesh and blood*] That *flesh and blood* signifies that state of growing, feeding, corruptible bodies, such as these we carry about us, there is little doubt. How, or with what propriety it comes to do so, may receive some light from that of Homer, *Ἰλιάδ. ε'. 341*. There of the gods he saith:

Οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἶθρα οἶνον,
Τοῦνεκ' ἀναίμονες εἰσι, καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται.

"They eat no meat, nor drink no wine; therefore they have no blood, and are called immortal." Thus in the gospel it is said of the saints in heaven, which are clearly answerable to the soberest notion of their gods, that *they neither eat nor drink*, and from thence (agreeably to that which Homer concludes from thence) they are here said not to be *flesh and blood*, nor, as it follows, *corruptible*, denoting the difference betwixt the natural body we have here, and the spiritual hereafter.

54. [*g*] *in victory*] The Hebrew phrase *נצח*, which is ordinarily rendered *eis nicos*, Lam. v. 20. 2 Sam. ii. 26. Job xxxvi. 7. Jer. iii. 5. Amos i. 11, doth in all of them signify *for ever*, and is rendered *eis τὸν αἰῶνα*, Isa. xiii. 20, and *eis τέλος*, *to the end*, psal. xiii. 2; and so it is in this place, *Death shall be for ever* (or *perfectly* or *finally*) *devoured*.

55. [*h*] *where is thy sting*] These words are taken out of Hosea, ch. xiii. 14, where yet we read, *I will be thy plague*. And some have conjectured, that instead of the Hebrew *יהי*, *I will be*, the Greek read *יהי*, *where*? But R. Tanchum and Ebn Jannahus, saith Mr. P., affirm that the Hebrew *יהי* is all one with *יהי*, and so signifies *where*, in that very chapter of Hosea, ver. 10, *יהי מלכך*, *where is thy king*? and so then the Septuagint's rendering will be literal, and the apostle's words lightly varied from it.

CHAP. XVI.

11. [*a*] *conduct*] *Προπείμew* is *to accompany*, *to bring on the way*, ver. 6, and *to set forth*; and, if need be, *to provide for the necessities of his journey*. So Tit. iii. 13, where it is explained by *ὡς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς λείπει*, *that they want nothing*. So Acts xv. 3, where they that were sent by the church of Antioch in all reason are to be believed to have had the charge of their journey defrayed by them. As for the phrase *ἐν*

εἰρήνη, in peace, here added, it seems to refer to that notion of peace (as in, *Peace be with you*, &c.) which is a form of salutation, especially at dismissing the assembly, (see note [c] on Rom. xvi.) or at any other parting, or taking of leave, which was among the Christians used by way of benediction, and then *ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, in or with peace, will be no more than, *when ye take leave or part with them*.

18. [b] *refreshed my spirit*] This phrase ἀνέπασαν πνεῦμα, *quieted the spirit*, is taken out of the Greek translation, Zach. vi. 8; instead of which the Chaldee have עבירו ית רעתי, *they have done my desire*, that is, saith Maimonides, "they were acceptable and welcome to me." See Joh. Coch. Tit. Talmud. p. 300.

19. [c] *church that is in their house*] The word ἐκκλησία, *the church*, doth not only signify the place of assembling together, but the persons of those that use to do so, that is, all the Christians in any place. So in the beginning of this Epistle, having named the church which is in Corinth, he proceeds ἡγιασμένοις, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, &c., *the sanctified, the saints*, that is, all the Christians in that place, which are meant by the word church preceding. And so here *the church* is all the members of the church of Christ, the Christians; and then οἶκος, *house*, signifying in like manner not the walls of the house, but the family, the persons in it, (as when it is said of Cornelius, that he was a *proselyte*, σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, *with all his house*, that is, he and all the persons in his family,) it is evident what is meant by *the church in their house*, that is, all the believers of their family. The same are called ἡ κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησία, Rom. xvi. 4, *the church or Christians belonging to their family*: the prepositions ἐν and κατὰ being promiscuously used in these writings. To this¹ Theophylact further adds, that by this phrase is intimated the great piety of the masters of these families, that had "made all their house Christians," (οὕτως ἦσαν εὐδόκιμοι, ὥστε τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν πάντα ποιῆσαι πιστοὺς, τοὺτους γὰρ ἐκκλησίαν ὠνόμασεν,) and again, their "great hospitality to strangers." For where, saith he, such virtues are, ἐκκλησία δ' οἶκος ἐκεῖνος, "that house is a church."

22. [d] *Anathema Maran-atha*] Of ἀνάθεμα, as it was the second degree of censures taken from the Jews, and accommodated to the use of the Christian church, somewhat hath been said, note [e] on ch. v. Now the addition of *Maran-atha*, μαρὰν ἀθά, to it, signifies the third and highest degree of excommunication, superadded to that second. For though some question have been of late made of it by learned men, yet there is little reason to doubt, but there were among the Jews those three degrees of excommunication. נדרי, חרם, and שמתא: the first a *remotion* from familiar converse, *ad quatuor passus*, "for four paces;" the second more solemn, with execrations out of Moses' law added to it; the third leaving the offender to divine vengeance. This last is denoted, without doubt, by the origination of the word שמתא, whatsoever that be. For three derivations it is capable of; two mentioned in Moed Katon, in these words, *What is schammatha?* Rab answered מיתה שם, *There is death*, and Samuel said יהיה שמתא יחיה, *There shall be desolation*. The third is from אתא שם, *Dominus venit*, "The Lord comes." That this third should not be it, there is only this pretence, that then there would be no reason for the *dagesh* or doubling

¹ On Rom. xvi. 15.

of the *m* in *schammatha*. But considering that that is no great change, and that in either of the other two greater are admitted, in the first, the ה in the end of מִתְּהוּ turned into מ, and much greater in the second, the word *Μαράν ἀθά* here will give us great reason to forsake the two former, and pitch upon that third derivation, it being clear that the word *מָרָא*, *comes*, is the same in both; and for the שׁוּם and מֶרֶן, it is as clear that they are directly the same. The word שׁוּם is *name*, but in ordinary speech among the Jews signifies *the name of God*, or *God himself*. And so doth *Maran* in the eastern tongues signify *Dominus*, “*Lord*,” whence in Etruria the kings were called *marani*, saith Servius on *Æneid*. 12, and the Syrians are now called *Maronitæ*, because they call Christ מְרָאנִי, *our Lord*. Agreeable to which it is, that in Epiphanius God is by the Gazari called *Marnas*, and by the Cretians their virgins are styled *μάρραι*, that is, *κυρίαί*, *ladies*. And thus both these words *Schammatha* and *Maranatha* will be directly all one with the denunciation of Enoch, Jude 14, ἔλθε Κύριος, *the Lord cometh*, and that there explained by ποιῆσαι κρίσιμ, *doing judgment against wicked men*, that will not be reformed. According to this it is, that among the Spaniards, who have so much of the remainders of the Jews among them, this form hath been used, *sit Anathema Maranatha, et excommunicatus*, or, רַב מִן רַחֵם אֱלֹהִים, *Let him be excommunicated from the hope of the Lord*. A passage there is in Stephanus Byzant. πε. πόλ., which in all probability belongs to this word. Κεραυνωθείς τις ποιμήν ἔλεγε Ῥαμανθάς, τινος τινος, ἀπ’ ὐψους ὁ Θεός, “*A shepherd being thunderstruck*,” saith he, “*cried out, Ramanthas, that is, God from above*.” Where, though out of Philo the Grammarian he derive it from *raman*, signifying *height*, and *Athas*, *God*, yet there is little doubt to be made but the word is a corruption in the Vulg. and so in the shepherd’s use of it for *Maranatha* here. The only thing remaining of difficulty is, how, supposing this a form of excommunication, it can here be applicable to *the not loving of Christ*, which, being a sin of the heart, seems not to be capable of any judge’s cognizance, nor consequently of their censure. But it must be observed, that *the love of Christ* signifies that *perfect love* that *casts out fear*, and contains in it the confession of Christ, adhering and cleaving to him, (as, *to love a master*, Matt. vi. 24, *to hold to him*, in that verse,) *the not loving of Christ*, is the denying of him in time of trouble, and signifies here, him that was tainted with the error of the Gnostics, and so would not confess Christ in time of persecution (see note [b] on Rev. ii.); and then there is nothing more reasonable, than that the apostle having written this whole Epistle against the schisms and vicious practices and heresies infused into the church of Corinth by these men, should conclude with a denunciation of the highest degree of excommunication against all those who shall thus renounce Christ, and fall off to these *damnable heresies, denying the Lord that bought them*, 2 Pet. ii. 1.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE occasion and time of writing this second Epistle are the only things which will here be necessary to be premised; and both of these may probably be discovered. At the end of his three years' stay in Asia, when he was now hastening toward Jerusalem, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, that is, An. Ch. 54, he had before his departure from Ephesus (see note [a] on the title of 1 Cor.) written his first Epistle to them, for the checking of many enormities among them, which Stephanus and Fortunatus and Achaicus had brought him word of. And when the success of that Epistle of his was soon declared unto him by Titus, how that the censures inflicted on the offenders had reduced many, and that there was a very discernible reformation wrought amongst them by these means, he makes all haste (as soon as he had received this account) to send this second, milder Epistle unto them, to qualify the seeming severities of the former, and to take off the censures again from those that had thus seasonably been reformed by them, ch. ii. 7 and 10. This shews that it was written within a short time after the former. And the same also appears by the solemn mention of the danger which he had passed at Ephesus, (which he had but intimated in the former Epistle, ch. xv. 32, but now enlargeth on it at the beginning of this Epistle, ch. i. 8, and ch. iv. 7, &c.) viz. that caused by Demetrius and the silversmiths, Acts xix. 24, in which he had like to have been brought to the theatre to combat with wild beasts, and escaped narrowly with life: which deliverance of his was, it seems, now fresh in his memory, and fit to be recounted by him again and again, and to be thankfully acknowledged by all that had any interest in him.

As for the point of time wherein it was written, it may be thus probably collected. In this Epistle, ch. ii. 12, he mentions his being at Troas to preach the gospel, and his good success in converting many, which is the meaning of *the door being opened him in the Lord*; from thence he saith he hastened to Macedonia, on purpose to meet Titus, and understand from him the success of his former Epistle to these Corinthians; and there it seems he found him, and presently dispatched this second Epistle to them, which is accordingly in the subscription of it dated from *Philippi in Macedonia, by Titus and Lucas*. That this was done in that journey set down Acts xx. in the beginning, there is no question, but in what verse of that chapter this his being at Troas (mentioned here, ch. ii. 12) is described, that is the only difficulty. That it is not to be referred to that mention of Troas, Acts xx. 6, appears by this, that there they came from Philippi (that is, from Macedonia) to Troas, but at the point of time mentioned in this Epistle, it is evident they went from Troas to Macedonia. Again in that verse of the Acts they stayed at Troas but seven days, and in those days *the disciples came together to break bread on the Lord's day, and Paul διέλεγτο αὐτοῖς, discoursed to them till midnight*: all which supposeth them

of Troas to have formerly received the gospel; whereas at his being in Troas, which is mentioned in this Epistle, he seems to have first revealed the gospel unto them, the door which was then opened unto him being the first reception of the gospel in that place. It is therefore most reasonable to suppose this his being at Troas to be contained Acts xx. 1, in his passing from Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia, into Macedonia. That Troas was not so much out of the way betwixt these two, but that by it he might pass from one to the other, appears in the following verses: for in the return from Macedonia, ver. 3, into Asia, ver. 4, they are all found at Troas, vv. 5 and 6; and from thence it is as clear, that Troas might be taken in his way, ver. 1, as he went from Ephesus to Macedonia. But the brevity of St. Luke's narration keeps this from being mentioned there, which yet may be supplied by this of St. Paul's own pen, ch. ii. 12. And from thence it will be concluded that either at his being in Macedonia, ver. 1, (at which time he met with Titus there, 2 Cor. ii. 12,) or possibly at his return through Macedonia from Greece, vv. 2 and 3, this Epistle was written by him, to follow the former, as soon as he discerned the success of it, and to comfort them whom that had cast down. And that it was in the second point of time, that of his *return from Greece through Macedonia*, may appear by ch. i. 16, where mentioning two resolutions which he had had to visit them, the former in his passage into Macedonia, the second at this his return from it, both of these must needs be passed before the writing hereof. In this Epistle he also excuseth his not coming to them, and addeth many other things occasionally; especially he is careful to vindicate his apostleship from some calumnies, that malicious seducers, crept into that church, had cast upon him. And this is all that was useful to be said beforehand on this Epistle.

CHAP. I.

11. [a] *by the means of many persons*] The Greek *πρόσωπον* is ordinarily parallel and proportionable to the Hebrew פָּנִים, *facies*, which coming from פָּנָה, *respexit*, signifies oftentimes *respectus*, and so מִפְּנֵי, *de facie*, signifies *for or in respect of*; and agreeable thereto, ἐκ προσώπων πολλῶν, *of or from many faces*, here signifies in respect of many, in relation to many, for the sakes of many, or in any of those forms of speech by which מִפְּנֵי would be rendered.

17. [b] *yea yea, and nay nay*] The meaning of *yea and nay*, or of *yea yea, and nay nay*, is distinctly this, when we do not agree, or are inconstant to ourselves, now *yea* and anon *nay*, in our words or actions. Whence is that old word *naucus*, for "a light or frivolous person," from ναὶ οὐχί, as it is deduced by JFestus. The difference of this from the ἦτοι ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ, James v. 12, is cleared by the construction, *Let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay*, that is, Let your words and actions accord; so that the second *yea* and the second *nay* is not joined with the first, as here, but as the predicate affirmed of it, whereas here the two *yeas* being all one, (and so indeed expressed by a single *yea*, ver. 18,) are the subject of the speech, and the two *nays*, being all one again, the predicate. To this agrees that proverb of the Jews, *The just man's yea is yea, and his nay nay*. A third expression

there is, that of Matt. v, which is in sound very near this, and yet distant from it, *Let your communication be yea yea, and nay nay*, that is, Let there be no other language but this or the like used by you, in opposition to the more licentious forms of oaths there mentioned.

CHAP. II.

5. [*a*] *he hath not grieved me*] The sense affixed to these words in this paraphrase (very distant from that which the words, as they are ordinarily read and rendered, sound) is taken distinctly from the scholion of Theophylact, who resolving it the apostle's meaning, in both these verses, to have his charity to the incestuous person expressed, and to give order for his absolution, thinks this way of rendering it most proper, that joining them with himself in the dislike and sorrow, and consequently infliction of censures for the sin, he might engage them jointly with himself in the absolving the transgressor; "and this," saith he, "most wisely disposed by him, that they who had so lately been commanded by the apostle to avoid him, as a detestable person, should not now upon his giving orders for his absolution be scandalized at him, ὡς παλιμβόλῳ, as inconstant and mutable." This, saith he, is the reason that he takes them in, as partakers with him of the sorrow and censures, that he might have them his willing partners in the absolution and joy of that. And so this, saith he, is the sense of the words, οὐ γὰρ ἐμέ——. *For he hath not*, saith St. Paul, *grieved me alone, but all you in part*, that is, a little, or in some degree, *that I may not say, he hath altogether grieved you, lest I should lay overmuch weight upon him*; or in plain words, the truth is, *he hath grieved you* in like manner as me, but yet, that I may not overburden him that was guilty of that incest, or aggravate the matter against him, all that I say is, *that in part, or in some measure, ye were grieved by him*. This is a very commodious sense, and necessarily requires some small change of the punctuation, (though the printed text in Theophylact have not observed it,) partly by including in a parenthesis the latter part of this 5th verse, from οὐκ ἐμέ—— to the end of it, partly by putting a comma after ἐπιβαρῶ, that so πάντας ὑμᾶς may connect with ἀπὸ μέρους, thus, ver. 5: *But if any have caused grief he hath not grieved me, but in part (that I may not aggravate, or lay weight on him) you all*: ver. 6. *Sufficient to such a man*——. And this is a plain sense, and agrees very well with all that follows of their joint and cheerful proceeding to the absolution of the incestuous.

6. [*b*] *punishment, which was inflicted of many*] What is here meant by ἐπιτιμία ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων, *the punishment which was inflicted under the many*, will appear by 1 Cor. v. 4, where, concerning the incestuous person, and such as he, order is distinctly given, that he shall be *delivered up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh*, or bringing corporal inflictions upon him, which is certainly the ἐπιτιμία, *punishment*, here mentioned, and that συναχθέντων ὑμῶν, *you being gathered together*, that is, in the presence of the whole congregation, to add the greater solemnity to it: and that is all one with the ὑπὸ πλειόνων here, *under, or in the presence of the many*. Meanwhile, as there the sentence was St. Paul's, κέκρικα, ver. 3, *I have judged as present*, and ver. 4, *when ye are gathered together and my spirit, with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ*, (bestowed on the apostle and rulers of the church,) so here it must be

supposed to be, though the solemnity was transacted with the company, and in the presence of the whole congregation.

17. [c] *corrupt*] That λόγος Θεοῦ, *the word of God*, signifies the gospel here, as it was by St. Paul made known unto men, the Christian religion preached by him, there can be no doubt. All the difficulty is, what is meant by *καπηλεύειν*, not that there can be any question of the native proper signification of that word, for it certainly signifies doing as *κάπηλοι* do, and those are *little peddling merchants*, that buy and sell to get gain; but because it is possible it may refer to some practices which such merchants are vulgarly guilty of, mixing, and dashing their commodities, and so deceiving others, that they may enrich themselves. But though the word may possibly by a figure signify this, yet the genuine proper notion, being very agreeable to the context, is in all reason to be preferred. *We are not*, saith St. Paul, *ὡς οἱ πολλοί, as the many*. This sure refers to the false teachers of his time, and those, we know, were the Gnostics, who, as they are said *to serve their belly, to love the world, and to love pleasures*, and so generally to design themselves advantages by their profession, and of all things hated the cross, renounced Christianity when it was persecuted, and brought any dangers or losses upon them; so they are particularly marked out, 1 Tim. vi. 5, (that chapter where the Gnostics are named, ver. 20, and their character particularly set down,) to be such as *deem godliness gain*, think the Christian profession brings men secular advantages of liberty, &c., and so cannot be so single-hearted, so wholly bent to approve themselves to God, as St. Paul here professeth to be. To this interpretation of the place I am inclined by two passages in the Epistles of Ignatius, which though they are omitted in the Laurentian copy are yet constantly to be found in others; and if they were put in by any interpolator, they may yet be of good use to us in this matter, there being no reason to suspect the hand that inserted them of any ill design, nor yet of ignorance either of the Gnostic heresy or of the use of the word. The former place is in the Epistle ad Magnesianos, where, speaking of the Gnostic Judaizers, “enemies of the cross, whose god is their belly, minding earthly things, lovers of pleasures, and not lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof,” he adds, *οἱ Χριστέμποροι, τὸν λόγον καπηλεύοντες, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πωλοῦντες*, “merchants of Christ, huckstering the word, selling Jesus,” going on to other parts of the character of the Gnostics, “corrupters of women, coveting what belongs to others, *χρηματολαίλαπες*, greedy lovers of money.” The second place is agreeable in Ep. ad Trall. “There are,” saith he, “some vain speakers and impostors,” *οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ Χριστέμποροι, ἀπάτῃ περιφέροντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*——“not Christians, but merchants of Christ, carrying the name of Christ for deceit, huckstering the word of the gospel:” and who these are, he specifies in the process of that Epistle; “Simon the firstborn of Satan, Menander, Basilides, the unclean Nicolaitans, *τοὺς ψευδωνύμους*, those that are falsely named, that is, the Gnostics,” &c.

CHAP. III.

1. [a] *epistles of commendation*] *Συστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ*, and *γράμματα*, in this place, are an intimation of an ancient custom in the apostolical primitive church, which ordinarily gave their testimonies to all Chris-

tians that travelled from one place to another, and recommended them to an hospitable reception. The original of this custom seems to have been taken from the heathens, who had their *tesseras hospitalitatis*, which, from one friend to another, helped them that brought them to kind entertainment, and Tertullian continues the phrase *contesseratio hospitalitatis*. Many mentions of this custom we find amongst ancient writers. In Synesius, τῇ φιλή τῇ σῇ τὸν Θαυμάσιον συνίστημι, "I commend Thaumasius to your friendship," &c. And in Phavorinus, συνίστημι τῇ φιλή καὶ τῇ ἀγαθότητι τῇ σῇ τὸν Λαυρέντιον, ἐκ πολλοῦ μοι μαθητὴν ὄντα, "I commend to your friendship and kindness Laurentius, who of a long time hath been my scholar." And again, συνίστησίν τις τινὰ τινι, μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ χρηστὰ, "one commends a man to another when he gives a good testimony of him." This was done among Christians, by testifying the piety and orthodoxness of any, and the agreement with them from whom they come in the same faith. And therefore when Fortunius, a bishop of the Donatists, affirmed and boasted that their church was the catholic church, St. Austin, Ep. 163. ad Eleusium, convinceth him by asking him, whether a Donatist could by his *literæ formatæ*, or *communicatoriæ*, gain a man entertainment or reception in any church that he would name to him, being confident he could not do it. Thus saith Nazianzen of Julian^k, Σηλιτεν. α. that he imitated many of the Christian rites, τὴν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίαν, "all humanity, charity to them that wanted," τὴν τε ἄλλην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστολμαίοις συνθήμασιν, οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἔθνους εἰς ἔθνος τοὺς χρήζοντας παραπέμπομεν, "that way of it especially which consisted in sending letters and tokens, with which (saith Nazianzen) we use to furnish them that are in want from one nation to another." The same saith Sozomen, l. 5. c. 5, and Nicephorus Callistus, l. 10. c. 21, almost in the same words, Οὐχ ἥκιστα ζηλωσαὶ λέγεται τὰ συνθήματα τῶν ἐπισκοπικῶν γραμμάτων, οἷς ἔθος ἀμοιβαδὸν τοὺς ξένους ὁποιδῇποτε διδόντας, καὶ παρ' οἷς ἂν ἀφίκωνται πάντως κατέγεσθαι, καὶ θεραπείας ἀξιούσθαι, οἷα γε γνωρίμους καὶ φιλότατους διὰ τὴν τοῦ συμβόλου μαρτυρίαν, "He especially imitated the tokens (or *tesserae*) of the bishops' letters, by which they are wont mutually to commend those that travel any whither, and by that testimony obtain for them all friendly entertainment, as for their most familiar acquaintance." The same we may find in Lucian, in his Peregrinus. By which also will appear the ancient notion of the *κοινωνικὰ γράμματα*, not to signify (as Baronius ad An. 314. and out of him Binius, t. 1. Concil. p. 271, and Ferrarius De Antiq. Eccles. Epist. Genere, l. 1. p. 45, would have them,) "Epistles by which men were testified to be in communion with the church of Rome," (which they never did but when they were written by the bishop of that church, and neither then any more than those that were written by the bishop of any other particular church signified that man's agreement in faith and communion with that particular church,) but only letters commendatory from one place or church to another, to recommend a person that should travel thither, and so obtain for him an hospitable reception, lodging, diet, and all things else that are contained in Sozomen under the word *θεραπεία*, *provision* or *necessaries*, that they wanted; and this according to the notion of *κοινωνίῳ*, formerly mentioned (see note [c] on Acts ii.)

^k Ed. lat. p. 102.

for *liberality* and *beneficence*, though there is no question but among other degrees of charitable reception, that of admitting them to their churches and sacraments was included also, proportionably to the forms of their testimonies, which, saith Mat. Blastares, were wont to mention the uprightness of the person's faith, unrepugnableness of his life, and his degree in the church, if he had any. See Justell. in Cod. Can. Eccl. Un. p. 132.

13. [b] *end of that which is abolished*] If the reading be *τελος*, then must Christ, (which is *the end of the law*,) that is, the Christian precepts and promises typified by the Mosaical rites and shadows, be meant by it; but if the reading be *πρόσωπον*, then will the *ἀντιπόδοις*, or *second part of the resemblance*, be more perfectly answerable to the former; thus, *Moses put a veil over his own face, to signify that the Israelites would not see the face* (that is, discern clearly the most eminent and principal part) *of the law, which is now abolished*, that is, of the ceremonial law. For certainly the principal part of that was the inward purity and piety signified and adumbrated by those ceremonies, and now taught by Christ more distinctly and plainly, and so that *covering taken away*, ver. 14, *only the Jews will not see it, but as yet their understandings are blinded*, in the beginning of the verse.

CHAP. IV.

6. [a] *face of Jesus*] This phrase *πρόσωπον Ἰησοῦ*, *the face of Jesus*, and this whole verse, refers to the story of Moses, desiring to see *the glory of God*, Exod. xxxiii. For there God in his own glorious nature could not be seen, ver. 20, the lustre was so great; but with that sight that was afforded him, though but of an angel sustaining the person of God, Moses's face was enlightened, and shone, and became glorious, (to which the apostle had before referred, ch. iii. 7.) And so here *the glory of God*, that is, the revelation of his most divine counsels for the saving of men under the gospel, is by God communicated to Christ, and by that means he, as he is *the Son of man*, and executes this prophetic office upon earth, is much more shining and glorious than Moses's face was; and then we, to whom the gospel is now preached, look upon this face of his, though the Israelites could not on Moses's, and are illuminated thereby, receive the knowledge of these counsels of God, whensoever we look on him.

7. [b] *earthen vessels*] *Σκεῦος* signifies any of the *utensils* about an house, Matt. xii. 29, Mark xi. 6, (see note [b] on Matt. xxi.) *a dish, a cup*, &c. Of these some are *testacea*, "made of shells of fishes," and they are here *δοτράκινα*, as 2 Tim. ii. 20, (the only other place where the word is used in the New Testament,) and this agrees very well with the matter in hand, it being ordinary to lay up those things we value in shells or boxes, or cabinets made of such; and those, in respect of the brittleness, and of the nature of them, (as the shells are the outsides of fishes,) very fit to resemble our bodies, wherein our souls do inhabit. And accordingly the Platonists, making two bodies of a man, one, that which carries the soul in it, *ἔχημα ψυχῆς*, *the chariot of the soul*, the other, that which we touch, and see the grosser carnal part, call that second *δοτράκινον*, that which is the same to us which the shell is to the fish, which hath another finer body within it. The word *δοτράκον*, *testa*, signifies not only "a shell," (from whence those kinds of fishes are

called *δοτρακόδεσμα*, the shell to them supplying the place of skin, and some others *ἀπαλόστρακα*, *soft-shelled*, as *καραβοὶ* in ¹Nemesius,) but also *πηλὸν ὀπημένον*, *baked earth*, and vessel of the potter, that hath passed the fire, and is taken out of the kiln, and so Theophylact interprets it here, and so it frequently signifies in authors. The difference of such *σκεύη δοτράκινα*, *earthenware*, from *σκεύη κεραμείως*, *the potter's vessels*, or *πήλινα*, *vessels of clay*, before they are burnt, whilst they remain in the potter's hand in moulding, is set down exactly by ^mSt. Chrysostom in his *κατηχ.* *πρώτη πρὸς τοὺς μέλλ. φωτίζ.*, that the *former* if they be broken, *οὐ λάβοι διάρθωσιν*, "are not capable of recovery," *διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐγγυνομένην αὐτοῖς ἀπαξ ἀντιτυπίαν*, "because of the hardness once gotten by the fire," whereas the other, that are but of clay unbaked, and unhardened, if they be spoiled once, *ράδιως πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον ἐπανεῖλθαι σχήμα*, "they may easily by the skill of the potter be returned to some second form." Whence, saith he, it is that Jer. xix. 1, when the prophet was to describe an irreparable destruction, he is bid to *figure* it by *σκεῦος δοτράκινον*, such a vessel, or bottle of earth, broken to pieces, ver. 10. But when he would put them in some hope of restauration, then God shews *σκεῦος πήλινον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κεραμέως γινόμενον, διαπίπτον*, an earthen vessel fallen, when it is in the hands of the artificer, ch. xviii. 2, 3, which he takes up and moulds anew, the matter being yet capable of it. And this sense and notion of *δοτράκινον* also the place will bear, and therefore I have now set them both down, and left the reader to choose which he shall think most probable.

8. [c] *troubled on every side*—] These two verses in every word refer to the ancient heathen customs in the *agones*, of which somewhat hath been said, note on 1 Cor. ix. 24. St. Chrysostom explains them so in common, (*ἀλγοῦμεν καὶ ἀποτυγχάνομεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως, ὥστε ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν προκειμένων, εἰς γυμνασίαν, οὐκ εἰς ἥτταν*, "We are cold," &c., as Horace of the racer, *sudavit et aluit*, "he sweats and freezes,") but he applies them not severally to the particular exercises. This, I suppose, may fitly be done, by accommodating three of the pairs to the customs of wrestling; one to that of running in the race, *θλίβεσθαι* belongs clearly to *πάλη*, *wrestling*, so saith Aristotle *Rhet.* l. 1. c. 5, (see the anonymous Scholiast on that place,) *ὁ μὲν δυνάμενος θλίβειν καὶ κατέχειν, παλαιστικός*, "He that can gripe his adversary, and take him up, is good at wrestling," there being two dexterities in that exercise, *comprimere antagonistam, et substernere*, "to gripe, and throw down," which Hesychius also calls *ᾠθεῖν* and *κρατεῖν* the first of these is here mentioned, and expressed by *θλίβεσθαι*, *pressure*, to which is here opposed, as in a higher degree, *στενοχωρεῖσθαι, ad angustias redigi*, "to be brought to distress," as when we can neither get out of his hands, nor make any resistance against him; so Isa. xxviii. 20, *στενοχωρούμενοι οὐ δυνάμεθα μάχεσθαι*, *being brought to such extremities, we can fight no longer*. So again, *ἀπορεῖσθαι, perplexity*, is fit for the wrestler, who, being shrewdly put to it, knows not what to do; so saith Theophylact, though we fall, *εἰς ἀμχανίας*, to such a condition that "we know not what to do;" so in Hesychius, *Ἀποροῦντες, ἀμχανοῦντες*, *they that are not able to do or attempt any thing*, yet are not *ἐξαπορούμενοι*, *miscarry not finally*, *ὀρθοὶ ἱστάμενοι*, *stand after all upright*, *οὐκ ἀπογινώσκοντες, καὶ ἡττῶμενοι*, *despair*

not, nor are they overcome, but find an happy issue out of all, *νικῶντες*, *conquerors* at last, saith Theophylact. Then for *διωκόμενοι*, *pursued*, that is peculiar to *δρόμος*, *racing*, as hath been formerly said, (note on 1 Cor. ix. 25,) when one being foremost in the race, others pursue, and get up close after him, being ready to outstrip or get before him, but do not so: and that is the meaning of *οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπομενοι*, *not outstripped or cast behind*, the word *ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι* signifying *to be outgone, relinquish*, literally, in Horace's notionⁿ,

.... *mihi turpe relinquere est.*

So in Plutarch, *τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ στεφανοῦσι*, "they do not crown them that are lag, or left behind," and 1 Cor. ix. *all run, but one receives the prize*. So Eustathius on Homer, *Π. ψ'. Τὸν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἡττηθέντα λείπειν φαμὲν*, "He that is overcome we say is left;" and in Hesychius, *λείπετο, ἔθλα ἀπετυγχάνετο*, corruptly for *λείπετο* (that is, *ἐλείπετο*) *ἄθλου ἀπετυγχάνετο*, "to be left, is to miss the reward:" and therefore James i. 4, those that are perfect and consummate, crowned, or fit to receive the crown, are said to be *ἐν μηδενὶ λειπόμενοι*, *left behind in nothing*, victorious still. It is true indeed that the vulgar notion of *forsaken* is applicable to the word among good authors. As in Aristotle, *Rhet. l. i. c. 10. τοὺς συγκινδυνεύοντας ἐγκαταλιμπάνουσι διὰ τὸν φόβον*, "cowards for fear forsake, desert those that are in the same danger with them." But the contexture, and consort of so many other agonistical words, and the examples of this use of it joined thereto, do rather incline it to the former. Then for *καταβαλλόμενοι*, that belongs again to *πάλη*, *wrestling*, where he that throws the other first is conqueror; whereupon Hesychius, *Καταβαλεῖ, νικήσει, ῥίψει*, "to cast down, is to overcome, to throw." The same is expressed by *ὑποσκελίζειν, περνίζειν*, "supplanting, tripping up the heels," whence is that scholion of Theophylact, *καταβαλλόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν*, "thrown by them that wrestle with us;" and then the *οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι*, *not destroyed*, may either signify literally so, *not killed*, that is, lying upon the ground, but not like carcasses there, or else rising up again after the fall, and not, as the elephant, irrecoverably down. All which belongs to the afflictions that befell the apostles, their hardship in these *ἀγῶνες* and *combats* of theirs.

17. [*d*] *weight of glory*] The Hebrew כבד signifies primarily two things, *weight* and *plenty*, and from thence two things more, either *glory* or *riches*. From hence it comes, that *βαρὺ* is in the Greek of the Old Testament taken for *multitude* or *greatness*, that is applied to a train or host, 1 Kings x. 2, and 2 Kings vi. 14, and xviii. 17, and 2 Chron. ix. 1. *δύναμις βαρεία*, *a great numerous troop of attendants* or *army*, and 1 Macc. i. 17. *ὄχλος βαρὺς*, *a very great multitude*, and 3 Macc. *συμπόσιον βαρὺν*, *a great magnificent feast*. Accordingly *βάρος δόξης* here will be *riches, plenty, and abundance of glory*, the word *βάρος* being the rather here used in opposition to the lightness of the afflictions precedent, but not to denote the *heaviness*, but *abundance*, or *riches* of this, as Gen. xiii. 2, Abraham is said to be כבד, *heavy*, that is, plentiful, in *cattle*, &c., the LXXII read *πλούσιος*, *rich*, and so ch. i. כבד signifies *riches*.

ⁿ De Art. Poet.

CHAP. V.

10. [a] *receive the things done in his body*] Κομίζεσθαι signifies to receive by way of reward a crown or prize, to carry it away, as ἀπράζειν and λαμβάνειν, to snatch and take off the crown standing over the goal. Then τὰ διὰ σώματος, *the things by the body*, must be relative, and answerable to πρὸς ἃ ἐπραξεν that follows, τὰ without mentioning what, only πρὸς ἃ ἐπραξεν, to what he hath done, noting this agreement and proportion betwixt that which he receives and what he hath done, which is the clear sense of those other places wherein God is said to render to every man according to his works. Some MSS. and printed copies, the Complutense edition, read, instead of τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, with the change of one letter, τὰ ἰδια τοῦ σώματος, *the proper or peculiar things of his body*, and that will be very agreeable also, *Every man shall receive that which is proper to him*; either as the body is the shop of action, wherein and whereby, as by the instrument, every thing is done, or as τὸ σῶμα signifies himself, by an Hebraism formerly mentioned, according to, or by way of, retribution to what he hath done, &c.

11. [b] *persuade men*] What πείθειν, to persuade, and peculiarly πείθειν ἀνθρώπους, to persuade men, signifies in these books, will be set down at large, note on Gal. i. 6, (see also note [e] on 1 John iii.) viz. to pacify, to propitiate, to gain in upon men, and obtain their approbation either of the cause they plead, or of themselves, whom they desire to approve to them. And though it be a very obvious and commodious sense of these words, *knowing the terrors of the Lord we persuade men*, that the consideration of the judgment to come is a very proper, forcible suatory to amendment of life, &c., yet the circumstances of the context rather incline it to the other notion of πείθειν, knowing the judgment to come to be so exact that it descends to every action that is done, whether good or bad, we apostles, who have a weighty task of duty lying on us to win souls to Christ, are obliged to pursue this work, to gain in upon men as much as we can, to approve ourselves to them in all things, that they may not be scandalized by any thing done by us, but cheerfully led on with a good opinion of our preaching and our persons, this being very useful toward the apostolical design of working good upon men. Agreeably to which it follows in this same verse, *we are made manifest to God, and I hope also to be manifested in or to your consciences*; where, to be manifested to their or in their consciences is all one with this notion of persuading them, that is, approving himself to them. And to this matter that which follows, ver. 12, pertains also, and therefore Theophylact interprets πείθωμεν ἀνθρώπους, "we persuade men," by πάντα πράττομεν ὥστε μὴ σκανδαλίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, "we do all things that we may not scandalize men;" and again by σκάνδαλα θεραπεύομεν, "we cure or provide against scandals," such as may hinder men in their proficiency in the gospel.

20. [c] *are ambassadors*] The Hebrew שליחין, apostles, signifies legates, nuncios also, so as in the ancient formulæ missi signifies ambassadors; see Marculphi form., and Bignonius's notes on lib. 1. c. 40. And so here πρεσβεύομεν is the apostolical office, and that from God to men, offering pardon on his part, and requiring on their part reforma-

tion for the future. So as in Philostratus de Vita Apoll. l. 4. c. 5, it is said that he was sent of an embassy from Hercules to the Thessali, *ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας ἦν, μὴ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς, &c.*, "the sum of the embassy," saith he, "was, that they would not be destroyed," but that having omitted sacrifice, they should now perform them again.

21. [d] *sin for us*] What is meant here by the word *ἁμαρτία*, *sin*, will best appear by the notion of it in the Old Testament sometimes, and by the opposition to *δικαιοσύνη*, *righteousness*, here. In the Old Testament it is taken for a *sacrifice for sin*, Lev. iv. 3, 29, and v. 6, and psalm xl. 7; and so *piaculum* in Latin is both a *sin* and a *sacrifice of expiation*, or the *person that is so sanctified*. And there is nothing more ordinary in the Septuagint than for *ἁμαρτία* to signify a *sacrifice for sin*, and so in the Chaldee paraphrase also, Exod. xxix. 14, where the Hebrew reads *sin*, they read a *sacrifice for sin*: for indeed the Hebrew *חט* signifies primarily two things, *sin* and *legal uncleanness*, and secondarily two things more, a *sacrifice of propitiation for sin*, and of *purification for uncleanness*; and consequently being rendered sometimes *ἁμαρτία*, both in the notion of *sin* and also of *uncleanness*, Lev. xii. 6, Num. vi. 2, sometimes *λάσμος* and *ἐξίλασμος*, *propitiation*, Ezek. xliv. 27, xlv. 19, and sometimes *ἀγνισμα*, *purifying*, Num. xix. 19, *ἀγνισμός*, *purification*, Num. viii. 7; from hence comes, that this one Greek word *ἁμαρτία*, as if it were of the same latitude with the Hebrew *חט*, is made use of to signify all these severals. For that of *sin* I need not instance: for that of *legal uncleanness*, see Num. vi. 2, *ἡμαρτὴ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς*, *he was unclean by the touch of a dead body*. For that of *sacrifice of expiation*, among many others, see Lev. iv. 25, the blood of the *ἁμαρτία*, *sin*, that is, *sin-offering*: and in the last for *purification*, either of a leper, or a woman after childbirth, or after the touching of a dead body, the word generally used is *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, *for sin*: so in the New Testament, Rom. viii. 3, *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, *for sin*, is the sacrifice of propitiation; and so Heb. x. 6, and xiii. 11, and so here *ἁμαρτία*, *sin*, without *περὶ*, most distinctly. Then for the opposition wherein *ἁμαρτία*, *sin*, is here set to *δικαιοσύνη*, *righteousness*, Christ made *ἁμαρτία*, *sin*, that *we might be made δικαιοσύνη*, *righteousness*, that is an argument, that as our being *δικαιοσύνη*, *righteousness*, signifies our being sanctified first, and then accepted by God, justified; so his being *ἁμαρτία* signifies, his being condemned, that is, consecrated as a sacrifice is wont to be devoted for the sins of the people.

CHAP. VI.

2. [a] *salvation*] What *σωτηρία* signifies hath been often said, (see note [c] on Rom. xiii.) God's rescuing his faithful persevering servants out of their distresses; thus it clearly signifies here, proportionably to what it had done in the prophecy here cited, Isa. xlix. 8. *In an acceptable time have I heard thee*, that is, in a time that God chose, and saw fit for the turn, *in the day of salvation have I helped thee, and I will preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant to this people*, (a kind of rainbow to the drowned world, a sign of a covenant that God will drown them no more in such afflictions,) *to establish or raise up the earth, to cause to inherit the desolate heritages*. And therefore when he saith, *Now is the accepted time*, the season that God hath pitched on, *now is*

the day of salvation, the meaning will be, that now the time is approaching that the true pure Christian profession, thus long persecuted by the Jews and Gnostics so sharply, (by which means it comes to pass, that many daily fall off to save themselves,) shall suddenly have respite by the destruction of the enemies everywhere. And so this is a seasonable consideration, to back the exhortation, ver. 1, which the apostle in all his Epistles did at that time so earnestly press, that they that had received the gospel, and gone on so long, should not at last, by falling off, lose all in the last act, (see Heb. x. 36, 37, 38,) that is, receive it in vain, lose all the benefit that attended it. To which purpose the apostle proceeds, ver. 3, &c. to mention himself and his fellow-labourers as examples to them of those things which were most directly contrary to the Gnostics: 1st, inoffensive living; 2dly, constancy and perseverance under persecutions: 1st, blamelessness of conversation, ver. 3, (for this falling off of the Christians to the Gnostics was the greatest offence and scandal imaginable to Christianity, having so much impurity, &c. among them;) then vv. 4, 5, *patience and constancy* in all kind of *pressures*, upon which again he subjoins, ver. 6, *ἀγνότης, pureness*, and *γῶσις, knowledge*, *μακροθυμία, long-suffering, patience*, and *perseverance*, in opposition to the compliances and apostasies of the Gnostics: *pureness*, in opposition to their lusts and uncleanness; *knowledge*, in opposition to their pretended knowledge of the secret meanings of scripture, (just as 2 Pet. i. 5, we find *virtue*, (or *courage*), *knowledge*, *ἐγκράτεια, continence*, and *patience* put together;) and at length Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, *the Holy Spirit*, in opposition to their pretences of being *the spiritual*, 1 Cor. xii. 1. And after many verses spent on that subject, he looks on those apostate heretics as ἀπιστοί, *unfaithful deserters*, ver. 14, and conjures them *μὴ ἐπερὶζυγεῖν, not to incline to them*, being an heathenish diabolical sort of people, ver. 15, with whom being entangled, they must absolutely forsake, and *come out of them* as from Sodom, ver. 17, which is again noted by the *filthiness of the flesh and spirit, foul lusts and factions*, &c., ch. vii. 1.

14. [b] *unequally yoked*] The word ἐπερὶζυγεῖν the Vulg. renders *jugum ducere*, which seems to have given occasion to Buddæus, and H. Stephanus out of him, to affirm that ἐπερὶζυγεῖν here in this apostle is used for ὁμοζυγεῖν, *to be in the yoke with another*. But this is a mistake without any grounds, save only the equivocalness of the word ζυγός, which signifies *a yoke* to draw in, as well as *a balance* to weigh in. The word ἐπερὶζυγεῖν is doubtless to be rendered here, as in Greek authors it signifies, among whom a pair of scales or balance, whose beam inclines or propends toward one part, is called σταθμός ἐπερὶζυγος, (in opposition to ἰσοζυγος, *equally inclined both ways*, or *whose beam stands even*), *trutina alteri jugis, ἐπεροποπής, non ἰσοροπής*, “a scale that weighs down one way, stands not in the equilibration.” So in Phocylides,

Σταθμὸν μὴ κρούειν ἐπερὶζυγον, ἀλλ' ἴσον ἔλκειν,

“Let the balance stand even, not inclined more to one side.” And so the sense of the place will be, ‘Be not more propense and inclined toward the proposals of these apostatizing Gnostics, that heresy to which your present leaders would seduce you, than you are to us the apostles of Christ, who love you so passionately:’ which is the argument almost of the whole chapter. Thus in Clement’s Epistle to the same Corin-

thians, we find a phrase directly parallel to this, *ἐπεκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντες ἀφ' ἡμῶν*, "inclining the other way from us," that is, disaffected to us.

CHAP. VII.

8. [a] *for a season*] The word *ᾠρα* signifies a *season*, and any part of time indefinitely, but yet both in Greek and Latin is oft used for a *small* or *short space*: so Philemon, ver. 15, *πρὸς ᾠραν*, for a *short space*, and 1 Thess. ii. 17, *πρὸς καιρὸν ᾠρας*, for the *space of an hour*, that is, for a short space. And so here *εἰ καὶ πρὸς ᾠραν*, though but for an hour, that is, for a short space; which being joined with *ἐλύπησεν ὑμᾶς*, *hath grieved you*, in the notion of that phrase for inflicting the censures, (see note [c] on 1 Cor. v.) it denotes the infliction of some penance, a sentence of abstention for a while, for a short space, (for the bringing forth fruits of repentance,) after which it is to be remitted again. This the Nicene fathers express by this style, *ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ χρόνος ᾠρισται καὶ καιρὸς τέτακται*, "for whose censures the time is determined, and season set;" Zonaras by *καιροὶ ᾠρισμένοι τῇ μετανοίᾳ τῶν πεπτωκότων*, "the times set for the penance of the lapsed." And this is answerable to the Nidui among the Jews, a remotion for thirty days. Another sort of censures there was, *sine præfinito tempore*, "without determining of the time," *irrevocabile anathema*, in Alcimius, *perennis excommunicatio*, "a lasting, irrevocable excommunication," Concil. Turon. 2. c. 20, and Concil. Paris. 3. can. 5; but this not absolutely so, but *usque ad reformationem*, "for ever, if they reform not." Hereby it appears that it was not only the incestuous person, 1 Cor. v. 1, which is here referred to, for he was *delivered up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh*, and that is parallel to the *perennis excommunicatio*, "the durable excommunication," or that which was to continue until reformation; but others, it seems, which had been found fault with in that Epistle, (as he that went to law, ch. vi. and the like,) fell under the censures, though only *πρὸς ᾠραν*, for a *definite time*, that they might bring forth fruits of repentance: and accordingly they did, ver. 11.

CHAP. VIII.

10. [a] *to be forward*] What *θέλειν*, *to will*, signifies in this place will appear by the *ποιῆσαι*, *to do*, precedent: for when *to will* goes before *doing*, as Phil. ii. 13 it doth, then it must be conceived to denote the resolving of that which is after done; but when it is subsequent to doing, as here, then it cannot belong to that, but to some further action still future, either of the same kind with that formerly done, or of any other which is specified. That here it refers to some further degree of liberality to be superadded to what they had already done, appears by the ensuing exhortation to consummate the work, ver. 11, and by the mention of the *προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν*, the *forwardness to will*, that is, to resolve to do more, as they should be able. In which respect it is that ch. ix. 2, Paul saith he hath *boasted* of them, that they had (*ἀπὸ πέρυσι*, as here, *from a year ago*) *made a preparation* for this new supply, for so *παρεσκεύασται*, *hath been prepared*, signifies, as passives are oft used for reciprocals. As for the *τοῦτο ὑμῖν συμφέρει*, *this is profitable for you* in the former part of this verse, though it may fitly be applied to several ways of profit, that their liberality would probably

bring in unto them; yet it seems by what follows, ch. ix. 3, 4. to refer peculiarly to the reputation of their liberality that Paul had so proclaimed, which would render it a reproachful thing to them, if they should not make it good, according to their purpose and his boasting of them.

CHAP. IX.

8. [*a*] *make all grace abound*] There is no way of rendering Θεὸς δυνατὸς περισσεύσαι χάριν but by putting περισσεύσαι in an active sense, *to make abound*, and that hath been formerly noted to be ordinary in the New Testament, (see note [*f*] on Mark xiv.) The Greek wanting the Hebrew conjugation *hiphil*, which denotes *making to do* a thing, and having no way to supply it, but by using the active voice in that sense, so as περισσεύειν shall not only signify neutrally *to abound*, but also to make any man or thing to abound; of which kind there be innumerable examples. And so the making their *charity to abound toward them* here, that is, God's blessing their liberality, so that it shall enrich, instead of impoverishing them, will be all one with the *increasing the fruits of their righteousness*, ver. 10, *their righteousness* there signifying *their charity*, (as hath been oft shewn,) and the plenty consequent to their exercises of that virtue being proportionable to the fruit that comes by sowing, (the *hundredfold* increase which Christ promises even in *this life* to those that *forsake* or *part with* any thing *for his sake*.) and accordingly it is there joined with *multiplying their seed*, where their acts of charity are figuratively called *their seed*, and the blessings consequent thereto *the fruits* of it.

CHAP. X.

1. [*a*] *gentleness*] Ἐπιείκεια is the ordinary word of the philosopher, taken from him by the lawyers to signify *mitigation* of exact or strict justice, when that is not so agreeable to rules of charity, and so it notes in general the fit, proper temper, which is to be observed in all things, Ἐπιεικὲς, saith Hesychius, καθήκον, πρέπον, προσήκον, ἱκανόν, that which is *fit, decent, due*, &c. And according to the diversity of matter about which it is conversant, so it hath several notions in the New Testament. In this place being spoken of Christ, and joined with that meekness which was so imitable in him, Matt. xi. 29, it signifies *gentleness* or *clemency*, as that is opposed to severity in punishing, which is here expressed by θαρρῆσαι and τολμῆσαι and πεποιθήσις, *daring, boldness, and confidence*. But Phil. iv. 5. τὸ ἐπιεικὲς seems to belong to another sort of gentleness, that of the lamb, which before or under the shearer is dumb, and *opens not the mouth*, viz. a cheerful endurance of all the persecutions that were upon the Christians at that time. To this the context there inclines, which ushered it in with a repeated exhortation *to rejoice in the Lord always*, in adversity as well as prosperity, (and so 1 Thess. v. 16,) which being contrary to the joy of the *world*, most fitly denotes that χαρὰ καὶ ἀγαλλίασις, Matt. v. 12, (*rejoicing and being exceeding glad, rejoicing and leaping for joy, and thinking it all joy*, James i. 2,) which is upon their being persecuted for Christ, and so likewise enforced with a reason agreeable to this matter, *for the Lord is at hand, the time of your redemption from your pressures draws near*, Heb. x. 37. And accordingly it is attended (as Christ's instructions to the apostles

are in this case, Matt. x. 19) with *μηδὲν μεριμᾶτε*, a prohibition of all solicitous thoughts, referring the whole matter to *prayer, and supplication to God*, ver. 6. This word is again used James iii. 17, *the wisdom from above* is *ἐπιεικής, gentle*, which following *peaceable*, and being attended with other words of that nature, must be rendered in order to that, so as to signify "a receding from his own strict right, in order to peace," as *εὐπειθής* that follows immediately, notes "an easiness to be persuaded of that which belongs to the excuse of another," or mitigating of his fault, as it is said of *charity*, that it *believes all things*, 1 Cor. xiii. 7; and accordingly these qualities of *the wisdom from above* are shut up, ver. 18, under the title of *peace to them that love or make peace*. So 1 Tim. iii. 3, and Tit. iii. 2, *ἐπιεικής* are joined with *ἀμαχοι* in both places, and so note the contrary to *μάχαι*, all kind of *contentions*, and are attended in the latter place with *showing all meekness* to all men.

4. [*b*] *weapons of our warfare*] That the *ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν, weapons of our warfare*, which are here said *not to be weak, but mighty to God*, signify the censures of the church, may thus appear probable; first, by the context, where the apostle speaks of proceeding against offenders, which he calls *θαρρεῖν εἰς ὑμᾶς, being bold toward them*, vv. 1, 2, and *ἐδικεύειν παρακοήν, to avenge disobedience*, ver. 6, and this according to the *ἐξουσία* or *authority*, which *the Lord had given for edification*, (building them up further in the faith and all Christian virtue,) and *not for destruction*; and then he adds a caution, to remove a calumny or prejudice that some had against him, that *his letters were severe*, and so he, when absent, but far from all severity when he came among them, *κατὰ πρόσωπον ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, vile, or tame, or unconsiderable, when he was among them*; that is, that in his absence he threatened censures, but when he came would not inflict them; which he calls *ἐκφοβεῖν δι' ἐπιστολῶν, terrifying by letters*, ver. 9, and *ἐπιστολαὶ βαρεῖαι* and *ισχυραὶ, weighty and powerful letters*, ver. 10, that is, severe and terrifying; which yet he threatens shall be equalled by his actions when he comes among them, ver. 11. And so all along, the business is of the censures of the church, and so in all reason in this verse also. Secondly, this will appear by the words themselves: for as *στρατεία ἡμῶν* signifies confessedly the apostles' ministry (see note [f] on 1 Tim. i.) according to the importance of the Hebrew מלח, which is sometimes rendered *στρατεία, warfare*, sometimes *leitourgia, ministry*; so *ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας, weapons of warfare*, are the means to discharge their duty in the ministry. Of which nature though there be more, prayer, preaching, catechising, administration of sacraments, confirmation, &c., yet the antecedents and consequents here, belonging to the business of censures, must needs incline it to that notion peculiarly. Then that these are not *σαρκικά, carnal*, signifies that they are not weak, for so *σὰρξ, flesh*, frequently signifies, as here, ver. 3, *though we walk in the flesh*, that is, are weak, as men, and have no power over you, yet as officers of Christ we are not, our ministry is with power, and therefore follows *ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ Θεῷ, but mighty or powerful through or to God*, or perhaps *exceeding powerful*, and that *εἰς καθαιρεῖν τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων, to the pulling down of strongholds*, that is, either the pulling down all fortresses that maintain or secure a man in sin, or more critically, as *καθαίρεισι* signifies *excommunication* itself, ver. 8, and ch. xiii. 10, and

generally in the canons of the councils; and then *ὀχυρώματα*, *strongholds*, will signify all impenitent, obdurate, impregnable sinners, called, ver. 15, *every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God*, that is, against piety and Christianity. And so the plain meaning of the verse will be, that the apostle's censures were exceeding powerful, and that power exercised in excommunicating, and *delivering up to Satan, ἵνα παιδευθῶσι, that they may be disciplined*, 1 Tim. i. 20, and thereby subduing contumacious offenders. According to that of the writer of the Answers ad Orthodoxos, "Ὅτε διὰ τῆς μακροθυμίας τῶν ὑβριζομένων οὐ γίνεται διόρθωσις, τότε ἡ ἀποτομία τῆς μακροθυμίας τοῖς ἀθεοφθότοις ἔσται χρησιμωτέρα," "when by clemency offenders are not reformed, then excision to the incorrigible is more useful than clemency." Agreeable to which is that of Pletho in his Scholia on Zoroaster, *Δι ποινῶν, ἧτοι αἱ κολαστικαὶ δαίμονες, ἀγκτεῖραι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ, ἧτοι συνεκτικαὶ τῷ ἀπάγειν τῆς κακίας αὐτοὺς, τῇ ἀρετῇ ἐγκαταδοῦσαι*, "The revengeful furies, or devils, or punishments, do gripe men, to bring them off from sin, and set them on virtue."

12. [c] *make ourselves of the number*] What *ἐγκρίναι* signifies properly is set down by Buddæus, *ἐντάττειν, ἐγκαταλέγειν*, "to choose or admit any into any order," as in Aristides, *τοὺς ἐπὶ ἡλῦδας θεοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνέκριναν*, "they admitted the foreign gods with the others;" and in Demosthenes, *εἰς γερουσίαν ἐγκρίνεσθαι*, "to be chosen or admitted into the senate." Thus *ἐγκρίνειν* and *ἀποκρίνειν* are used, as in Plato de Leg. 12, *ἀποκρίνοντας νεότητι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐγκρίναντες*, "rejecting some, and choosing others." Hence Hesychius, *Ἐγκριτος, ἐκλελεγμένος, ἐξελεγμένος*, the participle signifies *select* or *chosen*, and so here *ἐγκρίναι ἑαυτὸν*, "to give suffrage to himself," to take upon him to be some eminent person.

13. [d] *our measure*] Of the *agones* among the Grecians, particularly among the Corinthians, and of *δρόμος*, *racing*, one of them, we have formerly spoken, (notes [c],[d],[e] on 1 Cor. ix.) and so again distinctly of *κανὼν*, (note [g]), *the white line*, which bounded or marked out the path or race. To this the apostle here refers, making his apostleship or preaching of the gospel to be his spiritual exercise, or running as it were in a race, his *ἐν σταδίῳ δρόμος*, and then the province or diocese to which he is by God designed, and sent to preach, is his *μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος* οὗ ἐμέρισεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεός, "the compass or stage of ground which by that white line in the race, as it were, God hath marked out to him," to run in, and contend, and obtain his prize. Beyond or out of which line he that runs, or pretends to have to do, he doth *καυχῆσασθαι εἰς τὰ ἀμετρα*, *boast without his measure*, and *ὑπερεκτείνεισθαι*, *over-extend himself*, ver. 14.

14. [e] *come as far*] That the word *φθάνειν* is agonistical also, see note [I] on Rom. ix, and so constantly it signifies *coming foremost to the goal*, or *being foremost in the running toward it*; and so it signifies here, preaching the gospel among the Corinthians before any body else had been there; for as it is said, 1 Cor. iii. 6, *Paul planted*, that is, first brought the gospel among them.

16. [f] *another man's line*] The *ἀλλότριος κανὼν* is that province which somebody else hath undertaken; the *κανὼν*, as before, denoting *the line* by which his race was terminated, and the *ἀλλότριος* referring to the custom in the stadia forementioned, that each of the racers had his

path, where he was to run, chalked out to him, and if one did step over into the other's path, he did *ὑπερεκτείνεσθαι*, *extend himself* (or *run*) *over his line*. In reference to this, the apostle here saith, that he had same hope that he might *μεγαλύνεσθαι εἰς περισσεῖαν*, *enlarge his course in length*, as it were, by running further than the goal that was first set him, that is, go further in preaching the gospel, and yet not go *over his line*, that is, not run over into the other man's path or race, but *κατὰ κανόνα ἡμῶν*, *keep within his own white or line*, which divided his province from other men's on the other side of him.

CHAP. XI.

2. [a] *espoused you to one husband*] The Vulg. seems to have read these words *ἡρμοσάμην ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ*, with a comma after them, and accordingly render them *despondi vos uni viro*, *I have espoused you to one husband*; according to that of ^oJulius Pollux, *ὁ δὲ πενθερός ἔγγυῃ, ἀρμόζει, ὅθεν τινὲς τῶν πολλῶν ἀρμοστήν τὸν μνηστῆρα ἐκάλεσαν*, making *ἔγγυῃν*, *espouse*, all one with *ἀρμόζειν*. So in Cinnamus, l. 4. p. 228, *ταύτην ἀρμόζεται*, "he married her." But the more probable punctuation is by reading it without any comma till after *παραστήσαι*, and then the notion of the word *ἀρμόζειν* must be taken from that use of the word which is agreeable to the office of the *ἀρμοσταὶ* or *ἀρμόσννοι* among the Lacedæmonians. Among the magistrates of that city those were two prime names, and between them some slight difference. The *ἀρμοσταὶ* were a kind of *provincial rulers*, (placed by PNic. Cragius among the *μέγισται ἀρχαί*, *the prime magistrates* of that city,) sent to govern the provinces, or confederate cities, and preserve them in their fidelity, and were, saith ^qUlpian, so called *διὰ τὸ ἀρμόζειν τὰ ἔθη τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*, "because they conformed the manners of the citizens to those of the Lacedæmonians," for so *ἀρμόζειν* signifies to *adapt* or *conform*. So saith Phavorinus out of Eratosthenes, *ἀρμοσταὶ, οἱ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἀρχοντες ἐκπεμπόμενοι*, "the governors that are sent by the Lacedæmonians to the cities under them." These are by Hesychius called *ἀρμοστήρες*, by ^rPlutarch *σωφρονισταὶ*, in the same sense that the Athenians *ἐπίσκοποι* and *φύλακες*, *overseers* and *guardians*. From whence it is that ^sTheophrastus observes that the Lacedæmonians sending magistrates to the provinces, style them much more commodiously *ἀρμοστάς*, than the Athenians do *ἐπισκόπους* and *φύλακας*. From whence also it is that in the Christian church the ancient author that goes under the name of Dionysius Areopagita, calls bishops *ἀρμοστάς*. But then the *ἀρμόσννοι* (which seem more peculiarly to belong to the use of the word in this place) were a peculiar sort of governors, which had to do with the education of women, especially for the forming of their lives and manners, and breeding of them, (as among the Athenians *γυναικοκόσμοι*,) from the verb *ἀρμόζεσθαι*, because they were set over them to fit and order their manners, and make them regular and harmonical, a kind of censors of manners among them. So saith Hesychius and Phavorinus in the same words,

^o Onomast. l. 3. c. πε. μνηστῆρας.
in Dem. Or. cont. Leptinen.
ριστά.

^s 1. Πολιτικ. πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς.

^p De Rep. Lac. l. 2.

^r In Vit. Lycurgi, *ἀρμοσταὶ καὶ σωφρο-*

^q Schol.

Ἀρμόσυρος ἀρχή τις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶν γυναικῶν, "it was an office in Lacedæmon to bring up and breed women." And this is the notion of ἡρμούσῃμην here, I am your ἀρμόσυρος, (see note [a] on Tit. ii.) set over your congregation, as he over a single virgin, to breed and fit you, that I may present you to Christ a pure virgin, &c.

9. [b] *I was chargeable* Κατενάρκησα, saith St. Jerome^t ad Algasiam, is a Cilician word; the full meaning of it here will be judged by that which Ælian saith of the fish called νάρκη, the torpedo, Ὁ ἰχθύς ἡ νάρκη, δρον ἂν προσάψῃται, τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἔδωκέ τε, καὶ ναρκᾶν ἐποίησεν, "the torpedo fish whatsoever it toucheth it gives it its own name, makes it to be benumbed." Now they which ask any thing of another are proverbially said to do that which the torpedo doth, to give a chillness or numbness. *Molestum verbum est et onerosum, Rogo*, saith Seneca, "asking or begging is very troublesome and burthensome;" and therefore καταναρκᾶν, which literally signifies to chill or benumb, (and so in Theocritus, Idyll. 7. νάρκασιν ἀνηρῆσι διδοίη,) doth in respect of this consequent signify to ask or intreat; and so here οὐ κατενάρκησα οὐδένος, *I begged or asked of no man, I importuned no man.*

24. [c] *forty stripes save one* Of this punishment of St. Paul's these four things are to be observed: 1st, that St. Paul, as a Roman, was not to be whipped *ex lege Portia*, and therefore, Acts xxii. 24, when the tribune had commanded him to be beaten thus, understanding he was a Roman, he dismissed him, and was afraid, saith St. Luke, because he had bound him; 2dly, that he was yet subject, as a Jew, to the laws of the Jews, which were yet in force, and so was subjected to this Jewish punishment, as a Jew; 3dly, that he was dealt with as a robustious offender, in suffering so oft the utmost extremity of the Jewish law, when they that were weak, or which upon any other score had any mitigation, were not used so severely; according to that of Maimonides Hil. Sanhedrim, c. 17. "They inflict," saith he, "no more than forty stripes, though he be as strong as Samson; but if he be weak, they abate of that number;" 4thly, that that sum of *thirty-nine* was the solemn proportion in the Jewish punishments, when they were most severely inflicted. So in Josephus, of one that had accused his wife falsely of the loss of her virginity before marriage, Ἐκτὼντ'ε πλὴγὰς τ'εσσαράκοντα μίαις λιπούσης λαμβάνων, "Let him extend himself, and receive thirty-nine stripes." For when the number which might not be exceeded was by the law defined to be *forty*, Deut. xxv. 3, and when the custom was taken up of executing this punishment with a rod of three branches, and so of giving three strokes at one blow, (or, as it is in Maccoth, c. 3. §. 12, with one twisted cord, unto which two more were fastened,) every stroke consequently going for three, (as Maimonides affirms in Sanhedr. c. 17. §. 2.) it was consequently impossible to inflict more stripes than *thirty-nine*, unless they exceeded to two and forty, and so that of *thirty-nine* was the last among those that were lawful. See Talmud Babyl. in Maccoth, cap. 3. As for the beating with rods which follows, ver. 25, that differs from this of the scourging, the ράβδοι, rods, being wands or cudgels, a bundle of which was carried before the Roman consul, and he that carried them called ραβδοῦχος,

^t Qu. 10.

which makes it probable that this was a Roman sort of punishment, and so here differenced from the scourging with twisted cords, which was *ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ*, inflicted by the Jews, (see note [b] on Luke xxiii.) howsoever so much distinguished from the other, as rods and scourges differ.

25. [d] in the deep] To what passage of St. Paul's story this of his being a day and a night *ἐν τῇ βυθῷ*, in the deep, doth belong, cannot be shewed out of scripture. It is not altogether improbable what Beda l. Quæst. qu. 3. tit. 8. saith out of Theodorus Tarsensis, that in Cyzicum (which is in the Propontis, a famous city) there is a prison, which for the depth of it under ground is called *βυθός*, or "the bottom of the sea," a most noisome filthy prison, as in Athens there was one called *βάραθρον*, hell, at Syracuse *λατομία*, the mineral, and many the like in other places: see Suidas in the word *βάραθρον*. Into this, as a most infamous prison, St. Paul might well be cast, passing from Troas to that city, though St. Luke, who reports not things particularly, save when he himself was present, make no mention of it. And indeed whatsoever else may be meant by the word *βυθός*, St. Luke seems not to have made mention of this passage, there being no reason to apply that of Acts xxvii. to it, the Epistle being written before that time, in the compass of the Macedonian progress, Acts xx. 1; and if it might be conceived to be written after it, that would more reasonably be defined to be one of his three shipwrecks foregoing here. Theophylact speaks of some that interpreted it of a well, called *βυθός*, profundity, because of the great depth of it, wherein, after his danger at Lystra, he hid himself.

32. [e] Aretas] The Gassanii reigned in Syria some say four hundred, others six hundred years; many of them were called Harethi or Aretæ, which is the name of the king here. See Mr. Pococke's notes on Gregorius Abul Farajius's story of the Arabians, pp. 77, 78.

CHAP. XII.

2. [a] a man in Christ] What *ἄνθρωπος ἐν Χριστῷ*, a man in Christ, here signifies, may possibly be guessed by other phrases of the same making; such is that of St. Luke, Acts xii. 11, where it is said of Peter, *γενόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, being in himself, that is, having been formerly in a trance, and now returned out of it; and that is called being in himself: such that Rev. i. 10. *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι*, I was in the spirit, that is, I was in a trance or ecstasy, and there received a vision or revelation from God: such Mark i. 23. *ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ*, and the same again ch. v. 2. a man in an unclean spirit, that is, one agitated with a diabolical spirit, rapt and carried to do things which of himself he would never do. And accordingly here a man in Christ may be one that by the spirit of Christ was thus transported, received revelations from Christ; and therefore, ver. 1, there is mention of visions and revelations, of which this is here an instance, and so ver. 7. And all the circumstances of the context incline to this interpretation. And this is the importance of the *ἔκστασις*, ecstasy, (see note [c] on Mark iii.) being out of himself, transported either by a good or evil spirit; when by a good, it signifies a prophetic vision; when by a bad, a kind of madness, as in the demoniacs, (though the word is nowhere in the New Testament used of them,) and both contrary to the being ἐν

αὐτῷ, in himself, moved only by that human principle of reason, &c. which he hath within him, neither θεοφορούμενος nor δαιμονιοφορούμενος, carried by God nor the devil.

7. [b] *a thorn in the flesh*] What this σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, *thorn to the flesh*, here signifies, will be best guessed from Ezech. xxviii. 24, where the *pricking brier* and *grieving thorn* is set to signify a sore affliction, to wound and torment, from the despisers, as it there follows, or persecutors of Israel. And so it will here signify no more but a sad and sharp affliction, inflicted on St. Paul (saith Irenæus, l. 4. the last ch., and Theodoret and Theophylact on the place) by some followers of Simon Magus, that is, the Gnostics.

CHAP. XIII.

1. [a] *This is the third time*] In the method prescribed by Christ to prepare for the censures of the church, Matt. xviii. 15, there is a three-fold admonition; the first by one man alone, the injured person (if it be a matter of that nature) going and reproving him; and if that do not succeed, then *take with thee ἑνὶ further* (or *over and above*) *one or two, that in the mouth of one or two witnesses every word may be established*, that is, that the thing which thou layest to his charge be so confirmed, (according to that of John viii. 17. *The testimony of two men is true*, that is, (πιστός, ἀληθής, true, in the sense of πιστός,) *fit to be credited*, of sufficient authority in law to be heeded and proceeded upon,) that by the testimony of these, as of witnesses, he may be convinced, and no longer able to deny the fact, as Heb. vi. 16, *an oath* is said to be *eis βεβαίωσιν*, *for establishing or confirmation*, as being ἀντιλογία πέρας, *an end of contradicting*, that is, of affirming and denying. The thing so established (βεβαιωθὲν or σταθὲν) by oath, cannot longer be denied, or the party's denial will not stand him in any stead. Or secondly, that the offender may by authority of these be induced (as the judge is on the accused person, Deut. xix. 15. Heb. x. 28.) to give sentence on himself, and so think fit to reform what he is admonished of. Now that this place distinctly refers to this part of discipline, this second admonition, appears most probable by his reciting of the very words in the institution, *In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established*; and proportionable to that, προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω, *I foretold and foretell*, which notes the first and second admonition. And though there precede a τρίτον ἔρχομαι, *I come to you this third time*, yet that refers evidently to this his third resolution personally to appear among them, ch. xii. 14. having resolved it twice already, and before that time comes, this second Epistle is to supply the place of a second admonition, as his first had been a first. And so the words will be rendered thus, Προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω δεύτερον, *I have foretold or admonished you once in my first Epistle, and do now so again the second time, and both those ὡς παρὼν, as present*; these epistolary warnings being to have the same force with them, as if he were present among them. And if this method, answerable to the first and second admonition instituted by Christ, do not prevail with you, then that which remains is, that he proceed to censures, and that he is resolved to do, οὐ φείσομαι, *I will not spare*. Where the apostolical power which he had over them maketh it improper for him to proceed to any third admonition, that of *telling it to the church*, in St. Matthew. So bishop

Titus is appointed to deal with an heretic, *After the first and second admonition, reject him*, Tit. iii. 10; without any third degree intervening, immediately to proceed to censures.

5. [b] *Jesus Christ is in you*] That Christ's being *among them* signifies the presence and power of the gospel among the Corinthians, or in their church, through St. Paul's apostleship, may appear, not only by the context, which wholly looks that way, but by that place, Exod. xvii. 7, to which these words seem to refer; where the tempting contumacious Israelites, after all the signs and miracles shewed among them, do still remain infidel, and ask in these very words, *Εἰ Θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν*, *Is the Lord among us*, or no? So that the meaning of the apostle's question here is, 'Many miracles of Christ and his Spirit have been wrought among you by me, so that if you do not yet believe that I am an apostle of Christ, and so that Christ is *among you*, you are sure of the number of those Israelites, who after so many miracles still required more signs, or of the Pharisees, who did the same, Mark viii. 11;' which being put in form of a question, *Discern you not that Christ Jesus is among you?* the answer is in the next words, *Εἰ μὴ τι ἅπα ἁδύκαμοι ἔστε*, which cannot be more distinctly and literally rendered than thus, *Εἰ μὴ τι*, (referring to the *ἐπιγνώσκετε* precedent,) *If ye do not, that is, If ye do not discern it*, in some degree, *ἅπα ἁδύκαμοι ἔστε*, *doubtless ye are reprobates* senseless, obdurate persons, most impious, and incapable of faith, or any thing that is good. What the notion of *ἁδύκαμοι* is, hath been formerly mentioned. See note [g] on Rom. i.

11. [c] *Be perfect*] The proper original notion of the word *καταρτίζειν* is, *to compact or knit together*, either members in a body, or parts in a building. Thus it is applied to a building, Exod. xv. 17, *κατοιικήσῃον δὲ καταρτίσω*, *the place which thou hast made for thee to dwell in*; and to walls, Ezra iv. 13. 16; to a body, psal. xl. 6. *σῶμα καταρτίσω μοι*, *a body thou hast framed or compacted for me*. From hence it doth more largely signify, *to prepare or make ready*, in the same kind as builders do fit one part to another, and make it ready for use; and so again, *to corroborate and strengthen*, as that which is well compacted and knit together is made strong by that means; and lastly, *to perfect*, as the building of an house is the perfecting of it, especially in the passive voice, because that which is compacted and built is perfected and completed by that means. Answerable to these several notions is the Glossary of Hesychius, *Καταρτίσαι* (not, as it is corruptly read, *Καπαρτίσαι*) *κατασκευάσαι, τελειῶσαι, στερεῶσαι*, the word signifies *to prepare, to perfect, to strengthen or corroborate*. In the New Testament the word is variously used, but so as will by the circumstances of the context be applicable to one or more of these three notions. Matt. iv. 21, and Mark i. 19, it is applied to the mending of the fishers' nets, knitting them together, and so either strengthening or preparing them for use; Matt. xxi. 16. *καταρτίσω αὐτον*, (in reference to the children's hosannas, or testimonies of Christ,) *Thou hast out of their mouths compacted, or made up, or made ready, a song of praise, or confession, or testimony*; Luke vi. 40. Every servant shall be *καταρτισμένος*, *made up, perfected, fitted for his crown*, after the same manner as his master Christ is. So 1 Thess. iii. 10. *καταρτίσαι ὑπερέμματα*, *to make up, or perfect, or repair defects*, and Heb. xiii. 21. *καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς*, *perfect you, build you up*, and so perhaps ver. 9 of this chapter, *την ὑμῶν κατάρτισιν*,

I pray for your being perfect in all goodness, as ver. 7, I beseech God that you do no evil. So Rom. ix. 22, *vessels of wrath*, καταρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν, it signifies *formed, or framed, or made fit.* So Heb. x. 5, out of the Septuagint of the psalm, σώμα καταρτίσω μοι, *a body thou hast framed me*, and Heb. xi. 3, *by faith we conceive* καταρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας, *that the ages of the world were framed*, that is, the world created. But besides all these places, one sort more there is, wherein, by reason of the affinity between the church of Christ, and a building or body, the word hath a peculiar signification to compact Christian people (the stones in the building, or the members in the body of the church) together into a society, where they may live and publicly serve God together: and that either, 1st, by first forming those societies, uniting men in the profession of the same truths, and performance of the same services; or, 2dly, by recovering or restoring any that hath been broken off from the church by any fault or criminous commission, especially if he have been for that cause cut off by the governors of the church, that is, cast out by ecclesiastical censures; or, 3dly, by reducing him that hath voluntarily broken himself off by schism, &c.; or, 4thly, by God's restoring peace and tranquillity to the church, that they may thus freely meet together. In the first sense we have it Ephes. iv. 12, where he speaks of the several offices ordained in the church, and the first end which he assigns of so doing is, πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων, *for the compacting of the saints*, that is, for the holding the body of the church together to frequent public assemblies, &c. In the second sense it is clearly used Gal. vi. 1, where the *spiritual*, or governors of the church, are advised to indulgence and tenderness, not too much sharpness or severity toward offenders or lapsed persons, and accordingly are appointed καταρτίσειν, *to restore such an one in the spirit of meekness*; that is, either by mild reprehension and exhortation to recover him to a sense and reformation of his fault, without proceeding to any sharper course, or else, in case of greater severity, to be soon mollified again toward him, to take off the censures of the church from him. Which there appears not only by the evidence of the words themselves, but by the subsequent precept of *bearing one another's burdens*, ver. 2, as that may be explained by a parallel place in Ignatius's Epistle to Polycarpus, where he bids him as a bishop, τῆς ἐνώσεως φροντίζειν, καὶ πάντας βαστάζειν, καὶ πάντων ἀνέχεσθαι ἐν ἀγάπῃ, "take care of the unity, (that is, the καταρτισμὸς here, the keeping whole Christ's body, the church,) bear all, and suffer or bear with all in love." And so perhaps in this chapter, καταρτίσις, ver. 9, may be the restoring of the lapsed offenders upon their sincerity of reformation, or rather, the continuing them in the communion of the church, without need of having the censures inflicted upon them; for so it there follows, as the consequent of his praying for their καταρτίσις, *for which cause I write these things being absent, that being present I may not ἀποτόμως χρῆσθαι, deal sharply, or use excision*: where καταρτίσις, *making up, restoring, or keeping whole*, may very fitly be rendered, as opposite to ἀποτομία, *excision*, the word set to denote the censures. Thus in Hippodamus the Pythagorean, in his book De Republ. prescribing society or meeting together of old and young, in order to preservation of peace, and moderating all sorts of affections, he adds, ἐπειδήπερ τοὶ μὲν νέοι δέονται σωφρονισμοῦ καὶ καταρτίσεως, "because young men need to be taught

sobriety or moderation, and to have their excesses corrected and allayed, *καταρτίσιος*, correction," saith the interpreter in Stobæus, p. 250; but that sure not by way of punishment, for the *φρατριαί* and *συσσίτια*, the friendly meetings and feasts, were no places of judicature, nor instituted to any such like design, but by way of exhortation or friendly advice, the elder to the younger, who might have such an authority with them *καταρτίσειν*, (which is all one with *καταρτίζειν*,) to settle or accomplish them, bring them to a stayedness and stability of temper. In the third sense it is used 1 Cor. i. 10, where *ἦτε κατηρτισμένοι*, their being knit or compacted together, in the same mind or opinion, is set opposite to having schisms among them, and contentions, ver. 11; and so here *καταρτίσθε*, be ye knit together, is preparative to their being of the same mind, and having peace among them. In the fourth or last sense it seems to be taken 1 Pet. v. 10, where he prays to God for the dispersed Jew-Christians, that after that short time of sufferings, God will αὐτοῖς *καταρτίσαι* ὑμᾶς, himself, by his special providence, take care for them, and restore them halcyonian days of peace, to serve him in the public assemblies. Thus St. Ignatius (in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, making a motion to them to send a congratulation into Syria, διὰ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν αὐτοῖς γινομένην εὐδίαν, "that they had a fair sunshine in respect of the service of God") doth thus express it, ὅτι εἰρηνεύουσιν, καὶ ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος, καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον σωματίον or σωματίων, "because they have peace, and have received their own magnitude, and their own body is restored to them;" where the ἴδιον μέγεθος, and the σωματίων, are the body of the church meeting together in assemblies, which is there said ἀποκαθίστασθαι, to be restored, as here *καταρτίσθαι*, to be repaired or made up, that is, restored to them. See note [c] on Jude.

14. [d] communion] What is the notion of *κοινωνία*, for charity or liberality, hath been formerly observed, note [d] on Acts ii. and 2 Cor. viii. 4. And agreeably, though in a spiritual sense, is *κοινωνία Πνεύματος*, the communication of the Spirit here, the liberality of the Holy Ghost in the plentiful effusion of his gifts, so as it will be all one with δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, the gift of the holy Spirit, Acts ii. 38, and so as will be most fit to join with χάρις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, the grace, or charity, or liberality of Christ, and the love of God, (as in Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. *Dei gratia et charitas*, "God's grace or favour, and charity or love," are put together.) For thus is χάρις Χριστοῦ, the grace of Christ, used 2 Cor. viii. 9; and thus *κοινωνία Πνεύματος*, the communication of the Spirit, Phil. ii. 1, being joined with σπλάγχνα and οἰκτιρμοί, bowels and mercies, that is, the evidences of the highest liberality.

[a] THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

The time of the apostle's writing this Epistle to the Galatians is generally conceived to be near the time of that to the Romans, an. Ch. 55, above twenty years after his conversion. Chrysostom and Theophylact set it before that: and then there can be no possibility of believing the subscription of the Epistle, which affirms it to be written from Rome, where we know the apostle had not been when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans. But although of the time of writing this Epistle we have no sure evidence, yet two things we discern of it: 1st, that the chief design of it was to vindicate the liberty of the gospel from the Judaical yoke, which by being by them imposed upon all Gentiles which should receive the faith, was likely to prove a great hindrance to the progress of the gospel among the heathens, or uncircumcision, of whom St. Paul professed to be the apostle. Secondly, that they which in this church pressed this yoke most eagerly, were those which did not themselves observe it, heretical Christians, the Gnostics, which were not themselves circumcised, as being many of them neither native Jews nor proselytes of their covenant, yet, to avoid persecution from the Jews, did thus far comply with them in pressing circumcision upon the converted Gentiles; to which end they vehemently opposed St. Paul's doctrine and practice, affirming that what he had, he had received from the other apostles, and consequently was to be rectified by them, St. Peter, &c., and indeed that he varied from himself. From which calumnies he severally vindicates himself in this Epistle, shewing that he received his doctrine from none but Christ himself, that those other apostles professed the same doctrine that he did, and that though he himself used a greater liberty at some times than at other, in respect of the advantages of the church, yet his doctrine was always the same, the truth of which he therefore confirms by many arguments. That these heretics were soon after the planting the faith here crept in among them, appears by his words, ch. i. 6, he *marvels they were so soon removed*, &c.; the gospel having some three years before been there, if not planted, yet confirmed by his preaching, Acts xviii. 23, about the time of Apollos being at Corinth, (that is, about an. Ch. 51 or 52,) as it is affirmed Acts xix. 1, Galatia and Phrygia being in the number of those upper coasts (of Asia or Natolia) which there he is said to have passed through. By which it appears how close at the heels of the apostles, that sowed the good corn, the Gnostics, the officers of the envious man, followed, to sow their darnel, as in Samaria first, so in the other cities and regions, where the faith was planted by the apostles, and opposed by the Jews and persecuted.

CHAP. I.

2. [b] *brethren which are with me*] The word ἀδελφοί, *brethren*, doth oft signify no more than believers, Christians; but here, being joined with Paul in the writing of the Epistle, οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί, *all*

the brethren with me, it seems to denote those that accompanied St. Paul in his travels, and assisted him in the preaching of the gospel, such as Timothy and Clemens, Phil. iv. 3, and the rest, who are there called his fellow-labourers. Thus Phil. iv. 21. *The brethren that are with me* seem to signify, being distinguished from πάντες ἅγιοι, all the saints, ver. 22. And thus in the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians, Timothy is joined with him in the inscription, and Silvanus and Timotheus both in the Epistles to the Thessalonians (and so the same probably here, or the like, though they be not named). And so ὁ ἀδελφός, the brother, 2 Cor. viii. 18, and ch. xii. 18, is thought to be either Silvanus or St. Luke, the constant companion of St. Paul for some time. And so our brethren, 2 Cor. viii. 23.

10. [c] *persuade*] What πείθειν ἀνθρώπους and Θεόν, to persuade men and God signifies, must be taken from the like phrase in the Old Testament, 1 Sam. xxiv. 7, where the Greek hath these words, Ἐπεισε Δαβὶδ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγοις, David persuaded his men with words, where we read, David stayed his servants with these words. The men that were with David were very eager to have him take the advantage against Saul, and kill him, ver. 4, and were ready to rise up against him to kill him, ver. 7, and David's speech to them took them off from this bloody purpose, and that is expressed by ἔπεισε, persuading them, appeasing, pacifying them. Thus is it the office of a rhetor or advocate, πείθειν, to persuade, that is, to appease the judge to the client whose cause is pleaded, to propitiate him. So Matt. xxviii. 14. If the governor hear of it, that is, of the soldiers being so negligent as to let Christ be stolen out of the grave which they were set to watch, πείσομεν αὐτόν, we will persuade him, that is, appease him, obtain his pardon for you, and, as it follows, ὑμᾶς ἀμείμνους ποιήσομεν, we will free you from all solicitude of securing yourselves from that heavy punishment that by the Roman laws martial was due to the watchman that fell asleep. By which it is clear that πείθειν is to propitiate, or gain one's favour, to appease wrath or punishment, to avert displeasure; and so it is here, to persuade men, that is, to say or teach those doctrines which will avert the displeasure of the persecuting Jews, which the Gnostic teachers did; and to persuade God is to endeavour to say and preach that which may avert God's wrath, be acceptable to him, obtain and secure his favour. And this is in the next words explained by ἀρίσκειν, to please men, as that is contrary to, and unreconcilable with, the service, or approving himself to God.

15. [d] *separated me from my mother's womb*] Ἀφορίζειν, to separate, in this place signifies, in the same manner as Acts xiii. 2, (spoken of this apostle,) a consecration to the apostolical office, only with this difference, that there it is spoken of it as instantly to be performed by the ministry of men, here only in the designation or decree of God, which is therefore said to be ἐκ κοιλίας, from the womb, to denote the no-contribution made by him toward this decree of giving him a commission to be an apostle, or the no-merit considered in him by God, when he designed him to this office. This further includes a purpose of God's to call him from heaven, in the midst of his madness against Christians, (which mercy of God's to him was founded in his doing it ignorantly, 1 Tim. i. 13,) and his foresight that he would immediately convert upon that call; which two being first supposed, (in God's

eternal purpose and prescience,) it must needs follow to be an act of his unmerited free choice from all eternity, that God purposed to make use of him for the converting of others, who had himself been wonderfully changed from so professed an enmity to the faith, to so perfect an obedience to it. But this being a designation only to the dignity of the apostolical office, (as Jeremy, ch. i. 4, and John Baptist, and others appear to have been designed to the prophetic,) can with no reason be so applied as to infer any irrespective decree or destination of his person to heaven and bliss: that being laid up for him as *a crown of righteousness*, a reward of the *finishing his course* and perseverance, 2 Tim. iv. 8.

CHAP. II.

1. [a] *fourteen years after*] What διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν here signifies, is by learned men made a matter of some question. The time to which St. Paul refers must be that of his going (with Barnabas here mentioned) from Antioch to Jerusalem, on the question here discoursed of, about the necessity of the Gentile Christians being circumcised; that so first, it may connect with the spaces mentioned, ch. i. 18, 21, (so as the word πάλιν, *again*, seems to import,) to denote the next time of his going to Jerusalem after that mentioned, ver. 18; and, 2dly, so as to denote a time wherein Peter may be supposed still to reside at Jerusalem, and wherein Titus may be supposed to be with St. Paul as a *neophytus*, and a companion, (and so in danger of being pressed to be circumcised,) not yet employed or sent out by him on any service in the churches. Now this is thought so unlikely to be *fourteen years* after the space last mentioned, ch. i. 21, (his going to Syria and Cilicia, Acts ix. 30,) that it hath been thought probable, that (as in numeral letters it oft happens) *fourteen* should be here set instead of *four*. For which emendation, seeing there appears not any ground in the ancient manuscripts, it will surely be more reasonable to observe, 1st, that διὰ doth not distinctly signify *after*, (as μετὰ, ch. i. 18, had done,) but *by* or *about*, that is, near that space, though not precisely *fourteen years*: 2dly, that the ἔπειτα, *afterward* or *then*, refers not to that which was mentioned immediately before, his *passing through Syria and Cilicia*, so as to affirm this to have been *fourteen years after that*; no, nor to the former epochas, either his *going up to Jerusalem*, ver. 18, or *departing into Arabia*, ver. 17, but to that great epocha, so considerable to him, the time of his conversion, which, immediately succeeding the death of St. Stephen, may reasonably be placed (in the first year after Christ's assumption) an. Ch. 34. From whence to the time of that council, which is ordinarily placed an. Ch. 47, it was about *thirteen* or *fourteen years*. And then there will be no more need of an emendation than there is authority for the imagining any.

2. [b] *to them which were of reputation*] For the notion of δοκοῦντες here, and δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι, ver. 6, it must be observed, that it signifies not the men's own opinion of themselves, or their assuming any great authority over others, (as of Simon Magus it is said, Acts viii. 9, *that he did λέγειν εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν*, say, or take upon him, *that he was some great one*,) but that they were so in the reputation and esteem of others, and that the great opinion that at that time all Christians had of them, above the rest of the apostles, was it that moved Paul to go

up, and address himself particularly to them. This is fitly expressed by *οἱ δοκοῦντες*, as from that verb the noun *δόξα*, *reputation* or *glory*, comes, those *that are in esteem in an eminent manner*, and more so by *δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι*, *those that are esteemed to be something*, that is, something above other their *ἀδελφοί* or *fellow-apostles*; not *seemed*, so as that is equivocal either to seeming falsely, bare seeming, or seeming in their own eyes, but seeming so in truth, and to the generality of the best and wisest Christians. In proportion to this, *οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει*, *it maketh no matter to me*, ver. 6, is far from any thing of scorn or despising in St. Paul, that speaks it: it is a solemn form only of insisting on his own commission from Christ, which could no way be prejudiced by the real excellency of their persons, how great soever they were. *God, who accepts no persons*, and attends not to personal excellencies, may give his commission to an *ἄκρως*, to the meanest and unworthiest, as well as to those which are really of the greatest eminence. All this passage therefore is rather an expression of great reverence to Peter, &c., than of scorn. Only for his mission and revelations, Paul hath them from Christ, not from any man, cap. i. 16. and ii. 6.

3. [*c*] *compelled*] What *οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη*, *was not constrained*, signifies here, is a matter of some difficulty, which being explained will make the next verse perspicuous, which otherwise seems not intelligible. That some pretended Christians looked very jealously on St. Paul, as one averse from the Mosaic law, is sufficiently known. These, when Paul came to Jerusalem, laid it to his charge that he preached to the Gentiles that were not circumcised, conversed freely with them, and Titus (being a Grecian, and at that time with him) they specified to be one of them, and him they would have constrained to be circumcised. But, saith St. Paul, *οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη*, though he were such as was pretended, and though this were thus pressed by them, and though I was by this means likely to alien the Jews' minds from the gospel, as it was preached by me, (this being an act of confession that I was guilty of what was laid to my charge,) and so matter of some scandal to the Jews of Jerusalem, yet I, that was willing to yield at some times (to avoid the scandal of the Jews) to perform some ceremonies of the law, Acts xxi. 26, and so circumcised Timothy, was resolved not to do it now, because if I did, it must appear that those false brethren, pretended Christians, had overcome me at Jerusalem, and that the church there judged on their side against me, and so that Titus had been by order of the church or council of Jerusalem forced to be circumcised: which thing must needs have been matter of so much greater scandal and discouragement to the Gentiles, in aliening their minds from the Christian faith, and that scandal have been more considerable to the hinderance of the progress of the gospel, which was to be hoped for more plentifully among the Gentiles than the Jews, that I was very resolute, and took special care that Titus should not be circumcised. And this, ver. 3, *διὰ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδελφούς*, *because of the false brethren*, that came in to watch what I would do, and to carry it against me in the council at Jerusalem, which is expressed by *καταδουλώσωνται*, *bringing under*, in the end of the verse. By these Paul resolved he would not be worsted, and therefore though at other times he was content to comply *πρὸς ὥραν*, *for some short time*, yet now he would not do so, that *the truth of the gospel might abide toward you*,

that is, that the Galatians, that is, Gentile Christians, might not be scandalized at this compliance, which is before meant by μήπως εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ver. 2, *lest I should have run in vain*, that is, lest I should discourage and lose the Gentiles, which I had brought to the faith; as on the other side he went and gave an account at Jerusalem to the δοκοῦντες, *eminent* persons there, of his preaching the gospel to the uncircumcised Gentiles, and the reasons of it, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω, lest he should now scandalize the Jews that were Christians, and alien them (at Jerusalem and elsewhere) from hearkening to him.

6. [d] *But of those*—] What hath often been observed of the usage of Greek words in these sacred writers, otherwise than in the propriety of the Greek language belongs to them, must also from words be extended to syntaxis, which is oft such as the rules of grammar and use of authors doth not admit of. And this for the most part falls out by the interposing of some parenthesis, of greater or lesser length, and then prosecuting what was begun before it in another form of construction, than that in which it had been begun. Some examples of this in an inferior degree are observable Col. i. 10, where, after περιπατήσαι ὑμᾶς, some words interposing, the construction is altered, and goes on with καρποφοροῦντες καὶ αὐξανόμενοι—. And ch. iii. 16, where, after ὁ λόγος ἐνοικεῖτω ἐν ὑμῖν— *let the word of God inhabit in you*, the construction is soon altered into διδάσκοντες καὶ νοθετοῦντες ἑαυτούς—. So Ephes. iii. 17, where, after κατοικήσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, follows, ver. 18, ἐρριζωμένοι, καὶ θεμελιωμένοι: and so ch. iv. 1, where, after παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς— ἀξίως περιπατήσαι, &c. (after a few words), follows ἀνεχόμενοι and σπουδάζοντες, which doth not regularly cohere with it. But this is more eminently observable in the beginning of the second and third chapters of that Epistle. In the second, after Ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, there follows a long parenthesis to ver. 4, by which means the verb that should govern ὑμᾶς is omitted, and the period again begun, with Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς—ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι συνεζωποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ, which συνεζωποίησε, *hath quickened together with Christ*, was sure the verb omitted in the first verse. So ch. iii. 1, after Τοῦτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος,—. *For this cause I Paul a prisoner of Christ Jesus for you Gentiles*, comes in a long parenthesis, εἶγε ἡκούσατε, &c., and another involved in that ver. 3, καθὼς προέγραψα, &c., to the end of the fourth verse, and then the former parenthesis resumed again either unto the end of ver. 7, and then the form of the construction is changed from ἐγὼ to ἐμοί, or perhaps to the end of ver. 12, or possibly the 13th, and then the period begins anew, Διὸ αἰτοῦμαι, that is, *For which cause I* (that Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, ver. 1.) *beseech you that ye be not discouraged at my tribulations, or for this cause I bow my knees, &c., or yet more probably, it concludes not till the end of that chapter, the fourth chapter beginning, I therefore the prisoner in the Lord beseech you*—. And by this means the ἐγὼ Παῦλος hath no verb following it, where-soever the parenthesis be concluded. It is true indeed some have endeavoured to avoid this by acknowledging an ellipsis in that first verse, and supplying it thus, *For this cause I Paul am the prisoner*—. But there be many inconveniences consequent to that rendering. And the many other examples of the like shew that there is no reason to

fly to that refuge. And to omit other instances, thus it is twice in this place; first, ver. 4, where, having begun the period with *Διὰ δὲ τούτων παρεσιάκτους*—some words intervening by way of parenthesis to the end of the verse, the sense begun is not finished, but instead of it, *οἱ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰξάμεν*, ver. 5. And then in like manner here, ver. 6, the period being begun, *Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι*, but from these prime men, or that appeared to be somewhat, (by which it appears that *οὐδὲν ἔλαβον*, I received nothing, or somewhat like, was designed to be joined to it,) after the interposing of a parenthesis, *οποῖοι ποτε ἦσαν*, &c. *Whatever they were, it maketh no matter to me*, &c., the sense is begun again in another form, *Ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκούντες οὐδὲν προσανέβητο*, For these prime men added nothing to me. So Theophylact, on occasion of a reading in his copy Heb. x. 1, *οὐδέποτε δύνανται*, in the plural, *they could not*, which we read *δύναται* in the singular, acknowledgeth that so it must be read as we read, *ὅσον κατὰ τὸ τῆς γραμματικῆς ἀκριβείας ἀκόλουθον*, “as far as concerns the consequence of grammatical exactness,” that is, in respect of the syntaxis, *ἵνα μὴ σολοικισμὸς ἀνακύψῃ*, “that there may be no solœcism in it,” (for such it must be, in an high manner, if with his copy we read *δύνανται* in the plural, and understand *προσφέροντες*, as he doth, for the nominative case to govern it,) *ἐπεὶ δὲ*, saith he, *τῇ γραφῇ τεχνολογιῶν οὐδεὶς λόγος*, “but because the scripture style takes no care of technical, that is, grammatical exactness,” *καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ νοήσωμεν, ὡς τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἔχουσι*, “we may so understand it as the copies have it,” that is, so as the words will yield a very good sense, if only the grammatical exactness be dispensed with, viz. that *the offerers*, that is, the Levitical priests, cannot *perfect those that come* (that is, bring their sacrifices) *unto them*. In which words his opinion and testimony is clear, viz. that the sacred writers stood not upon such niceties as other authors do, bound not themselves to the observation of grammatical rules. And so frequently in St. Hierome; on the Ephes. cap. 3. *Quotiescumque solœcismos aut tale quid annotamus*, speaking of the apostles’ writings; and so Ep. cap. 1. qu. 10; 2dly, that copies were not to be disturbed, or any change attempted in them upon this one score, the avoiding of a solœcism in the period. So the learned Mr. Bois on Acts xxvii. 10. *Laudandi mihi videntur, quibus in sacris literis vel solœcismos manifestos, modo veritati nihil detraherent, religio esset emendare*, “They are to be commended that would not in the scripture mend manifest solœcisms, so they do not hurt the truth of the matter.” And the same was the account of Dr. Reynolds, a very learned man among us, when he was by sir Henry Savile consulted in a like matter. For when in preparing the edition of St. Chrysostome there were some expressions observed, unvaried in all copies, which yet were not allowable by any rules of Greek syntaxis, and from thence a necessity appeared of either receding from all copies, or else admitting of false Greek, the question was proposed to that doctor, whether it would be derogatory to that divine writer and learned orator, St. Chrysostom, to acknowledge that he wrote false Greek; and his answer was, “^uthat such writers were more careful of the sense than of the syntaxis, and, so the

^u *Viros magnos τῇ νοουμένῃ intentos emendatam verborum structuram sæpe neglegere.* See note in Gen., p. 5 and 27, where, after mention of the many *ἀνακόλουθα* and *ἀναταξήματα*, he adds, *ne quis speret hæc omnia ad grammaticæ normam dirigi.*

former were perspicuous, oft neglected the latter, especially when the false Greek was most promptly intelligible," (as in the instances produced it generally was,) adding, that indeed St. Paul "himself was guilty of the like," out of whom he set down two places (for a δείξις) which were not reconcilable with the rules of grammatical syntaxis. The places have already been taken notice of in the Epistles to the Colossians, ch. iii. 16, and Ephesians, ch. iv. 2. To this I add the observation of Maimonides, More Nev. l. 2. c. 29. *Unumquemque prophetam ea lingua, eaque loquendi ratione, quæ ipsi est familiaris et consueta, impelli a prophetia sua ad loquendum ei qui ipsum intelligit*, "That every prophet is by his prophecy impelled to speak in that language and manner of speaking which is familiar and customary to him;" that is, (saith Buxtorf, out of the rabbins' commentaries,) *si propheta est Hebræus, impellit eum prophetia ut loquatur Hebraice: si purum et ornatum sermonem habet, eodem modo prophetiam suam eloquitur; si minus ornatum, minus ornate quoque prophetiam suam profert; si Ephraimita, Ephraimitice; si Galilæus, Galilaice*; "If the prophet be an Hebrew, his prophecy impels him to speak Hebrew, &c.; if he have pure language, he delivers his prophecy after that manner; if his language be less pure or eloquent, he doth deliver his prophecy less eloquently; if he be an Ephraimite, Ephraimitically; if a Galilean, he speaks in that dialect."

6. [e] *in conference added nothing to me* What is the full meaning of οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ προσανέθεντο, *they added nothing to me*, is, I think, exactly set down by St. Chrysostom in οὐκ ἡναντιώθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέπνευσαν καὶ συνεφώνησαν, "they opposed me not, but conspired and accorded with me," οὐ πλέον τι προσέθηκαν ὥν ἦδεν, "they added no more to me than I knew before," μαθόντες ἐμὰ, οὐδὲν προσέθηκαν, οὐδὲν διώρθωσαν, "when they had knowledge of my affairs, they neither added nor altered any thing in my course:" and this as a further explication of what went before, that they gave no appointment for the circumcising of Titus, that went along with Paul, and never had been circumcised. And so in proportion to this sense follows his notion, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, *but contrariwise*; not that they were taught by Paul, for they needed not that, but that they were so far from blaming or altering any thing in his practice, that they not only approved, but commended his whole course.

7. [f] *when they saw* The three names that lie in the Greek, ver. 9, will in the construction be best placed here, ver. 7, as the nominative case to which ἰδόντες, *seeing*, agrees. Now who these three were that are here called *pillars*, and who are by St. Paul found at Jerusalem, may appear by what hath been said (note [a] on 1 Cor. xv.) out of ancient writers, of James the brother of the Lord. Him, saith Clemens Ὑποτυπ. l. 5, Peter, James, and John, chose bishop of Jerusalem, (ἐπισκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων, not *apostolorum*, "bishop of the apostles," as Rufinus misreads or misrenders it,) and though they were the "three by Christ preferred, and more honoured than all the rest of the twelve, yet did they not contend one with another for this dignity, but after our Saviour's resurrection" (the next year, saith Eusebius in Chronico, or the 19th of Tiberius) "unanimously conferred it on James the Just." So before Clemens, Hegesippus; "James," saith he, "the brother of the Lord, called by all James the Just, received, or undertook the

church of Jerusalem with" (not as St. Hierome reads, *post*, "after," as if it were μετὰ ἀποστόλων, not ἀποστόλων) "the apostles." So saith Athanasius in Συνοψ. Epiphani. Hær. 78. Greg. Nyss. de Resurrect. Or. 2. Hierome in Catal., and in Gal. i. Now it is clear that at this time of which St. Paul speaks, one of these three apostles who made him bishop, James the son of Zebedee (one of the προτετιμημένοι, *preferred before* the other apostles) was dead, and so only Peter and John left, who therefore are the latter two here named, and James the Just set foremost before either of them, as being now bishop of Jerusalem; a dignity, saith Clemens, even in respect of the apostles themselves. In respect of which dignity placed on him, it is also that he is called *an apostle*, ch. i. 19, and Acts xv. 6 and 22, and by St. Hierome, *apostolus decimus tertius*, "the thirteenth apostle."

11. [g] *was to be blamed*] The Hebrew רקח, which signifies to *find out*, to *detect*, and is sometimes rendered *ἐχινύειν*, *ἐξιχνιάζειν*, *δοκιμάζειν*, *ἐλέγχειν*, is also rendered καταγνώσκειν, to *condemn*; so Prov. xxviii. 11. Σοφὸς παρ' αὐτῷ ἀνὴρ πλούσιος, ὁ δὲ νοήμων πένης καταγνώσεται αὐτοῦ, *The rich man is wise in his own conceit, but the poor man that hath understanding shall detect him*. So Eccclus. v. 17. Κατάγνωσις πονηρὰ ἐνὶ διγλώσσῃ, *Detection is very grievous or troublesome to a man that is double-tongued*. Accordingly the word properly belongs to that charge or blame that falls on a hypocrite when his dissimulation seems to be detected: and that this is the meaning of κατεγνωσμένος here, appears by that which follows, ver. 13. συννυκρίθησαν, &c., *the rest of the Jews dissembled with him*. As for the præter tense, wherein here it is set, that ordinarily signifies in the sense of the *præteritum plusquam perfectum*; and so Theophylact here interprets it, "he had been found fault with, or charged of hypocrisy," (viz. that specified ver. 12.) not by Paul, but ἰπὸ ἄλλων, *by others* that saw the fact, but knew not why he did it, and so thought it hypocrisy in him to eat with the Gentiles, when they of Jerusalem were absent, and to withdraw from the Gentiles, when they of Jerusalem were present.

17. [h] *sinner*] What ἁμαρτωλοὶ signifies in this place will best be resolved by the context, which enforceth the sense (which I have given it) of Gentiles, in opposition to the Jews; so ver. 15, ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοὶ, *sinner* of the Gentiles, opposite to φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, *Jews by birth*. (See note [b] on Luke vii.) It is known that the Jews looked on all Gentiles with an odium, as on those which were of a contrary religion to them, and so they did consequently on all those that conversed with them, and it was that (and not so much their other sins) that made the publicans so odious to them in Christ's time: and as Christ's eating with such, and not observing (as they thought) the Judaical law, made them look upon him as an ἁμαρτωλός, a *sinner*, John ix. 24, so St. Paul's teaching liberty to lay aside the Mosaical performances, is here looked on by them as Gentilism, and so is objected to him in this phrase, that he being a Jew born, is found ἁμαρτωλός, a *sinner*, that is, guilty of Gentilism under the name of ἁμαρτία, *sin*; and that by teaching this to be the doctrine of Christ, he makes Christ διάκονον ἁμαρτίας, one that came to assist and contribute to the setting up of Gentilism against Judaism. This St. Paul, that knew what Judaism truly signified, (the doctrine of good life in the Old Testament, which was by God thought fit to be fenced in by those ceremonies, not placing religion in the bare

observance of the ceremonies, without heeding the substance of them,) doth with detestation deny, *μὴ γένοιτο*, *God forbid*, taking the words of the objection as by them that made it they were meant, that he taught Christ to be a favourer of idolaters, and the worship of the heathen false gods, in opposition to the way of worshipping the true God by himself prescribed to Moses. This Paul denies, knowing that those Mosaical ceremonies were not the thing wherein (abstracted from the inward purity, signified and desired by God to be secured by them) the worship of the true God consisted; as on the other side, he neither favoured any part of heathen worship, or wicked life, nor by any thing he preached taught Christ to be a favourer of it, but directly the contrary. All this being thus implied in this form of aversation, and disclaiming and detesting the calumny in the objection, he proceeds, ver. 18, to a further answer, by retorting the objection on such as did, as St. Peter had done, (whose action set down, vv. 11, 12, occasioned this discourse, which brought in this objection,) first conversing with the Gentiles, and then teaching by his example, ver. 12, that they were not so freely to be conversed with; which he justly calls the *building again what he had destroyed*, teaching the unlawfulness of a Jew's conversing with Gentiles, which from a divine vision, Acts x, he had both by his doctrine and practice formerly asserted. And this, saith St. Paul, is the making himself a *transgressor*, *παράβατον*, the word that is elsewhere used for an *apostate*, one that forsakes and disclaims that true doctrine which he had formerly taught, and is by way of eminence since applied to Julian, *ὁ παράβατος*, the *apostate*, that forsook the Christian faith which he had once embraced. And it can be no more strange that this should be applied to this action of St. Peter's, than that *ὑπέστειλεν ἑαυτὸν*, *he withdrew himself*, should be used of him, ver. 12, when Heb. x. 38, the same word *ὑποστᾶλλεσθαι* is evidently used of the Gnostics' falling off for fear of persecution, which is ch. iii. 12. *ἀποστήναι*, *departing* or *apostatizing from the living God*.

CHAP. III.

1. [a] *bewitched you*] These two words, *ἀνόητοι* and *ἐβάσκανε*, *foolish* and *bewitched*, being applied by the apostle to these Galatians, refer to the prevailing of the Gnostics' infusions upon them, the sorceries used by the leaders of that sect, and the follies of those that were seduced by them: or, if the time would agree, it is not improbable that the former of these, *ἀνόητοι*, should refer to some beginnings of the heresy of the Ebionites, the spreading of which not long after this (in Trajan's time) is set down by Eusebius at large, l. 3. c. κζ', but so as it is uncertain whether the original of it were not more ancient, as early as might be taken notice of by this apostle. Of them it is Eusebius's observation, that their name was given them from the Hebrew *יונימ*, *poor*, *διὰ τὴν πτωχείαν διανοίας αὐτῶν*, "because of the poverty of their understandings," the men being very silly men, and their heresy accordingly a senseless one. They did *πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς περὶ Χριστοῦ δοξάζειν*, saith he, "entertain very mean and poor thoughts and opinions of Christ," and that he was *λειδὸς καὶ κοινὸς ἀνὴρ*, "a mere and common man," *κατὰ προκοπὴν ἥθους δεδικαιωμένος*, "by proficiency in virtue justified," but yet not more than a man; and moreover, *δεῖν πάντως τῆς ρομικῆς θρησκείας*, &c., "that Christians had need of legal observations,

and not only of faith and Christian life, to salvation." In reference to which their doctrine, (and perhaps by this time known title,) it is not strange that when the apostle looks upon any seeds of this heresy among the Galatians, he should, to awake and reproach them out of it, in an unaccustomed style of some contumely, call them *ἀνόητοι Γαλάται*, *foolish Galatians*: it being such a scandalous piece of folly in them to leave the apostles to follow such silly teachers as these. To this agrees the style which he gives these legal observances, calling them *ἀσθενή και πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα*, ch. iv. 9, *weak and poor elements*, in relation, as it seems probable, to that name of *Ebion*, signifying *poor*. And because Simon Magus, and after him Menander, had used magic and sorcery, done some feigned miracles, to gain them followers and disciples, (as appears by Eusebius, l. 3. c. κ', and therefore among the sins of the flesh, which the Gnostics, a great spawn of them, had brought into the church, he puts *φαρμακείαι* in the second place; see note [c] on v. 20: but these poor fools did not pretend to any such, as Eusebius there saith,) therefore it may well be (if the times will permit) that he here adds, *τίς ἐβάσκανε; who hath bewitched you not to obey the truth?* intimating, that they have not had any such excuse for their being seduced, the fathers of this heresy, which now he is about to speak of, being no such witches, having not so much subtlety or cunning, and consequently not able to seduce any but mere sots and fools. Now among the doctrines of these Ebionites we find in Eusebius, in the places forecited, (beside that so much to the diminution of Christ,) that they taught the observation of the Jewish law, *δεῖν πάντως αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μὴ διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησομένων*, "that they were altogether bound to retain the legal service or Judaical religion," and "that the faith in Christ, and living according to it, would not prove sufficient to save them." And speaking of a second brood of them, differing from the first in the point of the conception of Christ, "yet," saith he, "they agreed with them in this," *ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν διέπειν*, "that they were obliged to observe the bodily legal religion, as the former did;" and thereupon, saith he, they rejected the Epistles of St. Paul, *ἀποστάτην αὐτὸν καλοῦντες τοῦ νόμου*, "calling him an apostate from the law," and using the gospel which is called *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and no other, observing the sabbath, *καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἄλλην ἀγωγὴν*, "and all their other observances," and on the Lord's days joining with the Christians in commemorating the resurrection of Christ, and doing *παραπλησία ἡμῖν*, "like to us Christians." Agreeably to this we here find these so many things which possibly refer to them, or some seeds of them. First, the vindicating of the doctrine of Christ crucified, ver. 1, (which in other places contains the whole ground of our Christian profession, and particularly that of the abolition of the Mosaic rites; see ch. ii. 20, and Eph. ii. 14.) by the clear undeniable evidences of it set forth and testified among them, before these silly teachers came among them; so that it is a prodigy to see them seduced by such men, against such conviction and evidence to the contrary. Secondly, the phrase *ἐν σαρκί*, *in the flesh*, ver. 3, to denote their *σωματικὰ λατρεῖα*, *bodily religion*, circumcision, &c., asserted by them. Thirdly, the whole discourse following, concerning the necessity of the Mosaic

law, and the οὕτως ἀνόητοι; *are ye so foolish?* (again, ver. 3.) to introduce it. Meanwhile it must be remembered, that at that time the heresy of the Gnostics being the great pest of the church, into which all other lesser sects like diseases were converted, the common sewer or sink into which they were poured, this of the Ebionites, if it were now sprung, was in conjunction with that of the Gnostics also, and not separated from it.

1. [b] *crucified among you*] That it should be here said to the Galatians that Christ Jesus was ἐν ὑμῖν ἐσταυρωμένος, *crucified among them*, is not well to be imagined, neither is there any reason to underetand the words so, which are otherwise interpretable, either by removing the comma after προεγράφη, or by setting it after ὑμῖν, thus, *To whom Jesus Christ having been crucified, hath been set forth among you, before your eyes*, that is, with evidence and conviction. Another way of construction might also be pitched on, by joining οἷς and ἐν ὑμῖν, (as 1 Pet. ii. 24. τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ, *by whose stripes of him*, that is, *by whose stripes*.) *among whom*, that is, *you*. But that which removes all difficulty is, that the king's MS. leaves out ἐν ὑμῖν, *among you*, and then the sense will be obvious, and the construction clear, οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη, *to whom before your eyes* (that is, evidently) *Christ Jesus hath been set forth*, or *exposed to public view*, (so προεγράφεσθαι signifies; see note [a] on Jude,) *having been crucified*, that is, made known and evidenced in his sufferings, whereby he took away the partition betwixt Jew and Gentile, abolished the ceremonies of the Mosaic law, and so also in the power of his resurrection, the consequent of these sufferings of his.

8. [c] *In thee shall all nations be blessed*] The likeliest way of interpreting this phrase, ἐν σοὶ εὐλογηθήσονται, will be by observing first, what is meant by εὐλογεῖσθαι, and then by ἐν σοὶ. For the first, it refers clearly to the form of benedictions among the Jews, Lev. ix. 23, used solemnly by the priests, who did bless the people in set forms, Num. vi. 24. (as well as bless God for them, as Gen. xiv. 19. *Melchisedek blessed Abram, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God*, as well as *Blessed be the most high God*, ver. 20.) Thus also did parents bless their children, Isaac Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 3, and Jacob his sons, Gen. xlix. Then for the ἐν σοὶ, that will be interpreted by the use of the phrase Gen. xlviii. 20, where Jacob, speaking to and blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, saith, *In thee shall Israel bless*, (the very same phrase as here,) *saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh*. By which it may be reasonable to conclude, that to bless others in this form, *God make you as Ephraim, &c.*, to make use of his ensample in blessing any, is to bless them ἐν Ἐφραῖμ, *in Ephraim*. And so proportionably this will be the meaning here of Ἐν σοὶ, *In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*. They among all the nations or Gentiles, and not only the Jews, that bless themselves or others, shall use this proverbial form of benedictions, by mentioning the blessings that God bestowed upon Abraham, *God make thee as Abraham, &c.*, or as the form is set down Gen. xxviii. 4. *God give to thee the blessing of Abraham*. Thus rabbi Solomon interprets it on Gen. xii. 3, that men shall say to their children, *Be thou as Abraham*, adding that the phrase is used in scripture always in this sense. And so sure it hath been used according to

that prediction; ever since this form hath been retained among the Gentile part of the world, *The God of Abraham, &c. bless thee.* And the full importance of that blessing is, that God's mercy to Abraham, his blessing him and his seed in this world with those blessings of prosperity, but especially his looking upon him as on a friend, (upon his faith in God's promises, and obedience to his commands,) his *justifying him by faith without the deeds of the law*, is and shall be recited as an example of God's dealing, not only with the rest of the Jews, but also with the Gentile world; and the form of the Gentiles' blessing or praying for themselves, or of the priests for them, shall be this, that God will deal with them as he did with Abraham; which is here used by the apostle as a proof that the Gentiles are now to be justified by faith, without the Mosaical performances, which was the thing to be proved, ver. 7. Thus was the phrase used in the places of Genesis to which this here refers, Gen. xii. 3, where, ver. 2, these other phrases are used to the same purpose, *I will make thy name great, or illustrious, and thou shalt be a blessing*, that is, thy name shall be proverbially used in benedictions. So ch. xviii. 18, so ch. xxii. 18, the form is a little changed, *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*, that is, I will give thee so numerous and potent and victorious a progeny, and make good the promises made to thee, so visibly to them also, to Isaac and Jacob, &c., Eccus. xlv. 22, justify them as I have justified thee, (and that the progeny of Esau as well as Jacob, those that shall obey me of the Gentiles as well as Jews,) by faith without Judaical observances, that all the Gentiles shall take notice of them; and when they would bless themselves or others, or pray for God's acceptation or justification, they shall use the mention of thy progeny or posterity, that God would deal with them whom they bless as he dealt with Abraham's seed, exceedingly prosper them, and multiply them, bless, and accept, and justify them. So Acts iii. 25, where these words are cited again of God's telling Abraham, τῇ σπέρματί σου εὐλογήσονται πάντα αἱ πατρεῖς τῆς γῆς, *in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed*, the meaning is clearly this, that God hath so blessed Abraham's seed, the Jews, in giving Christ to them, and to them *first* or *primarily*, ver. 26, that all the families or nations of the earth, when they shall bless themselves, (as the Greek passive is oft in the sense of the Hebrew *hithpael*,) or when they shall be blessed by their parents or priests or friends, this shall be the form, *God bless thee as he did the Jews, or Abraham's seed.* To this matter it may perhaps be further observable, that the phrase, *It was counted unto him for righteousness*, so often applied to Abraham, Rom. iv, may seem to signify in this same sense also, that his faith and ready obedience in *going out of his country*, &c., were by God looked on as such heroic acts, in one brought up among examples of idolatry and villainy, that it took off that entail of curse that lay upon that nation and family, and entailed a signal blessing on him and his seed, viz. upon that part of it that imitated him, Isaac and Jacob, and the obedient Jews, (though the rebellious were cut off in the wilderness, and after by captivities, and at last the crucifiers of Christ by the Roman eagles,) accordingly as it is said of Phinees upon that heroidal fact of his, *It was counted to him for righteousness among all posterities for evermore*; that is, that act of his zeal

to God brought a blessing, not only upon his person, but upon his posterity, as it is said, Num. xxv. 12. *Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace: And he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.* And why may not (in analogy to this use of the phrase in the Psalmist) that of *imputing Abraham's faith* to him for righteousness, be this *blessing his seed*, those of his stock, and all others that imitated his obedience, for his sake, or in the like manner as God had blessed him.

16. [d] *Christ*] The word *Χριστός* sometimes signifies *Christ*, considered as head of the church, together with the body annexed to it, that is, Christ and all believers, or Christians. So 1 Cor. xii. 12. *As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.* Where answerable to the body with many members in the first part is *ὁ Χριστός, Christ*, in the second, which must therefore signify the whole society of Christians. So 1 Pet. i. 11, when he speaks of the *Spirit of Christ*, that is, of prophecy, foretelling the sufferings which should befall Christ, and the glories after them, it signifies not personally to Christ, but in this greater latitude, the crucifixion of Christ, and the persecuting of Christians, and proportionably the resurrection of Christ, and the deliverance of the persecuted Christians by the destruction of their enemies. And so here the context makes it clear, that by *Christ* all Christians are to be understood, circumcised or not, Jews or Gentiles: so if ver. 17, the words *εἰς Χριστόν* be to be retained, it must be understood of the whole body joined with the head, the Christians or all faithful people, with Abraham the father of all such; for to them was that covenant established, and those promises made. But those words are left out in the king's MS.; and so it seems most probable they should be, and then the sense will be clear, that the covenant was established by God to Abraham.

CHAP. IV.

13. [a] *infirmity of the flesh*] What *ἀσθένεια σαρκὸς, infirmity of the flesh*, here signifies, will appear by the ordinary use of *ἀσθένεια* for *afflictions*. So 2 Cor. xii. *εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις, I take pleasure in infirmities*, that is, afflictions, of which the several sorts follow, *contumelies, necessities, persecutions, distresses for Christ.* The same as before, ver. 6. *I will not rejoice but in mine infirmities*, that is, afflictions, (as elsewhere he resolves *not to rejoice but in the cross of Christ*,) and so ver. 9, when he prays for deliverance from the *thorn in the flesh*, that is, afflictions, (see note on that place,) he saith God's answer was, *My strength is perfected ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, in weakness*, that is, in the afflictions that befall my servants, the giving them strength to bear those is an act of the greatest power and mercy. So 1 Cor. xi. 30. *πολλοὶ ἀσθενεῖς, many weak*, may signify afflicted, as that notes pressures on their estates, because for diseases on the body, they follow in the *ἀρρώστοι, sick*; though elsewhere it is manifest that *ἀσθένεια* is used particularly for *disease*, as James vi. 14 and 15. (see note [m] on Rom. viii.) So 1 Cor. ii. 3. *I was among you ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, in weakness*, that is, persecution, as it follows, *and in fear, and much trembling.* So 2 Cor. xi. 29. *Τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; who is weak, and I am not weak*, that is, *afflicted*? for it follows,

ver. 30. *If I must glory, I will glory of my ἀσθενείας, weaknesses, the afflictions that I suffer for Christ, as he instances thereupon ch. ix. And so here, as appears by ver. 14, where it is expressed by another phrase of the same importance in the scripture dialect, ὁ πειρασμὸς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, temptation in the flesh, that is, affliction, as when it is said that God will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able, but will with the temptation give us ἔκβασιν, a passage out; and so πειρασμὸς ἀνθρώπου, temptation or affliction that ordinarily this human state is subject to, 1 Cor. x. 12, 13.*

24. [b] *an allegory*] The word ἀλληγορία signifies a figure, expressing one thing by another, from ἄλλος, and ἀγορεύω, enuntio; and here the verb medium must be in the active sense; so ἀτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα will be best rendered *which things do express, enuntiate, one thing δι' ἄλλου, by another; for, as it follows, these are two covenants, that is, signify two covenants.*

25. [c] *answereth to*] Συστοιχεί is by Theophylact interpreted γειννᾷζει, ἀπτεται, mount Sinai being not far from Jerusalem, but, as he acknowledgeth also, it signifies originally *to walk along with*, and being metaphorically used of things compared one to another, it signifies *to be parallel, answerable, or proportionable to another; and accordingly here in the comparison begun ver. 22, Hagar is made parallel to Jerusalem, the then present state of the Jews: and the parallel consisted in two things; 1st, that as the people of the Hagarens bound themselves to circumcision, and the observation of the Mosaical law in many particulars, so the present Judaizers did; and, 2dly, that as in this respect these Hagarens were just as their mother had been, in a servile estate, so these Judaizers kept themselves and all their disciples in a mere servile condition, opposite to the liberty of the gospel. Of the Hagarens or Ismaelites being circumcised, Josephus gives clear testimony, l. 1. c. 12. Ἀραβες περιτέμνουσι μετὰ ἔτος τρισκαδέκατον. Ἰσμαήλος γὰρ ὁ κτιστὴς αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους, Ἀβράμου γενόμενος ἐκ τῆς παλλακῆς, ἐν τούτῳ περιτέμνεται τῷ χρόνῳ, "The Arabians are circumcised at thirteen years old. For Ismael, the founder of that nation, being the son of Abraham by the handmaid, was circumcised at that time." So Origen in Φιλοκαλία, shewing the ridiculousness of them that ascribe all to the σχηματισμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γενέσεως, "the position of the stars at their birth," professes not to imagine how they can assign the circumcision of all the Jews (and so the wounding, and want of a physician's help) on the eighth day (constantly) after they are born, to any such position: τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰσραηλῆταις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν τοιούδε, ὡς πάντας περιτέμνεσθαι τρισκαδέκατεῖς· τοῦτο γὰρ ἰσθόρηται περὶ αὐτῶν, "and on the other side, that the position of the stars at the nativity of all the Ismaelites in Arabia shall be such as shall cause them to be circumcised when they are thirteen years old; for so," saith he, "it is storied of them."*

30. [d] *be heir with the son of*] The explication of this depends on the Jewish matrimonial laws, or the nature of concubinate, viz. when a servant or a Gentile woman was taken in by a Jew to be (his wife she was not to be by law, but) his concubine, upon agreement first made concerning her dowry. For such a person as this is among them improperly called a wife, though far from any ill character of a whore, or any unlawful copulation, any further than will be affirmed of polygamy, which yet we know was allowed among the Jews, and practised by the

patriarchs. Now the sons of these concubines were excluded from succession to the inheritance, and instead thereof, the father gave them gifts or portions, (and that was agreed upon by pact with the wife at first,) Gen. xxv. 6. Thus was Jephthe ejected from the inheritance by his brethren, because his mother was a *strange woman*, Judges xi. 2. Agreeable to this is that custom of *matrimonium morgengabicum* in some countries, as Denmark, &c. at this day, where the second wife, and her children that shall come from her, are not taken in to a right to the husband's estate, she to have any part of it for her jointure, or they for their inheritance, but only some gifts or portions assigned them by compact, which are called *morgengab*, or *marriage-gifts*, with which they are to content themselves, without any part of the inheritance.

CHAP. V.

4. [a] *become of no effect*] *Katapyéitai, ἀποπαύεται*, saith Phavorinus; the word signifies, according to the notion of ἀργός, whence it is compounded, *frustration, annihilation, evacuation, abolition*; and so it is applied to the law, νόμος *katapyéitai*, *the law is annulled*. In a sense not far from thence it is used Rom. vii. 2, when it is said, that the husband being dead, *the wife katapyéitai ἀπὸ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός*, *is discharged from the law of the husband*, that is, receives no benefit from, nor owes any obedience or observance to the matrimonial contract. So here *κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ye are discharged from Christ*, as when a servant is from the master, or as a wife from the husband, discharged from the advantages as well as burdens, ye receive no benefit or virtue from Christ, or the second covenant (all one with Christ) *shall profit you nothing*, ver. 2; and *ἔπεσate*, in the end of this verse, *ye have fallen from*, disclaimed all right or title to the gospel, or second covenant, that of *grace*.

6. [b] *worketh*] It is not amiss in this place to set down the particular notion of ἐνεργείσθαι in the New Testament. And to that purpose the first thing to be observed will be, that there is no kind of necessity or reason to render it in an active sense, but rather in a passive, throughout these books. So Rom. vii. 5, *the motions of sin ἐνεργεῖτο ἐν μέλεσιν*, *were wrought, or consummate, or perfected in our members*, that is, the motions and inclinations were brought to act and habit. So 2 Cor. i. 6. *σωτηρίας τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐν ὑπομονῇ*, *salvation which is perfected or consummate by patient enduring*. So 2 Cor. iv. 12. *θάνατος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖται*, &c., *death is wrought in us*, as it appears by the context, *εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα*, *we are delivered to death*, ver. 11. So Ephes. iii. 20. *κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ὑμῖν*, *according to the power which is wrought in or among you*, parallel to Col. i. 29. *κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἐμοί*, *according to the force, or act, or virtue which is wrought in me*. So 2 Thess. ii. 13. of the word of God, *ὃς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν*, *which is wrought in you*, preached unto you, and obtained its end (or perfection) to which it was designed, *among you believers*. So 2 Thess. ii. 7, *the mystery of iniquity ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται*, *is made or wrought, or (as in the present tense) is in fieri, agitur*, saith Castello, agreeably to that of Hesychius, *ἐνεργεῖται, κατασκευάζεται*, *is prepared to enter, to disclose itself to the world*. And so here *πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη*, *faith perfected by charity*; so the Syriac reads it, and so Tertullian, *Perficitur per charitatem fides*, contra Marcion. l. 5, directly parallel to

that of St. James, ch. ii. 22. *ἐξ ἔργων πίστις ἐτελειώθη*, *faith is made perfect by works*, as an habit by the effects or fruits. To which purpose it is observable, that in Clemens Alexandrinus* Strom. l. 4. *ἀγάπη τελειούται*, and *δι' ἀγάπην τελειοῦν*, and *ἐνεργούμενον*, are put as phrases of the same importance. There is one only place behind where this word is used, that of James v. 16, of the righteous man's prayer, *δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη*, of which what is the direct importance will not perhaps be easily resolved, but yet there is little reason to doubt but that it is in the passive signification also. To which purpose it will be observable, that one other notion of the word there is, which is ordinary among ecclesiastical writers, for one that hath received afflation from some spirit, evil or good. Thus (among many other examples) in the Author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, when there are repelled from the sacrament *κατηχούμενοι*, *ἐνεργούμενοι*, &c., there, saith Maximus the Scholiast, *ἐνεργούμενοι*, *τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*, "they that are acted by unclean spirits." Why it should not be taken also in a good sense, for those that are acted by good spirits, or the Spirit of God, there is no reason imaginable from the nature of the word, only it is true the most frequent use is of those that are possessed by the devil, (*οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι*, *δηλονότι δαιμονιῶντες*, saith Pachymerius the Paraphrast of that Author of the Ecclesiastic Hierarchy, p. 136,) but yet in the apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 6, 10, *ἐνεργήματα* is used of the *charismata* or extraordinary gifts of the Spirit of God: and so saith Phavorinus, *ἐνεργημάτων, ὡτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ χαρισμάτων*, of which the gift of healing (and doing that only by praying and anointing) being one, in those times, it is possible enough that *δέησις ἐνεργουμένη* may be that prayer of him that hath that gift of healing, and consequently that which is thus formed by afflation of the Spirit, (for that the word belongs not only to persons so acted by any spirit, but to actions that are so produced, appears by the use of the word in Justin Martyr, in Dial. cum Tryph. pag. 87, where, speaking of magicians, he saith, they were *πρὸς πάσας κακὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐνεργουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐσκυλευμένοι*, "carried captive by the devil to all wicked diabolical actions,") which is here accordingly joined with the gift of healing, and therefore called *εὐχή πίστεως*, ver. 15, *the prayer of faith*, viz. of that faith which is mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 9, which enabled them to work cures, *σώζειν κάμνοντα*, *to recover the sick*, as there it follows, or which *πολλὰ ἰσχύει* here, *avaieth much*, that is, miraculously, or as much as Elias' prayer for rain or fair weather did in the next words. To that which hath been thus loosely said of this word, may be added by way of appendage the words of Hesychius in his Glossary, *ἡ ἐνεργουμένη*, *αἱ μὴ ἀργαί, εἰσακουμένη, τελουμένη*. In which it is clear, as in the greatest part of that book, that there is some corruption in the copy, I suppose from some decays in the MS. from whence it was printed. It is possible there might be some *lacuna* in the parchment, which might take away part of the words in the midst of this, which he that printed it was fain to repair by conjecture, and therein might mistake. And then this other form of words I shall only propose, (instead of that which we now read in the printed book,) *Ἡ ἐνεργουμένη δαιμονῶσα, κατεχομένη, τελουμένη* or *τελειουμένη*, supposing that the word *δαιμονῶσα* and *κατεχομένη* were so either blotted or eaten out, that there

* Edit. Sylburg. p. 222.

† C. 3. p. 133.

remained nothing of them but thus much . . . αἰμ ομένη. If this conjecture be not too wide, then this glossary will clearly afford the several notions of this word ἐνεργουμένη in the latitude, viz. that it signify two things among sacred authors, first, δαιμονῶσα, as Pachymerius rendered it, (and κατεχομένη, which is all one,) "a person possessed with the devil," or that had some affliction; and, 2dly, τελουμένη or τελειουμένη, wrought or consummate. One thing only more will be observable in this verse here to the Galatians, that by comparing it with other parallel places, ch. vi. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 19, it appears that πίστις ἐνεργουμένη δι' ἀγάπης, *faith consummate by charity*, is all one with καινή κτίσις, *the new creature*, in one place, and τήρησις ἐντολῶν, *the keeping of the commandments* of God, in the other, as indeed *charity* is the *fulfilling the whole law*, of all the moral law, together with the superstructions of Christ. Agreeable to which is that of Marcus Eremita^z, περὶ πνευμ. νόμου, Πᾶσα χάρις διδεται ἐν βαπτισμῷ, πληροφορεῖται δὲ λοιπὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν, "Every grace is given in baptism, but it is perfected (as πληροφορεῖσθαι and πληροῦσθαι is all one) by performing of the commandments."

12. [c] cut off] Ἀποκόπτεσθαι here, and in the canons of the ancient councils ἐκκόπτεσθαι, καθαιρεῖσθαι, ἀφορίζεσθαι, are all expressions of excommunication of the highest degree, answerable to the *shamatha* among the Jews, (see note [d] on 1 Cor. xvi,) and consequently here the ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται, *I would they were cut off*, is an expression of a menace or threatening of excommunication, an apostolical denunciation, that they that do not mend this seditious schismatical humour shall be cut off: or if the ὄφελον be but a wish, it is then because he discerned so much of the obstinacy of the evil humour, that he thought this would not be likely to cure, but exasperate it, or because he saw his authority contemned among them. As for that other notion of ἀποκόπτεσθαι which St. Hierome and others seem to refer to, in relation to the matter of these men's disturbance, viz. that about circumcision, which they would impose upon all Christians, *Si putant sibi hoc prodesse, non solum circumcidantur, sed etiam abscindantur*, it is somewhat too light to be affixed to the words of the apostle.

20. [d] witchcraft] Among the practices of the Gnostics, φαρμακείαι, *sorceries*, are here justly reckoned, (see note [a] on ch. iii, and Rev. ix. 21, and ch. xxi. 8, and xxii. 15.) And the grounds of that are clear, not only by the founder of them, Simon, who was a magician, but also by Menander his successor, who was such also; see Euseb. l. 3. c. κς'. Εἰς ἄκρον τῆς γοητείας οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ διδασκάλου προελθὼν, μείζουσιν ἐπιδαψιλεύεται τερατολογίαις, "He was not inferior to his master in magic, but more vainly profuse in his portentous undertakings," and assuming to himself to be sent for the saving or delivering of men from the invisible *aïwes* or *angels*, ἄγγελοι κοσμοποιοί, as he calls them, taught that no man could escape out of their power but he that was brought up in the μαγικὴ ἐμπειρία, *magical skill*, and by the baptism by him delivered to them, of which they that were vouchsafed to partake he promised them eternal life here in this world, without any danger of death or old age. Of this Irenæus hath spoken at large, and Justin Martyr hath given this account of it. See 2 Tim. iii. 7, 8.

CHAP. VI.

1. [a] *spiritual*] What is meant by οἱ πνευματικοὶ, *the spiritual* here, may appear by what hath been said of the word πνεῦμα, *spirit*, note [d] on Luke ix, which signifies not only the Spirit of God, whereby men are reformed, and the deeds of the flesh (in the precedent chapter) mortified, but also the χαρίσματα, *the powers and gifts*, which were bestowed on men in the church, in order to ministerial functions or offices there. And that πνευματικοὶ, *spiritual*, are here thus to be understood in proportion to and by analogy with these, may be guessed by the severals which here follow: 1st, the πνεῦμα πραότητος, *spirit of meekness*, which these spiritual men are to use. This clearly belongs to the power of the keys, vested in the governors of the church, and is therefore set opposite to ῥάβδος, *the rod*, 1 Cor. iv. 21, where, as *coming with the rod* evidently signifies proceeding to discipline, to censures of excommunication, so *coming in the spirit of meekness*, (and ἐν πραότητι παιδεύων, *disciplining in meekness*, 2 Tim. ii. 24.) is admonishing those meekly that have offended, (and to whom that method of fraternal reprehension is first necessary,) as perhaps also admitting to repentance and absolution those that have reformed upon the infliction of the censures. And accordingly this *spirit of meekness* here is this milder part of the apostolical office, which is to precede the more severe, (and to prevent it if it be possible): 1st, admonitions and reprehension, which if they prevail, there is no need of proceeding any further; and, 2dly, an easy admission to penitence, (in case the censures have passed upon him,) without proceeding to any higher degree of censures, as in case of obstinacy might be seasonable. To this second the word καταρτίζειν may incline, which we render *restore*, but signifies properly to *put in joint* any member of a body which is dislocated, and so it fitly belongs to the restoring an excommunicate person to the society and peace of the church; but yet not only so, but signifies also to recover the offender to a sense and reformation, be it by admonition, reprehension, or any such milder means; see note [c] on 2 Cor. xiii. And the doing of this being proper to the governors of the church, it follows, that these be here meant by *the spiritual*.

11. [b] *how large a letter*] What πηλίκους γράμμασι signifies, Theophylact hath expressed his opinion. St. Paul, saith he, was accused to preach in other places for the observation of the Mosaical law, contrary to what this Epistle contains. This forced him to testify, what here he saith, under his own hand, that he did nowhere preach for the law, ch. v. 2, and ch. vi. 14. And therefore, whereas his other Epistles were oft written by an amanuensis, and only the salutation with his own hand, yet here, saith he, he was forced to write all himself, and that, as he will conjecture, though he was "not very well skilled in writing," μὴ εἰδὼς ἀριστα γράφειν, saith he: and this, as he thinks, is noted by πηλίκους γράμμασιν. πηλίκος is by Hesychius rendered οἷος, οἰοσις, ποταπὸς, not *how long*, or *how great*, but of *what manner*, *what sort*, noting the quality rather than quantity. And γράμματα are *letters*, meaning the letters of the alphabet, and not so properly an *epistle*. And accordingly, saith Theophylact, πηλίκους, οὐ μεγέθους ἐστὶ δηλωτικόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀμορφίας τῶν γραμμάτων, "it is not to denote the length or magnitude, but the deformity of the letters or characters," in which this

Epistle was written, St. Paul being necessitated to write it all with his own hand. But now, granting, as we have reason, this to be the right notion of the single words, yet there is no necessity either this should be thus applied to the illness of the character, or enlarged to the writing the whole Epistle with his own hand: that is not so much as intimated in any other place, or in any ancient record, and this one place cannot conclude it; for *πηλίκους* notes the sort or kind of the hand indefinitely, not defining what it was, save only that it was such as was known to be his. For so 2 Thess. iii. 17, the writing the salutation (some few words in the close) with his own hand, was, saith he, *σημείον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ*, *the token in every epistle*, that by which it was known to be his. And so if here it be supposed that the whole Epistle were written by an amanuensis, as far as to ch. vi. ver. 11, and then the pen taken into the apostle's *own hand*, and used by him to the end of the Epistle, he may well begin thus, *ἴδετε πηλίκους γράμμασιν ἔγραψα*, *you see and know with what kind of letters I have written*, you know the character, that it is my *own hand*, under which it is that I testify all that is before written in the Epistle, particularly that which is in answer to the calumny against me, as if I preached circumcision, &c., in other places, which I have assured you, and demonstrated by my persecutions from the Jews, that I do not; and to this purpose I here add again, *under my own hand*, a character of your Gnostic seducers, vv. 12, 13, and the profession of my own opinion and practice, vv. 16, 18, and again, an evidence of my doctrine and practice from my sufferings, ver. 17. And thus the whole difficulty is sufficiently explicated without imagining any more. Or if the *ἔγραψα*, *I have written*, be thought to conclude that he had written that which went before, and so the whole Epistle, I answer that it is possible he might, but not necessarily to be concluded by that form of that word; because if we still restrain it to these last verses, this will have perfect truth in it. For when he saith, *ἴδετε*, *ye see*, he must needs refer to that point of time wherein his Epistle should be received and read by the Galatians, and then it is certain that *ἔγραψα*, *I have written*, will be as true of the last verses as of the former part of the Epistle. And so that difficulty is removed also.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

[a] That Ephesus was the prime metropolis of the Lydian or proconsular Asia, hath been elsewhere shewed, (see note [a] on Col. iv.) And therefore this Epistle, inscribed to the Ephesians, must not yet be so confined to them, but that it belong also to the other cities of this province, even to all Asia. Here St. Paul was, *and disputed with the Jews*, Acts xviii. 19, (which seems to be about an. Ch. 51,) at which time he stayed not so long among them as to convert many, but left Aquila and Priscilla there, ver. 19. And to them Apollos came, ver. 24. And

by these the Christian faith seems to be planted there, Acts xviii. 25, 26. And accordingly at Paul's return thither, Acts xix, it is said that he *found disciples* there, ver. 2, but those only *baptized with the baptism of John*, which seems to conclude them to be of Apollos' converting, who, when he first preached, *knew only the baptism of John*, ch. xviii. 25. Soon after Paul returned thither again, according to his promise, Acts xix. 1. There he is opposed by the Jews, and, by their instigation, by the Gentiles also, yet continues preaching the gospel among them near *three years*, Acts xx. 31, so that *all Asia*, both Jews and Gentiles, had it preached to them, and that with a *mighty success*, ch. xix. 20 and 26. At his departure from thence, going to Macedonia, Acts xx. 1, he gave Timothy commission to be bishop there, 1 Tim. i. 3, there being already some heretics, *ἐρεοδιδασκαλοῦντες*, *teaching other*, that is, false *doctrines*, infusing the leaven of the Gnostics among them, against whose poison Timothy was to watch, and so also the elders, or bishops of the other cities in Asia, ordained by the apostle at his planting the gospel there, and all together, at a meeting at Miletus, are solemnly warned to *watch over their flocks*, and defend them against the grievous wolves, and Gnostic heretics, which he foresaw would speedily break in among them. And accordingly here in this Epistle (as afterwards in Christ's Epistle to them, Rev. ii.) the doctrines, but especially the practices of these men are inveighed against, which, if permitted, would soon bring them all back to heathenism again. In which respect it is, that he labours so magnificently to set out the mercies of God in receiving the Gentiles to the faith, and their huge advantages thereby, which therefore they are not to betray or lose for all the flattering shows of either the Jewish ceremonies or the Gentile philosophy, of which two the Gnostics' divinity was compounded, and their lives filled with all villainy. This Epistle was written and sent to them from Rome, after his carrying thither, about the year 58, some six years after his *first* preaching at Ephesus. And it was sent them by Tychicus, to which he seems to refer 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.*

CHAP. I.

4. [*a*] *chosen us in him*] What is the notion of ἐξελέξατο, *choosing*, in this and all other places, will be found set down at large, note [*c*] on 1 Pet. ii. All that must here fitly be inquired is, what is meant by ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο, *God's choosing in Christ*. And that will best be discerned by comparing it with the phrase εὐλογήσας ἐν Χριστῷ, *blessing us in Christ*, ver. 3. For that the *blessing* and the *electing* belong to the same matter, appears by the καθὼς, *according as*, a term of proportion or similitude in the front of this verse, which makes the connexion betwixt them thus, that God hath *blessed* us in Christ, *according as he hath chosen us* in Christ, that is, that his actual, present blessing them, at that point of time, was correspondent to what God had *decreed before the foundation of the world*. Now what the *blessing* there spoken of is, appears in general by the addition of πνευματικῇ, and ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, *a spiritual blessing*, or *blessing in things which belong unto heaven*; and again by the predestination (in order of nature precedent to it) which is specified to be εἰς υἰοθεσίαν, *to adoption*; and lastly, by what is here added, εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους, *for us to be, or that we should*

be holy, and unblemished before him in love : all which specify the matter of the *election* here spoken of to be the same as of his *blessing* of us, viz. our holy blameless conversation, such as becomes sons of God, a spiritual, Christian obedience in all manner of piety and charity, such as Christ came to plant in the world, and in which respect he is said to *bless us in turning every one from his iniquities*, Acts iii. 26 ; and so it is here distinctly added, ch. ii. 10, that *good works* are the things to which *God hath before prepared* (that is, elected) *us, that we should walk in them*. This then being the general matter of the *election* here spoken of, (not salvation or bliss in another world, but) holiness or piety here is yet further determined or limited, by the *ἐν αὐτῷ*, or *ἐν Χριστῷ*, *in him*, or *in Christ*, specifying Christ to be the means of bringing all, particularly the Gentiles, to this holy life, from all eternity predetermined by God to do so ; as in that place of the Acts, *God sent him thus to bless us*. And this Christ hath done by revealing God's will, both in the precepts which contain this holy and blameless life in them, and by his promises, which so strongly and powerfully invite and oblige, and by his terrors or threats, which engage us to the performance of his precepts ; and so again by the miracles, &c., which signify him to be sent by God, but especially by his death and resurrection ; the first to testify the truth of what he preached, and withal to expiate for our sins, and strike and seal in his blood a covenant of mercy with all, Gentiles as well as Jews, of pardon of foregoing sins, upon condition of reformation and amendment, and of giving strength and grace to perform what God now under this covenant requires of us, (without which, as we should have had no encouragement to amend, so we had been utterly unable to have performed that work of reformation :) and the second, to confirm from heaven that he died an innocent person, in the testimony of that truth thus owned by his father ; and by instating him in that power and dominion at God's right hand, to instate on him also the power of actual giving that grace to Gentiles as well as Jews, which by his death he purchased for all. This then is the plain meaning of *God's electing in Christ*, &c. God's free, undeserved mercy in decreeing to bestow Christ upon all, as the means (of all other most effectual) to engage and bring men to holiness and purity of life, that is, by what Christ hath done and suffered for Gentiles as well as Jews, to call and bring home sinners of all sorts to repentance. And this further appears, vv. 9, 10, where the *mystery of his will according to his own good pleasure* (which is all one with his *election* here) is specified to be the *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, the *gathering all things*, that is, Jews and Gentiles, *together in Christ*, that is, making Christ the means of calling and bringing in the most idolatrous Gentiles, as well as Jews, to receive the faith, and obey the commands of God in Christ. And this is the subject of a great part (see ch. ii.) of this ensuing Epistle. All which, as it makes the vocation of the Gentiles as well as Jews to be the matter wherein God's election here is terminated, (and is very far from denoting any irrespective decree, of bestowing eternal salvation on some few, which includes the absolute rejection or dereliction of all others,) so it no way infers their faith or repentance to be irresistibly wrought in them by this decree of election, or by the means determined therein, but only that God hath in Christ pitched on most wise, most powerful, most efficacious means of calling, and melting even the

Gentiles, the worst of men, which he likewise foresaw would be effectual on many by the power of his grace, though many others through their own obstinacy would contemn, and not make use of it.

10. [b] *gather together in one*] *Κεφάλαιον* in arithmetic signifies a *sum*, *συναρίθμησις*, the putting many members together into one; hence *ἀνακεφαλαιῶν*, to put many severals together; and when it is used of speech, then it is to speak briefly and summarily, Eccles. xxxii. 8; and so saith Chrysostom, *ἐν τύπῳ τὰ ἐπὶ μακρὸν λεγόμενα*, &c., "to contract a long discourse into few words." It is used in military affairs for the contracting or putting together scattered soldiers into one troop. In rhetoric it is the repeating and gathering the head of the former discourse or oration. In all it is the bringing into one those that were several, and so it is here the uniting and joining together of those that were disparate and severed before; the same that in the parallel place, Col. i. 20, is *ἀποκαταλλάξαι* and *εἰρηνοποιῆσαι*, bringing all to an agreement or pacification.

11. [c] *obtained an inheritance*] *κληροῦσθαι* (if *ἐκληρώθημεν* be the right reading) signifies, to be taken as a *κληρος*, lot or patrimony, in the passive voice and sense. Now the *κληροί* among the Hebrews were those portions of land that fell by lot to any in the division of a land or estate, as in the first division of Canaan Judah had his lot, or portion, or division, Reuben his, and God was Levi's lot, or inheritance, or possession, as we call it. So in like manner, when in the division of the world into Jews and Gentiles God chose the Jews, they were said to be his *κληρος* or portion, Deut. iv. 20, and so believers or Christians are now styled, 1 Pet. v. 3; and in a more peculiar manner they that preached the gospel, the apostles, who seem to be here noted by the *καὶ*, (raising it somewhat higher than those had had the knowledge of his will, ver. 9,) and surely are the *ἡμεῖς*, we, ver. 12, and *προηλπικότες*, the first that hoped or believed in Christ, and who, as such, were before others preferred to that dignity. And so accordingly have all that have served God in the ministry been called God's *κληρος* or clergy, by whom therefore they are here said *κληροῦσθαι*, to become God's peculiar possession or portion. But the king's MS. hath not this word, but only *ἐκληρώθημεν*, we were called.

14. [d] *earnest*] The Greek *ἄραβων* is a Syriac word, *ערבון*, from *ערב*, *contraxit*, *mercatus est*, *fidejussit*, "to make any bargain," as it signifies Gen. xxxviii. 17, a pledge, or first part of a payment, which is an assurance or security that the rest of the whole price shall not fail to follow. This is it which in English is peculiarly called the earnest, that which confirms and assures the bargain. And so the spirit and gifts thereof after the ascension of Christ, poured out not only upon Jews but Gentiles, is the pledge or earnest paid by God, the first part of the price which he hath agreed to give for the bringing in and redeeming the Gentiles out of the hands of Satan and sin, to be the servants of the living God: those many other graces and rich treasures consequent to that gift, pardon of sin, increase of grace, and at last salvation itself, being the residue of the price, and here called *κληρονομία ἡμῶν*, our portion, or that which we receive in the bargain, in this great purchase of God's, his work of redeeming of soules.

[e] *redemption*] What *περιποίησις* signifies, will be seen note [d] on

Heb. x, and [e] on 1 Pet. ii. Here it must be taken, not for the *action of acquiring or possessing*, but *the persons that are so acquired*, all one with λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, *a people for a possession*, or, which is all one, λαὸς περιούσιος, *a peculiar people*, Tit. ii. 14, that is, a church of pure Christian livers, which are here said to be *to the praise of his glory*, as in the place of St. Peter, *that they may shew forth the power or virtues of him that hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light*. As for ἀπολύτρωσις, *ransoming or redeeming*, that is used sometimes for temporal deliverance, ἀπολύτρωσις σώματος, *redeeming or rescuing the body* out of persecutions and calamities, (see note [f] Rom. viii,) but here for spiritual deliverance from the power of reigning sin, as Tit. ii. 14. λυτρώσθαι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας, *redeeming from all iniquity*, rescuing from all wicked life. And so ἀπολύτρωσις περιποιήσεως is no more than that which is mentioned of Christ, Luke i, delivering men from their spiritual enemies, ransoming them from those servile habits of sin wherein they lived, *that they may serve him in holiness*, &c. Hereby may also appear what is meant by the ἡμέρα ἀπολυτρώσεως, *day of redemption*, ch. iv. 30, that redemption which had here been mentioned, the redeeming them out of their course of sin to the service of God, (every one that is redeemed being his goods, possession, servant that bought him,) and so the *sealing them by the Spirit to the day of redemption* there, is perfectly agreeable to the *sealing them here, by the same Spirit*, ver. 13, to this redemption of God's peculiar people, God's sending his Spirit and the gifts thereof among the Gentiles (which was done at the first preaching the gospel to them) being the marking them out as God's purchase, such as are to be servants of his, and being so, shall be accomplished and crowned by him.

15. [f] *after I heard*] The word ἀκούω, *to hear*, is answerable to the Hebrew שָׁמַע, and that signifies *to know*, as well as *to hear*, and is sometimes rendered εἰδέναι and γινώσκειν, *to know*: and so it seems to be used in this Epistle, ch. iii. 2. Εἴγε ἤκουσατε, *If indeed ye have known*, not *heard*; for his apostolic commission to the Gentiles, which is the thing there spoken of, was that which they to whom he had *preached* must needs know immediately, and not by hearsay only. And so here their faith was a thing known by him also, and not only *heard*, though it is also true, that their growth in the faith since he was there, and the evidences of their charity, might be brought to him by the advertisement of others. Thus ch. iv. 21. *If ye have heard him* is, *if ye have known*.

CHAP. II.

14. [a] *middle wall of partition*] We have oft spoken of the Gentile proselytes, the second sort of which, those of *the gates*, which were not circumcised, were by the Jews so far accounted unclean according to the law, that they were not permitted to come into that court of the temple called *holy*, where the Jews were. So it is charged upon them as a fault, Ezek. xlv. 7, that they had *brought into God's sanctuary strangers*, &c., and Acts xxi. 28, on Paul, that *he brought Greeks into the temple*. The proselytes of righteousness indeed, those that had undertaken the whole law, which were circumcised, &c., they were admitted with the Jews into the inner court; but these other only into

the outer court, called *the court of the Gentiles*, and *the unclean*, in which respect it is that the temple is called *the house of prayer to or for all nations*, Mark xi. 17, because in that court the Gentiles were admitted to pray. In the second temple these courts were divided one from the other by a little sept of stone, three cubits high, called, saith Josephus, by the Hebrews γείσος, and by the Greeks θριγκός, by the author of the book of Maccabees, (1 Macc. ix. 54.) τὸ τεῖχος τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἰσωπέας, *the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary*, which Alcimus there commanded to be taken down. On this wall was written in many places μὴ δεῖν ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς εἶναι, "that no alien might go within." The first mention of this law in Josephus is Ant. l. 12. c. 3, where he sets it down as a sanction of Antiochus, Μηδενὶ ἐξὸν εἶναι ἀλλοφύλῳ εἰς τὸν περιβόλον εἰσεῖναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ, "that no alien might enter into that court of the sanctuary, which was enclosed with the sept," (so περιβόλος signifies *a court enclosed*.) So again, l. 15. c. ult. in the description of the temple built by Herod, there is mention of ἔρκιον, *a sept*, which encompassed the περιβόλος or *court*, whereon there was a prohibition, εἰσεῖναι ἀλλοεθνῇ, "that any of another nation should enter." This is called by him δρύφακτος λίθινος, and ἔρκιον λιθίνου δρυφάκτου, "a partition of stone," or "a sept of a stone partition," the word δρύφακτος, from δρῦς, (an oak primarily, then any kind of tree,) being ὁ ἐκ δρυῶν φραγμός, "a partition" (the word that is here used) "made of timber," and vulgarly used for any kind of partition, though here of stone, (as a leaden ink-horn, or a silver box among us.) This doth Gorionides affirm to have been a silver wall, betwixt the sanctuary and the porch, with a golden door in it, (but this I suppose, not that the mass of the wall was silver, or of the door gold, but that they were silvered and gilt over,) on the upper post of which, saith he, there was a golden sword of twelve pounds of gold, on which were written these words, יָמוֹת דָּוָד וְיָמֵי מֶלֶךְ, *A stranger that comes near shall die*. That this is it which is here called most expressly τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, *the middle wall of partition*, there is no question; and this Christ is said to *take down*, by making the Jews and Gentiles for the future, without any discrimination, one sheepfold under one Christ. To this sept and prohibition of entering, as it stood among the Jews, that of Ecclesiasticus xix. 29 seemeth to refer, where the man of the house is said to turn the stranger out of doors, as out of the sanctuary or inner court, ἔξελθε, πάροις, ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς δόξης, *Go out, stranger, from the presence of glory*; that is, as strangers were commanded to go out of the temple, where was the *schechina* or *appearing of God*, which is ordinarily called δόξα, *glory*.

19. [b] *saints*] That ἅγιοι, *saints*, here signify the Jews, will appear by the opposition to ξῖνοι, *strangers*, before; for in respect of the Jews it was that they were called *strangers*, they being the only people of God before, and now the Gentiles, that were but ἑθνη, *strangers*, (vulgarly known by that name,) being received in to be συμπολίται, *fellow-citizens*; with whom? why, with the same to whom they were strangers, that is, the Jews. Thus doth Procopius interpret it in Isa. p. 683, who accordingly calls the Jews τὸ ἐκ πατέρων ἁγίων ἔθνος, "the nation made up of the holy fathers:" which saying of his gives the reason of this phrase, why the Jews are called ἅγιοι, *holy*, viz. in re-

spect to the patriarchs, Abraham, &c., who were truly *ἄγιοι*, *saints*, to whom the promises were made, to the participation of which the Gentiles are now called.

CHAP. III.

8. [a] *grace*] The word *χάρις* here, and *χάρισμα* in other places, 1 Tim. iv. 14, signifies some special *favour* of God's in order to some charge or office, that especially of the ministry. So when Levi is called *God's holy one*, Deut. xxxiii. 8, the word there used in the Hebrew is *חסידך*, not *thy ἄγιοι* so properly, (that would be *קדוך*), as *thy κεχαριτωμένοι*, *חסד* signifying *χάρις*, *favour* here; and so the person to whom the *חסד* belongs, is he that is favoured by God in a special manner, preferred to such a dignity (an office) before others, without consideration of any dignity in the person, only upon the free mercy and good pleasure of God.

19. [b] *know*] The meaning of this verse will not easily be pitched on, because it is not certain whether the reading be *ὑπερβάλλουσιν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, or, as the king's MS. reads, *ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀγάπην τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. If the first be the right reading, it must then be rendered *the love of Christ which exceedeth knowledge*; where the comparison being laid betwixt *the love of Christ* and *knowledge*, and *the love of Christ* being by ver. 18 determined to signify *Christ's love of us*, the *knowledge* must probably signify those things which the Gnostics pretend to know, and boast so much in that knowledge; and so to *know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge*, is to study and contemplate that one subject, Christ's infinite love to us, which is infinitely more worth our studying than what they boast of: and so this is no improbable sense of the place, that the apostle having prayed that they may *comprehend the immense love of Christ toward them*, ver. 18, should add also, that they may *know that love of Christ's, which excelleth knowledge*, that is, (as the Gnostics are very proud of their deep and secret knowledge, and place great perfection therein, so they on the other side should,) look upon the huge love of Christ toward them, such as being considered will by way of gratitude incline them to suffer any thing for his sake, in opposition to being *discouraged at tribulations*, ver. 13, and to possess their hearts of that, as that which is far more worth their thinking of and studying, than the highest knowledge or skill of mystical interpretations, which the Gnostics so pretended to. As for the notion of *γνώσεως* for *knowledge*, simply taken, so as to *exceed knowledge* should signify *unsearchable, unintelligible*, that cannot probably be the meaning of it, when at the same time he prays they may know it, and besides, the genitive case *γνώσεως* being the note of comparison, seems rather to refer to the former notion, to compare *love* and *knowledge* together, and prefer the former. But if the other be the right reading, then the rendering will be plain, *the exceeding love of the knowledge of Christ*: and though that be capable of several interpretations, whether, first, the love of God in revealing, and of Christ in vouchsafing to be known to us, or, secondly, our love of Christian knowledge, yet the former will be more commodious, because more agreeable to ver. 18, where it is *God's love* toward us that they are to *comprehend*; and this is one special branch of that, his revealing his

Son unto us ; to which also it is consequent, that we should (which is the point in hand, ver. 13.) adhere constantly to him, endure persecutions, and not suffer our love to be cooled by them. And to this interpretation the words which follow will well connect, *ἵνα πληρωθῆτε*, &c., *that ye may be filled to all the fulness of God*, (see note [c],) as an effect in us of this knowledge, or consideration of God's infinite love toward us.

19. [c] *filled with all the fulness of God*] Πληρώω, *to fulfil*, signifies to *fill up* vacuities, *to perfect*, *to complete*; see note [h] on Matt. v.; so here, having recommended to them the *βάλλουσαν ἀγάπην*, *exceeding love* or *charity* of God toward them, viz. rich love, and promises of God in Christ, he adds that they may be fulfilled, that is, (as an effect of their consideration of God's love towards them,) filled up and perfected to the highest pitch that God now in Christ requires of us, and that is properly called *πᾶν πλήρωμα Θεοῦ*, *all the fulness of God*, that is, all that perfection of charity to which God in Christ hath designed to elevate the Christian, and wherein in a manner all Christianity doth consist, and to which we are engaged by his love to us.

21. [d] *in the church*] The variety of reading, either with or without *καὶ*, *and*, makes it doubtful how this verse should be rendered. If it be without *καὶ*, *and*, then it must first be observed, that the preposition *ἐν*, signifying sometimes *in*, as in a place, (and so it may possibly be here, *in the assembly of Christians for ever*,) signifies also *through* and *by*; and so it may most probably signify here, and be all one with *διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, *by the church*, ver. 10; that as there *the various wisdom of God* was demonstrated *by the church*, that is, by God's dealing in it, so here that *various wisdom* and *mercy* of his should be acknowledged with thanksgiving. And then, though it is possible *ἐν Χριστῷ* may adhere to *ἐκκλησία*, and so be rendered *the church in Christ Jesus*, that is, the Christian church, yet because probably, if that were it, it would be expressed by repeating the article *τῇ* after *ἐκκλησία*, as it is 1 Cor. i. 2, therefore it will be more reasonable to render *ἐν Χριστῷ*, *through Christ*, as the mediator *through* whom as we *pray*, Rom. i. 8, so we *give thanks* and *praise* to God also. And so the meaning will be, *All honour and glory be unto God through Jesus Christ*, (by whom these mercies are conveyed to us,) *for*, *or by*, *or through the church*, that is, through those gracious and wise disposals of his, that are now wrought by receiving the Gentiles into the church, a thing which is likely to have main influence upon all posterities of the world for ever. But if the *καὶ* be taken in, (as in that ancient MS. it is,) then, as that must necessarily connect *ἐκκλησία* and *Χριστῷ*, *church* and *Christ*, whether it be rendered *and* or *even*, so the *ἐν* cannot signify *in*, as in a place, because that cannot be applied to *ἐν Χριστῷ*, *in Christ*, but must necessarily be rendered *by* or *through*, and *the church* and *Christ* must be the two means (though perhaps those two knit into one, by rendering *καὶ*, *even*) whereby this *glory* is to come in to God, and so is ascribed to him thus, *All glory be to God the Father*, the wise Disposer of all, *through* that which is now done in the church, *and*, or *even*, *through* what hath been done *by Christ*, in reconciling the Gentiles, and bringing them into the same fold with the Jews, making up one church of both.

CHAP. IV.

8. [a] *gave gifts*] It hath been the manner of many nations, in their triumphs after victories, to go up to the city in pomp and splendour, to bring in captives bound, all people coming forth to the spectacle, and then to give solemn gifts or largesses to their friends and countrymen, or kindred, as part of the solemnity: so M. Aurelius gave eight pound apiece to the poor people in the time of triumph. And this is here accommodated to Christ in his victory and triumph over hell, accomplished by his death and resurrection. For to increase the solemnity of that, he went up to the heavenly Jerusalem, his own city, from which he came forth, carried the devil, and sin, and death captives, shewed them openly, shackled and unarmed, the devil gagged and silenced in his oracles, death's sting pulled out, and sin left unable to hurt any that had truly repented of it; and, for a complement of all, he sent his largesses to his disciples and clients, the gifts of the Holy Ghost. That which is here *ἔδωκε*, *gave*, is in the Greek of the psalm, lxxviii. 19, *ἔλαβες*, *received*, probably from the nature of the Hebrew *קבל*, which, as it signifies *to give*, so it is *to receive* also, as in English, *to take* sometimes signifies *to give*, and in Greek *λῆμμα* and *δῶρον* are all one.

11. [b] *evangelists*] The rest of these offices of the church have been explained in notes [a] [b] and [c] on 1 Cor. xii; and this of *evangelist* by the way, note [f] on Matt. ix, and [a] on John xx; to which somewhat may here be added, for the giving the full notion of it. As, first, that the word *εὐαγγέλιον*, *good news* or *message*, being common to that which is written, and which is delivered by word of mouth, two notions there are of *evangelist*, one for the writer, another for the preacher of the gospel. In the first notion we have *the four evangelists*, of which two were apostles of the twelve, Matthew and John, and yet those as ordinarily called *evangelists* as the other two. But this is not the notion which belongs to this place, (where *evangelist* is a distinct office from *apostle*,) but the second, which denotes an office then known in the church, when any that was taken notice of for some eminent degree of proficiency in the gospel, and special abilities of utterance and diligence, &c., was upon recommendation of the church (as it is said of Timotheus, Acts xvi. 2,) chosen by any of the apostles to assist them in their work, and sent out with power of preaching the gospel, (and of doing miracles, and with gifts of healing, to that purpose,) and of baptizing those that should receive the gospel, and with other powers also of ordaining bishops, when the apostle thought fit to allow it him. For as the office of evangelist, being to preach to unbelievers, requires not the donation of all the episcopal power, viz. of ruling, nor the power of ordination necessarily, because when the evangelist hath planted the faith, the apostle himself may come and confirm and ordain bishops, as we see in Samaria, Acts viii. 17, (and therefore the author of the Commentaries on the Epistles under St. Ambrose's name, saith on this place, *Quamvis non sint sacerdotes, evangelizare tamen possunt sine cathedra, quemadmodum Stephanus et Philippus*, "Though they be not priests, (that is, bishops,) yet they may evangelize without a chair.") so the donation of that superior power doth not yet make them cease to be evangelists. And accordingly as Philip,

which was but a deacon, (and therefore only *preached* and *baptized* the Samaritans, Acts viii. 12, Peter and John the apostles being sent to *lay hands on them*, ver. 17.) was yet an evangelist, and is so styled Acts xxi. 8; so others that were evangelists had also power given them by the apostles that sent them out to constitute churches, and so to ordain rulers over them; as of Mark it is said, that being sent into Egypt by St. Peter, he constituted Anianus bishop of Alexandria; and so when Timothy was constituted bishop of Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3, he is yet commanded by St. Paul to *do the work of an evangelist*, 2 Tim. iv. 5, that is, as he was bishop of those that believed under that metropolis, and of those also that should come in to the faith in all Asia, so he had also authority to make known the gospel to them that knew it not, to call them to the faith, which is the peculiar notion of *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* and *κηρύσσειν*, to *evangelize* and to *preach*, and *μαθητεύειν*, Matt. xxviii. 29, to *gather disciples*, as those words are opposed to *teaching*, Acts xv. 35, and ch. v. 44; and as *ὁ λόγος*, the *word*, differs from *doctrine*, 1 Tim. v. 17. Now as he that from a deacon is made a bishop hath all the powers that belonged to a deacon still continued to him, and the addition of so much more, so he that is an evangelist, if he be further invested with power of ordination, may still remain an evangelist, the power of constituting bishops over them that believe and are baptized being reconcilable with the power of preaching to them that believed not. Only the word *evangelist* denoting no more than that of being sent by an apostle to preach, is indifferently used, whether he have the power of deacon only, as Philip, or more, as of Timothy and Mark hath been affirmed, and so is here set after the *apostles* and *prophets*, and distinguished from *pastors* and *doctors*, that come after, by which the ruling elder or bishop is understood.

14. [c] *sleight*] The word *κυβεία* from *κύβος*, a *dye*, might possibly signify *inconstancy* and *mutability*, because nothing is more variable than that. And so in Antoninus, l. 1. *ἀναμφιβόλως ἀκύβεντος* is set to signify *the firmest constancy of mind*. In this sense it might well enough agree with the *περιφερόμενοι* here, *being carried about with the wind*, &c.; and so Xylander upon that place hath taken confidence to interpret it, that St. Paul advises us to avoid *κυβείας ἀνθρώπων*, that is, saith he, *ne omni vento doctrinæ circumagi nos et in errores abripi patiamur*, "that we do not permit ourselves to be driven about, and snatched into errors by every wind of doctrine." But the gloss of Phavorinus is more to be heeded, who renders it *πανουργία*, *craft, subtilty, dexterity to deceive*; and agreeably the very word *πανουργία* is here set with it, in the sense wherein we proverbially say of a cunning cheat, that he *sets the dice* upon us. And so Eusebius out of Irenæus, speaking of Marcus, saith he was *μαγκῆς κυβείας ἐμπεύροτατος*, by *κυβεία* signifying *deceitful artifice*, such as conjurers use, Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 11. See Theophylact, who, comparing the false teachers to *κυβενται*, *dicers*, saith of them, that they do *μετατιθέναι ἀφελεστέρους, ὥσπερ πεττούς, ὡς βούλονται*, "remove the simple as they please, as at dice they can cast what throw they have a mind to;" and this, saith he, is the *κυβεία* here spoken of, and the *μεθοδεία πλάνης, ὅπερ ἡ πλάνος αὐτῶν μεθοδεία βούλεται*, "whatsoever their deceitful artifices have a mind to."

[d] *lie in wait to deceive*] What *μεθοδεία* signifies in this place may thus be collected. Hesychius seems to render it *τέχνη*, *arts*, for so I

suppose the words in his Glossary must be mended, instead of *μεθοδίας τέχνας*, reading *μεθοδείας, τέχνας* for as to *μεθοδίας*, that follows after, and is rendered *τεχνίτας*. Thus *μεθοδεύειν* in Suidas is *τεχνάζεσθαι, ἀπατῶν, to use any artifice, and to deceive*. The word, saith y St. Chrysostom, is used *ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν παλαίσμασι*, "in speeches, in works, in wrestlings." In speech it is set down by the rhetoricians for one of the *ιδέαι λόγου*: see Hermogenes *περὶ Ἰδέ. Τόμ. α'. p. 217*; and because these are all designed to the working on, and persuading the auditors, therefore *μεθοδεύειν τὸν λόγον* is thus "to contrive the speech, that it may probably be most persuasive:" see Chrysost. tom. 4. p. 416. l. 16. *ἐτέρως δὲ αὐτὸ μεθώδευσεν προσηνέστερον*, "he otherwise dressed up the same thing, and proposed it more softly, or calmly, and cunningly." So tom. 3. p. 495. l. 20, and p. 880. l. 1. *οὐδέποτε φανερὰ προστίθησι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλ' ἐτέρως αὐτὸ κατασκευάζει μεθοδεύων, τουτίστι, πιθανὸν κατασκευάζων τὸν λόγον, ἐπικαλύμμασι κεχηρημένος*, "he proposes not sins plainly, calling it idolatry, &c., but after another manner contrives and forms his speech, so as it may best persuade, by concealing what is likely to avert." So in Marcus Eremita, in his *Νουθεσ. Ψυχωφ. p. 941. D. μεθόδον τινα ἐπεζητεῖς, καὶ λόγους παραινέσεως*, "you desire some method and exhortatory discourses," that is, some colours of persuasion. And the like arts of dissimulation and disguise as these, in all sorts of actions, and particularly in combats, are in like manner expressed by this word *μεθοδεΐαι*. So *μεθοδεΐαι τοῦ διαβόλου*, Eph. vi. 11, *the crafts and ambushes, ἐπιβουλαί, ἐνδραὶ, δόλοι, the treacheries, deceipts, and cunning contrivances of the devil*. Accordingly, *ἀμεθόδεντος* is "one that is not apt to be deceived by any subtilties, contrivances, concealments," as in Hermes Trism. l. 13. p. 32. *ἀμεθόδεντος κριτῆς*, "a most wise judge," that cannot be imposed upon by any artifices of the advocates or pleaders. And thus in this place, the craftiness of men is designed *εἰς μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης*, to the managing and contriving of their false doctrine, so as they may be most likely to persuade and gain upon seducible auditors.

16. [*e*] *from whom the whole body*—] This verse hath much of difficulty in it, and the first part of that is, whether, Christ being called in the former verse *the head of the church*, the influences that here are said to come from him, and are set down by analogy with the natural body, are those that come from the head, and not rather from the heart. To this the solution may be easy, first, that it is very probable that in a man's body the growth is from the head. For the animal spirits are by the nerves conveyed to the nourishing and increasing the several parts through the whole body; and those nerves descend from the brain by the *spina dorsi*, and are from the vertebræ there branched out over the whole body, from whence it comes to pass in crooked persons, where the vertebræ are displaced, that the growth is thereby hindered. And then the analogy will hold exactly to the church, *the body of Christ*, that it receives its supply for increase, or growth, from Christ the head. Secondly, that if this be not so, but that the heart should be found to be the fountain both of life and growth, yet the analogy here will still hold, it being reasonable to affirm that Christ supplies the place of both these parts in the church,

is the head to rule and direct, and the heart also to supply it with all it wants, with graces for the beginning and increase of life. In the next place, therefore, it is not easy to give an account of that phrase, *συμβιβάζομενον διὰ πάσης ἀφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας*. *Συμβιβάζειν* is sufficiently expounded by Hesychius, *εἰς φιλίαν ἀγειν*, to bring to friendship; and so *συμβιβάζομενον*, applied to the body, signifies a close conjunction, somewhat above that agreement of parts or fitting together noted by *συναρμολογούμενον* precedent: that signifying *the fitting one part to another by jointing or putting together*, but the latter, *the fastening* them when they are so jointed, either as by cementing, or by pinning, or by clapping plates of iron upon them, which will keep them from falling (or being plucked) asunder: and this is done *διὰ τῶν ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων*, Col. ii. 19. First, *δι' ἀφῶν*, literally *by touches*, or contiguous, but not continuous parts, that is, by joints, so called from *ἄπτω*, *tango*, because, though the joints, like several pieces of timber fitted together, do touch one another, yet there is not that continuity, as in each part is discernible: and, 2dly, *διὰ συνδέσμων*, *by ligatures*, and *bands*, and here *διὰ πάσης ἀφῆς*, *by every touch*, that is, every joint, without mention of the *bands*. Where there being no matter of doubt but that the *σύνδεσμοι*, *bands*, denote the veins and arteries, those ligaments of the body by which the blood and spirits are conveyed to every part, it must follow, that the *ἀφαὶ* joined with it must signify *the joints* that are so cemented and kept together with these bands, and so by both of them there, and by one here, (comprehending also the other under it,) *the body* is *ἐπιχορηγούμενον* and *συμβιβάζομενον*, supplied by the one, and knit together by the other. And then it being evident that this place and that are parallel, it will follow, 1st, that *πᾶσα ἀφῆ* here, *every touch*, or *contiguity*, or *joint*, will be all one with *ἀφαὶ καὶ σύνδεσμοι*, *touches and ligaments* in the plural there; and, 2dly, that the genitive *τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας*, that follows here, must be the latter of two substantives, and denote the office or use of the *ἀφαὶ*, the *joints* and *veins* and *arteries*, viz. *ἐπιχορηγεῖν*, to supply or contribute to every part that which it wants, as in the place to the Colossians, *the body* is said *ἐπιχορηγεῖσθαι*, in the passive, to be thus supplied and provided for by them. The third difficulty is, what is the importance of *κατ' ἐνέργειαν*; and that will now be more easily solved. For the supply being made by the veins and arteries (that knit the joints) to all the parts of the body, those parts that receive the supply being after mentioned, and *ἐν μέτρῳ*, noting their proportion of want, *the degree* or *measure* of their capacity of receiving it, *ἐνέργεια* must needs belong to the agent in this supply, the joints, and veins, and arteries that thus contribute to the wants of each part; and so *κατ' ἐνέργειαν* will signify *by*, or *according to*, their operation, or operative virtue, or efficiency, or power, *ἐν μέτρῳ ἐνὸς ἑκάστου μίπου*, in the proportion of every member, that is, in proportion to what every member wants, not only for its present subsistence, to repair what is daily lost, but for growth also, till it attain to the full dimensions that belong to it. The last difficulty is, why when *τὸ σῶμα*, *the body*, is the subject of the proposition, and consequently *ποιεῖται αὔξησιν*, *causes increase*, is the predicate that connects with it; here is yet added *τοῦ σώματος*, of the body, thus, *the body causeth increase of the body*. But that is answered also by the use of the word *גָּדַל* in Hebrew, to which *τὸ σῶμα*, *body*, in Greek is answerable, which signifies, not only *body*, but

being, essence; and being joined with any thing else, signifies that to which it is joined, עֲצָמוֹ, *his body*, that is, himself; and so here it is taken, and so signifies no more but that *the body* by those means specified *causeth increase of itself*, that is, is daily nourished and increased, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ, *to the building up or improving itself in love*, which is, as it were, the reciting of the whole verse, and applying of it to the business in hand, the church, as it is the body of Christ; that as union and kindness, and the supply that is made by one part of the body to the other, is that that sustains and gives growth to the body, so is amity and joining together in common assemblies, and the rich men's and the maturer and stronger Christians' contributing their supplies to the temporal, but especially to the spiritual wants of the poorer and weaker, a means of increasing and building up the church of Christ, wheresoever it hath been planted. By what hath been here said thus largely, that other parallel place, Col. ii. 19, is sufficiently explained also.

19. [f] *past feeling*] Ἀπαλγεῖν is, saith Pausanias, παύσασθαι ἀλγεῖν, *to cease to feel cold*; as ἀλγεῖν is not πονεῖν, but πάσχειν, not actively to labour, but passively to suffer pain. So ἀπαλγούντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ ῥίγους, *they that through extreme cold are numbed*, and can neither feel nor do any thing.

[g] *uncleanpness*] Ἀκαθαρσία τῶν ἀρρένων, καὶ θηλέων ἀρρηστοπούαι, saith S. Basil ad Diodorum, the word is used for those "abominable sins not to be named, whether of men or women."

26. [h] *let not the sun go*—] What is here advised by the apostle is parallel to the directions of the ancient philosophers, known by the Ephesians to whom he wrote. Aristotle distinguisheth in this matter, Eth. i. 7. c. 6, between ἀκρόχολοι, those that are *highly enraged*, and πικροί, *bitter*, or *contumelious* in their anger, and χαλεποί, *hard to be reconciled*, whom elsewhere he calls δυσδιάλντοι, those that *hardly are dissolved*, hardly put off their displeasure, Eth. iv. 5. These three sorts are here referred to by the apostle. The first (ἀκρόχολοι) is intimated in the ὀργίζεσθε, *be angry*, whether by that be meant *sudden anger* and *hastiness*, or whether *distemper* and *rage*, conceived upon any the greatest provocation. This first degree is here supposed, and the exhortation founded in the presence of it, which yet concludeth not this, whether *suddenness of passion*, or *inordinacy of rage*, to be no sin; for certainly the contrary, to the *slowness to anger*, is elsewhere commanded, βραδὺς εἰς ὀργήν, James i. 19, and so of the charitable man it is said, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, μακροθυμεῖ, *he is slow to anger*. And psalm ii. 4, whence these words are recited from the Septuagint, it is certain those that are there spoken to did sin, in being displeased at God's setting up David; and their rebellion against him was but an higher degree of it, of which he forewarns them in the next words, *sin not*, that is, fall not into that horrible sin. The second sort, πικροί, is forbidden in the μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε, *sin not*, this being the first aggravation of the fault of anger indulged to, that it becomes bitter, which is expressed by παροξύνεται, 1 Cor. xiii. 5, an *exasperation* or *paroxysm* of this evil humour. And the third, χαλεποί or δυσδιάλντοι, is here expressed by the very same colour, that the ancient philosophers, the Pythagoreans, had thought fit to express it by. For of them, saith Plutarch, de Fat. Am., that when they fell into any λουδορία ἐπ' ὀργῆς, *contumely through anger*, πρὶν

ἢ τὸν ἥλιον δύναι—διελύοντο, *before the sun went down they shook hands and were dissolved*, (directly contrary to the δυσδιαλύτοι,) or *made friends* again. And so here, Ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδύετω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν, *Let not the sun go down upon your wrath*, where παροργισμός being that παροξυσμός, *exasperation of anger*, which breaks out into bitter words, and so all one directly with the λοιδορία ἐπ' ὀργῆς, *the contumelious behaviour produced by anger*, the apostle's command is, that he that hath been guilty of it must come to temper, and sue for reconciliation, (as the same Pythagoreans did, τὰς δεξιὰς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι, *shaking hands and embracing one another*,) *before the sun go down*, that is, either speedily, (as Christ advises, *agree with thine adversary quickly*,) or else before the time of solemn praying to God, which was constantly at evening; and so the exhortation here will bear proportion with that Matt. v. 23, 24: *If thou bringest thy gift unto the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee*, (as he that hath been reproached by thee in thy wrath hath,) *leave there thy gift, and first be reconciled to thy brother*, (that is, obtain his reconciliation to thee,) and *then*, and not till then, thou mayest offer thy gift.

28. [i] *working with his hands*] The reason of the conjoining of the prohibition of *stealth* and the precept of *labour* will be discerned by remembering the old verse in Phocylides,

Πᾶς γὰρ ἀργός ἀνὴρ ζῶει κλοπιμῶν ἀπὸ χειρῶν,

"There is no way for a sluggard to live, but by stealing," and acts of that kind. And so saith Chrysostom, Τὸ γὰρ κλέπτειν ἀργίας ἐστίν, "*stealing is an effect of idleness*."

30. [k] *sealed*] The special use of a seal, and that which in this and other places of the scripture is most commonly referred to, is that of a mark or character set upon wares or commodities that are bought by any; and because men were as ordinarily bought as any other commodity, nothing was more ordinary than to set a seal or mark upon them, either in their forehead or some other part, to distinguish them from all other men's servants. So saith Theophylact on Rom. viii. 10. Ὁ μὴ ἔχων σφραγίδα, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ἐκείνης δηλουμένου, "He that hath not the seal, is not the servant, or goods of the master, who is expressed to be so by that seal." Thus Rev. vii. 3, *the sealing* is there accommodated to *the servants of God*, who are there supposed to be bought, and are now further to be rescued out of the temporal ensuing danger, and, as a token of that, *sealed in the forehead*; as *servi*, "*servants*," in respect of the original of the word, a *servando*, is all one with σωζόμενοι, who, being spiritually rescued and saved already from the pollutions of the world, are now to be delivered from the approaching destruction, when, without that mark of discrimination, the good and ill might all be involved in the same calamity. See note [c] on Rev. vii. Thus when John vi. 27, it is said that *God the Father hath sealed Christ*, the meaning is clear, that by the miracles which he did, and especially by the Holy Ghost's descending upon him, with οὗτός ἐστι, *this is he*, he had owned him his servant, Isa. xlii. 1, (see note [i] on Matt. iii,) and demonstrated it as punctually as if he had marked him in the forehead that this was his anointed special servant, sent by commission from him, discriminated from all others, and that whatsoever he said was the will and pleasure of God. In reference to what was there said of *God's sealing Christ*, is that which

is here said to be understood also. For there the *Spirit's coming* down upon Christ was the *sealing* of him, the signifying that he was God's servant sent on his message to the world; and here in like manner the Ephesians are said to be *sealed by the Spirit to the day of redemption*, that is, by the preaching of the gospel, and settling of a church among them, which is an effect directly of the Holy Ghost's descending on the apostles, (as before upon Christ,) and an act of the office of the Holy Ghost, by which the Ephesians that were believers were demonstratively pointed out to be by God designed to his service, to a gracious Christian life; and nothing so contrary, so *grievous to this holy Spirit*, as their neglecting and contradicting these designs of God, living unchristianly, ver. 29. By this it will be easy to understand the like phrase, 2 Cor. i. 22, where also, as here, to God's *sealing* us is straight added his *giving his Spirit as a pledge*, &c. So Eph. i. 13, *ye were sealed by the holy Spirit of promise*, that is, by that holy Spirit promised by Christ, and in the gospel called *the promise of the Father*, Luke xxiv. 49, which, wheresoever it is given, (that is, where a church is settled and established,) is ἀρραβὼν κληρονομίας, a *pledge* or *first part of that inheritance* or *portion*, which shall hereafter be bestowed on those which by this appear to be received and acknowledged as servants and sons of God.

CHAP. V.

2. [a] *offering*] The difference of προσφορά, *offering*, and θυσία, *sacrifice*, is ordinarily observable: see Heb. x, where, instead of θυσία and προσφορά, *sacrifice* and *offering*, ver. 5, is ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, *burnt-offering and sacrifice for sin*, ver. 6, where, as θυσία, *sacrifice*, is certainly expressed by ὁλοκαύτωμα, the bodies of beasts wholly burnt upon the altar, (of which therefore no part came to the priest, Heb. xiii. 11,) so the προσφορά, *oblation*, is the מנחה or *meat-offering*, the *flour and oil*, Lev. ii. 2, of which *part was burnt with fire*, and the *remnant was Aaron's and his sons*, ver. 3. And as of the former of these, when it was offered by Noah, Gen. viii. 20, it is said that *the Lord smelled a sweet savour*, ver. 21, and that as a token that his wrath was pacified, as it follows, *the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more*, &c.; so Lev. ii. 2, the other is said to be *an offering made by fire, a sweet savour unto the Lord*. And accordingly here to the mention of *offering* and *sacrifice*, *meat-offering* and *burnt-offering*, is added, εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, *for a smell of sweet savour*, which notes this death of Christ, which is expressed by it, to be a means appointed by God for the averting his wrath from us, for the appeasing and reconciling him to us, as those sacrifices were wont to do, and an engagement to us to live such lives as may be acceptable to God, contrary to the noisome lusts, ver. 3.

4. [b] *foolish talking*] That μωρολογία signifies *foolish speaking*, and that εὐτραπελία signifies the same, only with this addition of designing it as jest, *to move laughter*, (and therefore εὐτράπελος is ordinarily interpreted γελοῖωδης, and γελωτοποις, *a ridiculous person*, or *one that causeth laughter*.) there is no question. But that the text may here reasonably be thought to confine them both to obscene and filthy discourse, may also appear, not only by the company that they are set with, *fornication, uncleanness, inordinate lust, filthiness*, but especially by the reason

that is rendered for the abandoning of all these, ver. 5. *For this you know, that every fornicator, or unclean person, or inordinate luster, which is an idolater, hath no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ or of God.* Where if these two be not of the same sort with the former, belonging all to uncleanness, that enumeration in the reason would not comprehend the severals in the exhortation, which it must be supposed to do. To this purpose therefore it is first observable of the word *μωρολογία*, *foolish speaking*, that it is the scripture elegance to express uncleanness by *folly*; so *folly in Israel is adultery*; and so in Euripides, *ἀφροδίσια*, matters of *venery*, are called *μωρά*, *foolish*, and in Aristophanes *ἀνήγτα*, which is the same; and so *μωρολογία*, *speaking folly*, may be speaking obscenely: 2dly, that *εὐτραπέλεια*, (which is joined with it by *ἢ*, or, and so is but an explication of it,) as it is by Hesychius rendered *κουφότης*, *levity*, and *μωρολογία*, *foolish speaking*, so it is also *αἰσχρολογία*, *filthy, unclean speaking*: 3dly, that after all these here is added *τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα*, which, being in the plural, belongs equally to all the foregoing words; and that signifying not barely that *which is not convenient, but indecent, foul, unbecoming*, doth by a kind of propriety belong to that of immodest, unclean behaviour: 4thly, by this way of rendering these words, all manner of uncleanness will be comprehended in this prohibition; that in the members, acted through all the sorts, will be comprehended in the three words, ver. 3. that of unseemly behaviour, gestures, &c., under the word *αἰσχροπότης*, *filthiness*, ver. 4, and that of the tongue in the other two words of *foolish speaking or jesting*: 5thly, it is ordinarily known how much of the wit and jesting of wicked profane persons consists in this one subject of obscene and scurrilous discourse, and so how reasonable it was, in the prohibiting all uncleanness, to name that of *obscene jesting*, which, I suppose, was meant by the *σαπρὸς λόγος*, *putrid, rotten communication*, ch. iv. 29.

[c] *giving of thanks*] What *εὐχαριστία* here signifies may be matter of some question. It signifies ordinarily *thanksgiving*; and that belonging especially to God, (from whom all mercies are received, and to whom all thanks are due,) may be meant here by the word, though no mention of God be added to it: and so the context may well bear, *Let there be no unclean scurrilous jests used among you, but rather, giving of thanks*, that is, *Let the Christian's way of mirth be far from that of obscene wit; the recounting the mercies of God in Christ, calling you from darkness to his marvellous light, will far better become a Christian; and to this purpose see ver. 20.* But yet it may be observed what notion there is of *χάρις* (of which this word is compounded) several times in the epistles, for *piety, Christian virtue* in general. Thus, ch. iv. 29, where the *corrupt communication* is forbidden, and instead of it the good commanded, for *profitable instruction or edification*, this is designed, *ἵνα ὁφ' χάρις τοῖς ἀκούουσιν*, *that it may give grace*, that is, afford spiritual advantage in increase of *piety in the hearers*. So Col. iv. 6. *Let your speech be always ἐν χάριτι*, *with grace*, that is, gracious, pious, seasoned with salt, contrary to the putrid, corrupt, mentioned to the Ephesians. So Col. iii. 16. *ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες*, *with grace singing*, that is, after the manner of pious gracious persons in a Christian manner: and so it is also Eph. v. 19, in the reading of the king's MS. And agreeably to this notion of *χάρις* we have *γυνὴ εὐχάριστος*, *a gracious pious woman*, Prov. xi. 16. And so perhaps *εὐχαριστία* may signify in this

place, *gracious, pious, religious discourse* in general, being set opposite to the filthy, obscene discourse preceding, and not to be restrained to one species of it, recounting the mercies of God.

15. [*d*] *that*] The word *pōs* generally in the New Testament is not to be rendered *that*, but *how*, especially when it follows βλέπετε: so Luke viii. 18. βλέπετε πῶς ἀκούετε, *take heed how you hear*, and 1 Cor. iii. 10. βλέπω πῶς ἐποικοδομῶ, *Let him take heed how he superstruct*. And so it is here to modify the accurate walking, and accordingly it is answered with *ὥς, as*, that they behave themselves warily between the two dangers of being *corrupted* on one side, and *devoured* on the other; in the first not *ὡς ἄσοφοι, as easy, seducible people*, in the second *ὡς σοφοί, as wise, prudent men*, that can manage their affairs to the best advantage, and not run hazards to no advantage.

16. [*e*] *redeeming the time*] Ἐξαγοράζεσθαι τὸν καιρὸν, though it have a sense very unlike the English words *redeeming the time*, yet cannot well be literally rendered otherwise than either *so*, or *buying out*, or *gaining the time*. Theodotus useth it in the active, *ἐξαγοράζοντες καιρὸν*, Dan. ii. 8, by that rendering the Chaldee וְכִינָנִי מְכַרְתִּי עִתִּי, and there the Vulgar have *redimitis tempus*, and we, *gaining or buying the season*, referring particularly to the delays that they sought to make, thereby to save themselves from danger. The full meaning of the phrase in that place is, to use caution and cunning and dexterity, whether by delays or any other means, for the saving of themselves from that danger that was threatened them, ver. 5. And it seems to be a proverbial speech, which the use had made to signify more than the very literal of the words imported; and you may find it used in authors in the same or like words. So in Plutarch, who sets it down for an apophthegm of Scipio, Ὅρων γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν πολεμίων, ἔλεγεν ἀνείσθαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, τὸν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατηγὸν, ὥσπερ ἱατρὸν, ἐσχάτης δέισθαι τῆς διὰ τοῦ σιδήρου θεραπείας, “*Seeing the madness of the enemies, he bid them buy the safety of the time, that is, avoid fighting with them at that season, for that it was with commanders as with physicians, who used not the sword or lance but in extreme cures.*” Thus St. Chrysostom² interprets it by the contrariety to *κινδύνους περικοπὴν ὑπομένειν, καὶ κέρδος οὐκ ἔχοντας*, “*undergoing superfluous dangers, and such as bring no gain:*” and again, he explains this exhortation by paying tribute, &c, and never opposing them in any thing, but in preaching the gospel, Ἐν οἷς μὴ βλάπτουσι, μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς δίδετε λαβὴν, “*in things wherein they hurt not, give them no occasion.*” Διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα μόνον ἔσται σοὶ πόλεμος, μηδεμίαν ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος λαμβανέτω, “*The very preaching the gospel shall bring their rage upon you, let it not take other beginning.*” Thus in Nazianzen’s Σηλητεύ. α’. p. 14. of Julian, ὁ μὲν ἐξωνούμενος τὸν καιρὸν, καὶ κρύπτων ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ πλάσματι τὸ κακοῦθις, where *buying out of time* is a proverbial expression for carrying himself cunningly, dexterously “*concealing (what he had not a mind to discover) his ill disposition under a disguise of gentleness.*” And proportionably it is so here, to use all prudent artificial devices to preserve them from the evil times then present, times of high corruption, and so of danger to their souls, wherein the carnal heathen sensualities (to which they had such temptation, and which were used in their

mysteries and devotions) were very frequent among them, and against which the warning is very particular in the former part of the chapter. vv. 6, 7, &c., and to which he returns again, as far as concerns *drunkenness*, (the expression of the heathen's devotion in some of their worship, the Bacchanalia,) ver. 8. And that it is this wisdom and dexterity which is here primarily meant, in respect of those spiritual dangers, the snares that were near their souls, may be conjectured by the verse immediately following, where διὰ τοῦτο, *for this cause*, for this evilness of the days, they are advised not to be ἄφρονες, *fools*, (as ver. 16, μὴ ὡς ἄσσοφοι, *not as fools*, and μηκέτι νήπιοι, *no longer children or fools*, ch. iv. 14.) but *understanding* (συνίεντες, noting that prudence, σύνεσις, that we speak of) *what the will of the Lord is*, that is, how contrary Christianity is to those heathen courses, which now by the cheats of the Gnostics are put off and commended to them, ver. 6, as things that are absolutely indifferent. Besides this, it may be applied also to that other prudence for avoiding of persecutions, as those are expressed by *evil days*, Gen. xlvii. 9, and psalm xlix. 5, not to throw ourselves upon dangers unseasonably, where there is no probable advantage in our prospect, but to speak and exhort when it is likely to prosper, and at other times to refrain; and this may properly be styled *gaining the time, watching opportunities*, and when interposing would prove gainless, then to hold the peace, and expect some fitter season: see Rom. xii. 11.

18. [*f*] *excess*] The word ἀσωτία signifies generally being *given up* to all *wickedness*, particularly *luxury*, meaning by that, not only excess of drinking or eating, or wasting an estate, but especially giving himself up to riotous enormous lusts: thus Hesychius renders ἀσώτως by αἰσχροῦς, ἀπλήστως, *filthiness, insatiableness*; and so when of the prodigal, Luke xv, it is said that the means of spending his patrimony was his *living*, ἀσώτως, ver. 13, that is interpreted, ver. 30, by καταφαγὼν τὸν βίον μετὰ πορνῶν, *devouring his livelihood with harlots*. And then we may discern the meaning of this phrase ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀσωτία, speaking of *drunkenness* and *filling themselves with wine*, in *which*, saith he, *there is* (not *excess*, as that signifies immoderate drinking, for that was contained before in *drunkenness*, or *being filled with wine*, and to say that in drunkenness or in wine were immoderate drinking would not be so commodious, but) *unclean inordinate behaviour*, all kind of venery and enormous lusts: so Theophylact, Ἀσωτίαν ἀκολασίαν φησὶν, ἐκ γὰρ τῆς μίθης ἀκολασία τίκεται, "It signifies incontinent lust, for that is begotten by drunkenness:" and so it is true, not only in common observation, that inflaming themselves with wine betrays men to all uncleanness, but particularly in the heathen Bacchanals, (to which he seems to refer, by opposing to them the being *filled with the Spirit*, and expressing that in Psalms, &c., the Christian way of rejoicing, contrary to their *prophesying*, Wisd. xiv. 28, or their mad howlings in their Orgia,) where, after their drinking, uncleanness was wont to succeed, as in the Israelites' idol feasts, after their *sitting down to eat and drink*, it is added, *they rose up παίξαι, to sport or mock*, which that it belongs to this of uncleanness, see note [c] on 1 Cor. x. And so this is a seasonable exhortation to the Christians at Ephesus, living among the heathens, and in danger to be seduced by the Gnostics to the idol-feasts, that instead of the Bacchanals, and unclean consequents of them, which

were their way of worship to their idols or devils, they should entertain themselves after the Christian manner of *singing psalms, blessing and praising of God*, which is the Christian jollity, to be preferred before those heathen bestial practices.

19. [g] *psalms and hymns and*—] The difference of these three *ψαλμοί, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαί, psalms, hymns, songs*, must be fetched from the Jews, who have three sorts of Canticles, first, מוסור from וסר, *amputavit*, "a concise verse," which is here called *ψαλμός, a psalm*; 2dly, תהלה, *praise*, celebration, depredicating of any thing, which is here *ὕμνος, hymn*; 3dly, שיר, *canticum* or *cantio*, whence is שיר השירים, *canticum canticorum*, "the song of songs," and to this answers here the *ᾠδαί*; and the word *πνευματικαί* added to it, *spiritual* or *Christian*, is both in opposition to the *εἰς τὰ Βάκχε*, and the like drunken, sensual songs and ovals in their Bacchanalia, and perhaps in respect of the *χάρισμα* then among them, as of *praying*, so of *singing* also, by that extraordinary gift of the Spirit, 1 Cor. xiv. 26; see note [f] on Jude.

30. [h] *members of his*—] It is the manner of the sacred writers to express a complex body by the enumeration of the several parts of it, as the *heaven and the earth* for the world, *evening and morning* for the natural day, and many the like; see note [c] on Col. i, and note [b] on 2 Pet. iii.; and so here *his flesh and his bones* signifies no more than *he*: and so the whole importance of the verse is, that we are members of Christ, and nothing else, (see note [d] on John vi.)

CHAP. VI.

12. [a] *high places*] What *ἐπουράνια* signifies here will be soon discerned, first, by remembering that the several regions of the air, and all above the globe of the earth, is in the Hebrew styled שמים, and in the Greek of these books *οὐρανοί, heavens*, and so *ἐπουράνια* will signify those places, the several regions of the air; 2dly, that the Syriac reading for *πνευματικά, spiritual parts, πνεύματα, spirits*, and the phrase *spirits of wickedness*, readily signifying wicked spirits, and those oft used to denote devils, the *spirits of wickedness in heavenly places* will be no more than the powers of the air under their *ἄρχων* or *prince*, ch. ii. 2. that is, devils under *Beelzebub the prince of the devils*. These are here distinguished from the *κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, the worldly rulers of the darkness of this age*. Noting several sorts of devils, either in respect of their mansions, *ἀεθίων καὶ ἐπιγείων πνευμάτων*, saith Ignatius ad Ephes., "aërial or earthy spirits;" or else of the inclinations which they suggest. The earthy devils suggesting grosser carnal appetites, filthiness of the flesh, &c., the aërial, pride, vain-glory, malice, &c., the filthiness of the spirit. And the Gnostic heretics, by power of sorcery seducing men to both sorts of these filthinesses, all fleshly abominable lusts, and all malice and rancour against the orthodox Christians, it is here truly said, that they were to contend with both sorts of evil spirits, terrestrial and aërial, the terrestrial that ruled among the heathen dark parts of the age, and the aërial wicked spirits.

15. [b] *shod*] The use of *shoes* in the celebration of the passover hath been formerly observed: for so the Israelites were commanded at their eating of it, that they might be ready for their journey, to have each of them their *shoes on their feet*; so when the apostles, Mark

vi. 8, were commanded to be *shod with sandals*, the meaning is, that they should be ready to take their journey. So in ^bPlautus, *calceati dentes*, "shod teeth," that is, ready to devour the feast. So the Egyptian virgins were not permitted to wear shoes, that is, to be ready to go abroad. All this belongs to the explication of this phrase, as it is joined with *ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ*, *in readiness*, denoting the preparation or readiness for the journey, the whole Christian course, for which the doctrine of peace and charity doth provide and furnish them. But then this is not all, for the *shoes* are here mentioned among the *armour*, (and so ^cStrabo, lib. 10, speaking of the Cretian youths, saith of them, that they did *ἐσθῆτι καὶ ὑποδήσει πολεμικῇ χρῆσθαι*, "use military attire and shoes,") and so they clearly were, and were ordinarily made of brass. A mention we have of them in the story of Goliath, *his greaves of brass*; and so among the Grecians they were so ordinary, that they are known in Homer by that title of *Χαλκοκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί*, "the brazen-shoed Grecians," *οἷς σιδηραὶ ἦσαν ἢ χαλκαὶ αἱ κνήμαι*, saith Phavorinus, "who had greaves of brass or iron," as also of silver, in ^dVirgil, l. 7.

Aut læves ocreas lento ducunt argento,

"They cover their boots with silver."

The use of these was to defend their feet against the gall-traps which were wont to be thrown in the fields or ways to stop their marches, sharp stakes sticking up, to wound or gall their feet, and make them that had fallen upon them unable to go afterward. This use then of the shoes for marching is here referred to, and the *gospel of peace*, the obligation to peace and charity, (that lies upon Christians by the gospel, and which is here set before *faith*, and *hope of salvation*.) is the furniture or preparation for the feet, supplies the place of those greaves, fits us for our Christian course, which beyond all things consists in preserving of peace with all, and especially now in opposition to those heretics that broke the unity of the church, and breathed out nothing but malice and persecution against all the orthodox Christians, and laboured all they could to draw others to partake with them.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

[a] The conversion of the Macedonians, and among them first of the Philippians, to the faith by the labours of Paul and Timothy, is set down Acts xvi. 12. and Acts xx. 3, where, having had very good success among them, and after his departure having received many testimonies of their kindness and constancy, and now being prisoner at Rome, Epaphroditus their bishop being sent from them to him with a supply of money, about the year of Christ 59, he returns them this Epistle by Epaphroditus, full of kind acknowledgments and cheerfulness; and Timothy, who had been with St. Paul at Philippi, being now

^b In Captiv.

^c P. 331.

^d lin. 634.

at this time at Rome with him, he is joined with Paul in the front of the Epistle. One thing is further observable in this Epistle, that upon the news of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, (certainly his first imprisonment there, see ch. i. 25, 26, and ch. ii. 23, 24, and not that immediately preceding his martyrdom,) the Gnostics, *the known enemies of the cross of Christ*, ch. iii. 18, (which are not for confessing a crucified Saviour, or a persecuted faith, joining with the Judaizing Christians, were very ready to infuse their discouragements, persuading to Judaize, ch. iii. 2, as among the Galatians they had done. And by way of necessary antidote against these seducers, he opposeth the benefit which Christianity had received by his sufferings, ch. i. 12, and the no loss, but advantage which should come to him by it, ver. 19, and then conjures them to unity and perseverance, ch. ii, warns them against the Gnostics, ch. iii, and again encourages them to constancy, ch. iv.

CHAP. I.

1. [*b*] *Philippi*] The Philippians here named must (by analogy with the Corinthians, and the rest to whom the other Epistles are addressed) be interpreted to be of a larger extent than the inhabitants of that one city, and either to contain all the Christians throughout all Macedonia, or at least all that were under that metropolis. For that Philippi was such, is the distinct affirmation of St. Luke, Acts xvi. 12, *ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Φιλίππους, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις*, *Philippi is the prime or first city in the province of Macedonia*; that is, either of all Macedonia, as one wider province, or at least of one province of it. And it is there added, that it was then a colony, that is, inhabited by Romans (from whence it is, that, ver. 21, they speak of themselves as Romans): and such colony-cities that were so inhabited by Romans were generally (though not only they) pitched on by the Roman prætors or presidents to be the cities whither the neighbouring regions should come for justice, the places of assizes, &c., and so became the chief cities. So ^c Photius, *Ἡ Φιλίππων πόλις τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπαρχίας μητρόπολις οὖσα*, "The city of Philippi being a metropolis of the province of the Macedonians;" and this expressly speaking of it as it was in St. Paul's time, Acts xvi. 21, where the inhabitants of it, as of a Roman colony, call themselves *Romans*. So St. Chrysostom, on Acts xvi. *λέγει καὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἀτε ἱστορίαν ἐξηγουμένους, καὶ δευτὸς τοῦ ἐνεχρόνισε, καὶ ἐδείκνυσε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς μείζουσι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας παρῆει*, "St. Luke sets down the places, as writing an history, and shewing where the apostle spent any time, he names only the greater cities, (such are metropolises,) and passeth by the rest;" making Philippi, thus named, one of those greater. And this is supposed by the ancient writer under Ignatius's name, in Epist. ad Tarsens., when he tells them to whom he writes, *Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι Φιλιππησίων*, "The churches of the Philippians," in the plural, "salute you," that is, the churches under that metropolis. And therefore when Philippi is by the geographers (and out of them by the author of the argument of this Epistle) affirmed to be *μικρὰ πόλις ὑπὸ μετροπόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης τελοῦσα*, "a little city under the metropolis Thessalonica," it must be remembered that that

definition belongs to some other time, probably long before that of St. Paul's writing here, or, in the Acts, his preaching to them. For so it is certain that this city, built and thus named by Philip king of Macedon, had formerly been called *Κρηνίδες*, and then *Δάρος*, (whence was the proverb, *Δάρος ἀγαθόν*, because of a golden mine which Appian saith was near it,) and was then a small city; which hinders not but that now under the Roman empire it might be improved and advanced, especially being now a colony of Romans; (and being so, it is not imaginable it should be subject to Thessalonica, a city in another region, ^f "an hundred and ten miles off from it," which was no colony.) As when in Palestine, Cæsarea Stratonis became a colony of the Romans, called *Colonia prima Flavia*, by ^g Pliny, à *Vespasiano deducta*, "the prime colony called Flavia, as being brought thither by Flavius Vespasianus;" it became also, in respect of the ecclesiastical government, a metropolis, under which Jerusalem itself was. For that many cities became metropolises, which formerly were not, there is no doubt, and is affirmed in the 12th canon of the council of Chalcedon, *πόλεις διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῇ τῆς μητροπόλεως ὀνόματι τιμηθεῖσαι*, "cities are honoured with the names of metropolises by the emperor's letters." So also Strabo, Geog. l. 17. p. 840. *Αἱ ἐπαρχίαι μὲν διήρτηται ἄλλοτε μὲν ἄλλως*, "Provinces have been at several times variously divided;" which concludes the metropolises to be changed also: and, l. 13. p. 629, giving an account of the confusion of provinces by him observed, he saith it was caused *διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτὰς, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας*, "because the Romans distributed them not according to the divisions of tribes, but another way, according to the keeping of courts and assizes." And thus doth ^h Pliny set down for "metropolises of Asia, Laodicea, Sardis, Smyrna and Ephesus," upon this only account, that the courts were kept there to which other cities resorted. The truth is, *Κρηνίδες*, or *Δάρος*, which was now changed and advanced into Philippi, and a metropolis of Macedonia, by being a colony of the Romans, was originally a city of Thrace, and so is affirmed to be by Stephanus *περὶ Πολ.* And so ⁱ Scylax Caryandeus among the cities of Thrace hath *Δάτον πόλιν Ἀλληνίς*, next after Neapolis. And ^k Eustathius on Dionysii *Περιήγ.* to the same effect, *Δάτον, πόλιν ἑνδοξον περὶ τὴν τοῦ Στρυμόνος παραλίαν*, seating it "on the bank of Strymon;" where ^l Pomponius Mela, in his description of Thrace, placeth Philippi; and so doth Pliny, Nat. Hist. ^m l. 4, in his Survey of Thrace, *A Strymone — iantus Philippi colonia*: and so Dio, describing Pangæum Montem in Thrace, saith, "it is close by Philippi." But granting all this of the former times, it is yet certain that at the time of St. Paul's converting this city, it was changed from the ancient form; first it was a Roman colony, and the inhabitants thereof *Ῥωμαῖοι*, *Romans*, Acts xvi. 21, and in that state made a metropolis of the adjoining part of Macedonia, where the Roman prefect kept his assizes for all that *μερίς*. According to this division, saith ⁿ Ulpian, *in provincia Macedonia Dyrracheni, Cussandrenses, Philippenses Italici juris sunt*. This

^f Vid. Anton. August. Itinerar. p. 103.

Hist. l. 5. c. 29.

^m Ch. 11.

ⁱ In Peripl. p. 26.

ⁿ In L. in Lusitan.

^g Nat. Hist. l. 1. c. 13.

^h P. 74.

^l De Situ Orb. l. 11. c. 2.

^h Nat.

may be illustrated *à pari*. Nicopolis is by ° St. Chrysostom affirmed to be "a city of Thrace," Νικόπολις τῆς Θράκης ἐστὶ, and so by Theodoret, τῆς Θράκης ἐστὶ Νικόπολις, τῇ δὲ Μακεδονίᾳ πελάζει, "Nicopolis is a city of Thrace, but borders on Macedonia," (in like manner as Philippi did;) and yet in the subscription of the Epistle to Titus, we read, ἀπὸ Νικοπόλεως τῆς Μακεδονίας, from Nicopolis of Macedonia. This may serve to give account of the varieties which seem to be among writers about this city. And as in civil, so in ecclesiastical divisions, such variety is observable. Those cities were chief and metropolises where the Gospel was first planted, and thence communicated to the neighbouring regions. And such was Philippi, as it is clear by the story of St. Paul's preaching the Gospel in Macedonia, Acts xvi. 9, 10, &c. and 1 Thess. ii. 2, first at Philippi, then after at Thessalonica. In which respect, of the πρωτοκλησία, *priority of conversion* to the faith, and being St. Paul's ἀπαρχαί, *first-fruits* in that region, some privilege belongs to Philippi even before Thessalonica, that chief metropolis of Macedonia, viz. that Philippi was the elder sister in the faith, and so in that respect, though not in others, the prime metropolis of Macedonia. Hence it is that the liberality of the brethren of Macedonia (in common) 2 Cor. xi. 9, is imputed to the Philippians peculiarly, Phil. iv. 16; by which it appears that all the Christians of that region, or μέρη, of Macedonia are contained under that title. And so though there be but one epistle written by St. Paul to these Philippians, yet St. Polycarp mentions Paul's Epistles (in the plural) to them, by which learned men understand those other inscribed to the Thessalonians, that other chief city of Macedonia, which might therefore belong to Philippi also. And to that the severe adjuration of the apostle, 1 Thess. v. 27, seems to belong, where he adjures them *by the living God, that that epistle be read, πᾶσι, to all the holy brethren* indefinitely, that is, I conceive, to all the Christians in each church of Macedonia. And so it is evident that the epistle inscribed to the Corinthians belonged to all the churches of Achaia, 2 Cor. i. 1; and so that inscribed to the Colossians was also to be read, Col. iv. 6, by the church of Laodicea, the chief metropolis of Phrygia, to which Colosse is adjoined as a secondary, Col. ii. 2. By all this appears how in Philippi there may be more bishops than one, indeed as many as were in all Macedonia, at least as in the cities under that metropolis.

1. [c] *bishops*] What the word ἐπίσκοποι and ἐπίσκοπος notes in the Old and New Testament hath been said already, note [h] on Acts i. viz. *prefecture, or ruling power* in the church. But whether this belonged to singular persons, one in each city and region adjoining, or to a number of such, ruling together as colleagues, hath been of late controverted by some; and this place, which mentions in Philippi *bishops* in the plural, hath been a principal testimony to conclude that in one church there were many bishops. This, if it were granted, and consequently, that *bishops* here denote no other than those whom we now call *presbyters*, would be of no force to infer this conclusion, that churches in the apostles' times were ruled, not by single bishops, but many presbyters; because, 1, it were possible that the apostle himself might at this time retain that supreme episcopal power in his own

hands, and though *absent in body, yet by letters* (being *present in spirit*) exercise that power over them: or, 2dly, if the apostle had constituted a bishop over them, yet it is possible that at the writing this epistle the chair might be vacant, or that the bishop might be absent. And indeed Epaphroditus, who is by Theodoret and others affirmed to be bishop of Philippi, by ὁ διδάσκαλος, *doctor*, which that it is the title of *bishop* we have formerly shewed, (note [d] on 1 Cor. xii.) appears, c. iv. 18, to have been with Paul at this time, when he wrote the epistle, (so saith Theophylact, that the clergy are mentioned in this, and in no other epistle, because they had sent Epaphroditus with necessaries for the apostle's use,) and to have carried the epistle to them, which one thing might make it inconvenient to inscribe the epistle to him. And yet in the body of the epistle, c. iv. 3, there is an *apostrophe*, which in all probability belongs to him, under the name of his *yoke-fellow*, that is, to look to the relief of the widows, supposing him present at the opening of the letter. But there is no need of such answers as these to avoid the force of this argument. That which hath been said note [a], will give a clear account of it, that Philippi being a metropolis, under which were many other churches, which had each of them a bishop, all those bishops are here meant by ἐπίσκοποι, in the plural, as this epistle was written to all those cities or churches, and not only to that of Philippi. Of this it is clear in ecclesiastical writings, that there was a bishop constituted by the apostles. For so ὁ Tertullian distinctly mentions it for one of those churches which derived the pedigree of bishops from the apostles as founders. And Ignatius, St. Paul's successor at Antioch, in his epistle to them, names Vitalis as their bishop, and the Latin old copy of Polycarp's epistle to them mentions Vitus, which is surely the same. And though that epistle mentions πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, "elders and deacons" only, yet considering the notion of πρεσβύτεροι, set down note [b] on Acts xi, there will be little doubt but that *elders* there and *bishops* here are all one, viz. all the bishops of the cities under that metropolis, which may well be contained under the title there prefixed to it, Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικοῦσῃ Φιλίπποις, "to the church of God adjoining or belonging to Philippi." And indeed as the word πρεσβύτεροι, *elders*, is a note of præfecture, and so may fitly belong to the bishop in each city, (see note [b] on Acts xi.), in all the places of the New Testament, so there is little reason to doubt of the word ἐπίσκοποι, *bishops*. The first mention of it is Acts xx. 28, where those that had been called *elders of the church*, ver. 17, are ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ ποιμνίου, *bishops of the flock*, set over it by the Holy Ghost; where, if the *flock* were the Christians of any one city, there might be some pretence that the *elders* or *bishops*, in the plural, might be those which are now called *presbyters*. But it is apparent that the *flock* is the Christians of all Asia, of which it is said, ch. xix. 10, that *all that dwell in Asia heard the word of the Lord*; and *almost all Asia were converted*, saith Demetrius, ver. 26, which Paul calls the *opening of a great door* to him in those parts, 1 Cor. xvi. 9. And consequently the *elders* or *bishops* there, are the bishops of all Asia, at least those that belonged to Ephesus as their metropolis. To

p On chap. 2. 25.

q Præscript. c. 30.

r Ἐφεσός ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας μητροπολις, Chrys. in Arg. Epist. ad Ephes. Τὴν Ἐφεσίων μητροπολιν τῆς Ἀσίας,

which purpose is that of St. Irenæus, l. 3. c. 14, *In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris ab Epheso et proximis civitatibus*, "The bishops and elders being assembled at Miletus, from Ephesus and the next of the cities." And therefore St. Paul, in his oration to them, tells them, they had *known how he had been with them all the time from the first day that he came into Asia*, ch. xx. 18, noting those to whom his speech was addressed to be the bishops of Asia, and not of that city only. The next mention of bishops (beside that in this place) is that 1 Tim. iii. 2, *he that desires the office of a bishop, &c.; a bishop therefore must be blameless, &c.*; and, in the same words, Tit. i. 7. In both which places, as it is agreeable to the affirmations of the ancients, (see note [d] on Acts xi.), that there should be constituted bishops only and deacons in the several churches, (there being no *middle* order yet in use,) so that ἐπίσκοποι distinctly notes those *bishops*, and not those whom we now call *presbyters*, is the joint affirmation of Chrysostom and Theophylact and Ecumenius. * Ἐπισκόπων ἔδει πολλῶν, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν προηγησαμένων, "there was need of more bishops, and of those which preside in every city." And again, † Κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους] Ἐπισκόπους οὕτως ἐνταυθὰ φησι, ὥς καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεον κατὰ πόλεις δέ φησιν, οὐ γὰρ εἰβούλετο πᾶσαν ἐπιτεράφθαι ἐνί, ἀλλ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἴδιον ἔχειν ποιμένα, "Elders in every city] He there means bishops, as also in the Epistle to Timothy: and when he saith, *in every city*, it is because he would not have the whole island intrusted to one, but that every city should have their own pastor." And so saith ‡ Eusebius of Titus, that there being an hundred cities in Crete converted to the faith by St. Paul, "Titus had the bishopric of them all," that is, the metropolitical power; that he might ordain bishops under him, saith § Theodoret; that he might exercise judicature and ordination, saith Chrysostom and Theophylact. There are no more mentions of this word ἐπίσκοπος in the New Testament, and in all these it is fairly applicable to the bishops, or single præfects or governors of churches. And so though it be generally resolved that the word *bishop* and *elder* are equivalent in the scripture, yet is not this to be understood so, that either and both of them signifies indifferently those whom we now call *presbyters*, but that they both signify *bishops*, one settled in each church by the apostles, there being no use of that second order in the church till the number of believers increased.

[d] *deacons*] Of the word διακονεῖν we have spoken at large, note [a] on Luke viii., both as that signifies indefinitely *to serve*, and as *to wait at the table*, and give every man his *dimensum* from the ἀρχιτρίκλινος, and from thence *to distribute to the poor*, to all that want. And thus the seven deacons' institution, Acts vi, may be thought to confine their name and office in the church of Christ to that (especially and principally) of διακονεῖν τραπέζαις, *serving tables, distributing to the poor*, ver. 2, called the καθημερινῇ διακονίᾳ, *daily ministration*, ver. 1. But (beside that those seven were not wholly employed in those inferior employments, but Stephen and Philip made use of for the preaching

Theod. Ep. ad Dioscor. Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ Κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας, Euseb. l. 4. c. κγ'. Ὁ Ἐφέσου ὑπέρτιμος, καὶ ἱεραρχος πάσης Ἀσίας, Ord. Thron. Metrop. ad Calcem Codini.
 § Chrys. in 1 Tim. Hom. 10. † Theoph. in Tit. ii. 5. ‡ L. 3. c. δ'.
 w Arg. Ep. ad Tit.

of the gospel, ch. vii. 8, and Samaria converted and baptized by the latter of them, and he therefore called Philip *the evangelist*, Acts xxi. 8.) it is every where clear, that the word *διάκονος* is not to be restrained to that notion, but taken in a more general, for any *officer* or *servant* or *minister*, without particular notation of the kind wherein the service or ministry consists; and being taken in an ecclesiastical notion, shall signify any inferior *church-officer*, however employed by the bishop or apostle to whom he belongeth. The original of this word and office is to be taken from the Jews, among whom the ministers and officers that attended the judges in every city, Deut. xvi. 18, are in the scriptures called שְׂרִיפִים, by the rabbins, חֲזָנִים, *ministers*, and with the addition of חֲכָמִים, *ministers of the synagogue*, or *consistory*; and *juniores*, "the younger," saith Maimonides, such as had not attained to the age of doctor; and these sure are the νεώτεροι that buried Ananias, Acts v. 6. These * Epiphanius calls ἀζανίται, (a word lightly varied from the Hebrew חֲזָנִים,) and saith the deacons in the Christian church are directly parallel to them. For as they were the γαζοφύλακες, *keepers of the treasure*, so did they also διακομικὰς χρέιας ἐπιτελεῖν, *perform all ministerial offices* indifferently. And of them the Jews have a saying, that "about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the learning of the wise men," that is, doctors, "was degenerated into that of the azanitæ, and the learning of the azanitæ into that which was competent to the notaries," noting the subordination of the azanitæ to the doctors, and of the notaries to the azanitæ. From hence appears the notion and office of these deacons in the Christian church, those that attended and waited on the bishop, and did whatsoever he appointed them, preach, baptize, &c., read the gospel, attend the bishop in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, receive the oblations from the sub-deacon, and bring them to the bishop, mind the people in performing the several parts of the divine office, call on them to pray, to sing, to hear, to kneel, &c. And as these were first trained up for these ministries in the family of the bishop, so were they after in religious houses and colleges, or monasteries, (which appear by the ancients to have been seminaries of the church, and not instituted only for prayer and devotion:) and such, when they have used the office of a deacon well, καλῶς διακονήσαντες, 1 Tim. iii. 13, *purchase to themselves a good degree*, that is, ταχέως ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω ἀνεύθυνται, say the scholiasts, "shall soon ascend higher;" as Clemens, being Peter's deacon at Rome, succeeded him in the episcopal chair. Proportionable to which it was, that afterwards the bishops were chosen out of monasteries, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, &c. Thus is the word *deacons* to be understood in this place, being joined to *bishops*, as those that attend on them in every church, and were then next to them, there being not then (as far as appears) any middle sort of church-officers instituted betwixt the bishops and them. And the same is certainly the notion of it in that other place, 1 Tim. iii. 8. 12, where the rules are given for the qualifying them that are ordained to that office, (as before had been given for the bishops,) instead of which are the πρεσβύτεροι, *ancient men*, Tit. ii. 2, all one with *διάκονοι*, *deacons*, in this more comprehensive notion,

* Hær. Ebion.

as it contains the *διαπίσεις διακονιῶν*, *diversities of ministrations*, 1 Cor. xii. 5. And these are elsewhere called *διάκονοι Θεοῦ*, *ministers of God*, 1 Thess. iii. 2, the title that was then bestowed on Timothy, as the *fellow-labourer* of Paul in the gospel; and *ἐν Χριστῷ*, in Christ, as of Epaphras it is said, Col. i. 7, *our fellow-servant*, (all one with his *fellow-labourer* before,) *who is for you a faithful minister in Christ*; and *ἐν Κυρίῳ*, in the Lord, as of Tychicus, Ephes. vi. 21, *our beloved brother and, πιστὸς διάκονος*, *faithful minister in the Lord*. In all which places *διάκονος*, with those adjuncts, is applied to those assistants and attendants on the apostles, that were, as they pleased, employed by them in the gospel. Besides these, other places there are wherein it is applied to the apostles themselves, *διάκονοι*, *deacons* or *ministers* simply, 1 Cor. iii. 5; Θεοῦ, *of God*, 2 Cor. vi. 4; of Christ, 2 Cor. xi. 23. Ephes. iii. 7. 1 Tim. iv. 6; of the church, Col. i. 25; of the gospel, ver. 23; of the new testament, 2 Cor. iii. 6. And this still in a more general notion, as it denotes *servants, officers*, of what kind soever.

7. [e] *my grace*] That the word *χάρις*, which signifies any *favour* or *mercy* of God, should here peculiarly be used for the sufferings which had befallen St. Paul in the discharge of his office, will not appear strange, if first it be considered, how often this state of suffering is mentioned by Christ, and by St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. James, as an eminent mercy of God's to them who are thus honoured by him, and accordingly that it is to be looked on as matter of *all joy* (in their account) whensoever it befalls any; secondly, if it be compared with ver. 29, where the Philippians, *suffering for Christ*, as eminently as their *believing* in him, is mentioned as that which, *ἐχαρίσθη ὑμῖν*, *was granted* them by way of *χάρις*, *grace* or *mercy* or *special favour* of God. As for that which is affirmed in both these verses, that this church of Philippi was thus persecuted for Christianity, and so participated with him in his bands or sufferings, though it be not mentioned in the story of the Acts, yet it is in itself easy to be believed, (and by these testimonies put beyond all question,) the Jewish unbelievers every where stirring up the Roman magistrates to persecute the believers in their provinces.

13. [f] *palace*] Πραιτώριον signifies in the Latin, (and so in Greek the same,) "the common hall, or court, where judgment used to be had," the prætor being a Roman officer in their judicatures; τόπος ἔνθα συνάγεται ὁ λαός, "the place where the people meet," saith Phavorinus: and so sure it signifies here; and St. Paul's being imprisoned, and brought before the judges, might be a means to make Christianity known to the bench and the whole court. Thus one of his judges had told him, that he had *persuaded* him, ἐν ὀλίγῳ, *a little way, to be a Christian*, which is the thing that here seems to be related to, or some other of the same nature.

18. [g] *pretence*] The word *πρόφασις* signifies not only a *pretext* or *pretence*, (and so is opposed to *αἰτία*, *a true cause*,) but also an *occasion*, as *προφάσεις ζητεῖ*, *he seeks occasions*, Prov. xviii. 1; and so it seems to be taken here, (and so more fitly to connect with *παρὶ πρόσω*, *by all means*, than it could do if it were rendered, *in pretence*,) thus, *by all means, εἴτε προφάνει, whether by occasion only, that is, accidentally, and not by a designed causality, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, or whether by truth, that is, by a direct real way of efficiency.*

22. [*h*] *the fruit of my labour*] Καρπὸς ἔργου seems to be a Latinism, *operæ pretium*, and so to signify accordingly, *worth my labour, worth doing*, as we say, *a desirable thing*. So Theophylact renders it, οὐκ ἄκαρπον, *not fruitless*, καρποφορῶ γὰρ, saith he, “for I bring forth fruit by this means.”

23. [*i*] *to depart*] Of the many acceptions of the word ἀναλύειν, none seems more proper to this place than that which is in itself most simple and plain, that it signify, *to depart this world, or retire, remove out of this life, migrare, abire, discedere, reverti*; every of which is usually taken for an expression of death, and are answerable to the Hebrew בָּשָׁח, which the Syriac here makes use of. the same which is by the Chaldee used of Moses on Cant. ch. 1, when Moses's time came, מָלַח מִן עַלְמָא, *to depart, or that he should depart, out of the world*: and so 2 Tim. iv. 6, ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως, is ordinarily rendered, *the time, or season of my departure. or decease*. Ἀναλύειν ἐν-τεῦθεν, in Palladius, (Hist. Lausiac. p. 506. A) *to loose from thence, or most properly, to return*, alluding to Eccles. xii. 7, where *the body returns to the earth as it was*, to the place from whence originally it came out, and so *the spirit unto God that gave, or first breathed it into the first man*. And so ordinarily in Christian authors, ἀναλύειν, and ἀνάλυσις πρὸς Χριστὸν, and the like. And for the original of this use and acception of the word, nothing can be more probable than that it is a phrase of the mariners, who are said λύειν, *to loose from the haven*, when they go out, *oram solvere*, and absolutely, *solvere, to loose*; and when they do this by way of return homewards, then it is properly ἀναλύειν. So Luke xii. 6, ἀναλύσει ἐκ τῶν γάμων, *is coming home, returning from the marriage feast*. So 2 Macc. viii. 1, ἀναλελυκὸς ἀκόσμως, *retiring disorderly*. So the method of reducing conclusions to their principles is by Aristotle styled ἀναλυτικὴ, ἡ ἐκ γνωστοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπάνοδος, ἥ saith Philoponus; and again, ἡ ἐκ τῶν αἰτιατῶν ἀναδρομὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, “a returning, or running back, from the conclusions, or effects, to their principles;” adding, that it is a metaphor, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποδημούντων, καὶ ἀποστραφέντων εἰς τὰ οἰκεία, “from travellers returning to their homes;” and, εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων ἐπάνοδος, ἀνάλυσις λέγεται, “a return from strangers to one's own home is thus styled.”

25. [*k*] *having this confidence*] Τοῦτο πεποιθὼς οἶδα, is somewhat an obscure phrase, and may best be explicated by two considerations. First, that πεποιθὼς signifies *hoping with some confidence*, answerable to the Hebrew בָּשָׁח, which is ordinarily rendered, *ελπίς, hope*, but 2 Kings xviii. 20, πεποιθήσεις, *persuasion, confidence*. So ver. 6, πεποιθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, *hoping confidently this very thing*. So 2 Cor. i, that which is expressed by ἐλπίζω, *I hope*, ver. 13, is ταύτῃ τῇ πεποιθήσει, *in this persuasion*, ver. 15. Then for the phrase πεποιθὼς οἶδα, that is in ordinary construction all one with οἶδά με πεπεισμέναι, *I know that I hope, or am persuaded, or, of this I am sure*, (so οἶδα τοῦτο is ordinarily used,) *that I hope, or am persuaded*. And this is very agreeable to the matter in hand, where, to comfort them in their sadness for his afflictions, he minds them, that, in order to their good, he foresees it very probable that he may be permitted to live; and though he knows not by any

certain revelation whether he shall or no, yet this he knows that he hopes, and considering God's dispensations of providence, is verily persuaded (which also includes his desire) of it.

CHAP. II.

6. [a] *form of God*] *Μορφή* signifies not only an *external* and accidental *form*, as Mark xvi. 12, nor at all an *image* or *picture* (as *μόρφωσις* seems to do, Rom. ii. 20. 2 Tim. iii. 5, and is rendered by Hesychius, *σχηματισμός, εἰκὼν, a personation or image,*) but it is taken also in good authors for an *internal* essential *form* or *being*. Thus in Æschylus, speaking of *θέμυς καὶ γαῖα*, they are, saith he,

πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία,

one form, that is, thing, *under divers names*. The words of Phavorinus are most observable for the explication of this place, *Μορφή τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὂν, καὶ κοινωνίας ἑτέρου εἰς τὸ εἶναι οὐ δεόμενον*; the word signifies, *that which hath a being of itself, and needs not the assistance of another to its being*; and again, *Μορφή κυρίως ἡ οὐσία*, it properly signifies, *essence*; and then cites these very words, *ὅς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, which is, saith he, *ἐν οὐσίᾳ Θεοῦ γνωσκόμενος, known in the essence of God, being God*, and by the rays and beams of his divinity (shining even in his first conception and birth) discerned and known to be so. This here appears to be the notion of the word by *μορφὴν δούλου*, *the form of a servant*, that follows, ver. 7, for that was not only an external, but also a real form; he was really a servant of God's, in his human nature undertaking an office designed him by God, and most strictly obeying him in all things; and *ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους*, Heb. ii. 7, *he was a little lower, or for a little while* (the time that he spent here on earth) *lower than the angels*, who we know are the *servants of God*: and so the words *ὁμοίωμα* and *σχήμα*, ver. 8, (which frequently signify *likeness* and *external habit and forms*,) do here signify that outward appearance, which doth not exclude, but include the inward being and reality; for it is certain, and by all acknowledged, that he was really a man, and not only in likeness and appearance so. Thus doth Theophylact interpret it, *Μορφή γὰρ Θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία λέγεται*, "The form of God signifies his essence, *ὥσπερ μορφή δούλου ἡ φύσις*, "as the form of a servant is the nature of a servant." This being thus evident of this first phrase, *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, where Christ's divinity is asserted, and that precedaneous to his humiliation, and as the *terminus a quo*, the term of elevation from which his exinanition and humiliation takes the rise, and is much increased thereby, there would now be little gained to the cause of the Photinians, or Arians, in case the phrase that follows, *οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα τῷ Θεῷ*, which we render, *thought it no robbery to be equal with God*, should appear to be mistaken. For when it is once acknowledged that Christ was God before his assumption of our human nature, and that being really God, or *ὑπάρχων*, *subsisting in the real form of God*, he took our humanity upon him, it is by necessary consequence concluded that he was *equal with God*, which is all that is pretended by any from this second phrase. For as to them that affirm Christ a *Deus factus*, a *God that had a beginning* of being so, and from thence deny his equality with the Father, it is evident that they date his divinity from his

resurrection and exaltation, (which is manifestly confuted by his being God before his humiliation); and they that affirm him *ὁμοούσιον*, of like (but not *ὁμοούσιον*, of the same) being with the Father, are sufficiently confuted by the notion of *μορφή*, here set down, as it signifies the real being of God, wherein he was *ὑπάρχων*, subsisting, for that includes equality, and not likeness only. Now for the phrase, *οὐχ ἀπαγγέλλον ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα τῷ Θεῷ*, that it should signify, *Christ's not assuming to appear like God, or spectari tanquam Deum, to be looked on as God*, and so belong to his forbidding many times to have his power and divine greatness proclaimed, there is but one argument which to me makes it any thing probable, (and that not taken notice of by them that defend that sense,) and that taken from the *ἀλλὰ*, but, which follows, ver. 7. For in this notion of the phrase, it would most commodiously agree with *that* he would not *assume*, or own, so much greatness, *but humbled*, or *emptied himself*, &c., where that *assuming* and that *humbling* are directly opposite, and so most agreeable to the importance of *ἀλλὰ*, but, a note of opposition. And indeed this notion of the phrase would very well connect it to the antecedents, thus, *he being in form*, &c., that is, really and eternally God, when he came down on earth, *would not thus assume* and magnify this power, but *ἐκένωσε*, diminished or lessened and humbled himself; asked at one time, *Why callest thou me good? None is good save God*; and at another, commanded that his miracles, which demonstrated him to be God, should not be divulged. And this notion consists very well with the context, and the assertion of Christ's divinity; for being God, he might yet choose to conceal his being so. But yet, after all this, there is no reason to adhere to this interpretation. For, first, *ἀπαγγέλλον ἡγεῖσθαι* doth nowhere appear to signify *jactare*, or *ostentare*, or *venditare*, to assume, or take upon one. And though *ἀπαγγέλλω* may signify *prey*, or *prize*, in war, yet *ἡγεῖσθαι*, to esteem, or account, being joined with it, no way inclines it to this notion, but to that which the ordinary interpretation affixes to it, that *he counted it no prey, prize, acquisition*, or (which is all one) *robbery, to be equal with God*. And whereas it is pretended that it is a Syriac phrase, and that proved by a passage in the Syriac Liturgy, where upon Christ's asking baptism of John, John answers, *לֹא אֶבְרֹךְ גּוֹלְבֵּי*, *I will not assume rapine*, that is no proof of this notion. For, first, that which John thus expressed was, that he would not do so injurious a thing as to pretend to have greater authority than Christ, and consequently to admit him to his baptism; and so it seems, *to assume rapine*, in Syriac, is to do an injurious thing. And, secondly, there is some difference between *assuming* and *thinking*, and consequently *ἡγεῖσθαι*, to think, being joined with *ἀπαγγέλλον*, rapine, must signify to think or count it a rapine, or an injury, (which is very distant from *boasting of it as a prize, triumphing or assuming*,) and that is the notion that the ordinary interpretation gives of it. As for the phrase *εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ*, there is as little reason to render that *spectari tanquam Deum, to be looked on as God*, for neither is *εἶναι*, to be looked on, but to be, nor *ἴσα*, *tanquam*, as, but equal, or as great as another. It is true in the verse cited out of Homer,

Τὸν νῦν ἴσα Θεῷ Ἰθακήσιοι εἰσπορεύσιν,

that *εἰσπορεύν ἴσα Θεῷ*, is to look on him as equal to God, and that proves that *ἴσα Θεῷ* signifies, either a God, or one equal to God; but then

εἶναι and *εἰσορᾶσθαι*, *to be* and *to be looked on*, are not the same, and so *εἶναι ἴσα* is *to be equal*, and not only *to be looked on as such*. The true notion of *ἴσα* may be discerned by Luke vi. 34, where they that lend to the rich are said to do it *ἵνα ἀπολάβωσι τὰ ἴσα*, *that they may receive from them loans, or benefits, of as great a value*; where τὰ ἴσα, in the plural, (just as here,) signifies that which is *equally valuable*: and as there, ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ ἴσα is *to receive that which is equal, or equivalent*, so *εἶναι ἴσα* is *to be equal*, and *ἴσα Θεῷ*, *equal to God*, of the same value and real power and divinity with God the Father. And then follows ἀλλὰ ἐκένωσε, either in the notion of ἀλλὰ for *yet*, though he were thus great, *yet he vilified, submitted himself*; or, as ἀλλὰ signifies *but*, he was God, and, without any injury, equal to his Father, *but for all this, or notwithstanding this, he vilified himself*, &c. And this is the clear rendering of this whole place.

7. [b] *made himself of no reputation*] Κενώω signifies *to lessen, diminish*; so Phavorinus, Κενωθῆ, ἐλάττωσιν ὑπομείνη, *to suffer or undergo diminution*: so the Hebrew, כָּנַח, which, Jer. xiv. 4, and xv. 9, is rendered *κενόω*, *to empty*, is, Joel i. 10. 12. Nehem. i. 4, ὀλεγῶ, *to diminish*, and Hos. ix. 3, σμικρύνω, *to make little*.

12. [c] *fear and trembling*] That the phrase μετὰ φόβον καὶ τρόμον, *with fear and trembling*, signifies μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης, *with humility*, is ordinarily said from the ancients, and is confirmed by ² St. Chrysostom. using it of the angels, Ἀγγελικαὶ δυνάμεις παριστάμεναι μετὰ φόβον καὶ τρόμον οἱ χειρουβὶμ, κατακαλύπτοντες τὰ πρόσωπα, οἱ σεραφεῖμ κράζοντες *τρόμῳ, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος*, “The angelical powers assist with fear and trembling, the cherubims hide their faces, the seraphims cry with trembling, Holy, holy, holy Lord,” &c. And thus it may here have a very commodious sense, so as to be answerable to those words in the second part of this speech, ver. 13, *for God worketh in you to will and to do of his good pleasure*, which is a foundation of all humility. But the notion of the phrase in other places of these books seems to imply something more, not only lowliness of mind, but diligence and caution, and solicitude, and fear of displeasing, as a qualification of obedience, (and so, *fearing the Lord with all the heart and soul*, Deut. x. 12, consists in keeping his commandments, &c.) such as will be required to render it acceptable to God. Thus, Ephes. vi. 5, *servants, obey your masters with fear and trembling*; that is, a very great fear of offending, terror, or trembling, lest they should do any thing amiss. So 2 Cor. vii. 15, upon St. Paul’s orders of severity, ver. 9, either delivered by Titus, or made known to him by St. Paul, ver. 14, (and so he an officer of St. Paul’s, sent to see how they behaved themselves under it,) Titus tells him of the Corinthians’ obedience, (ὑπακοήν again) ὥς μετὰ φόβον καὶ τρόμον ἐδέξασθε αὐτὸν, *how with fear and trembling ye received him*, that is, entertained him and his message from Paul with all *readiness of obedience, all diligence, and fear, and zeal*, ver. 11, to approve yourselves unto him. Thus ἐν φόβῳ, *in fear*, signifies, 1 Pet. i. 17, with all diligence and care to approve themselves to God; and so, 2 Cor. vii. 1, *in the fear of God* is the qualification of their *cleansing from all filthiness, and perfecting holiness*: and Heb. xii. 28, as the qualification of *serving God acceptably*, is added, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας, *with reverence*

² Hom. 31, de Natali Dom.

and fear; and that backed with the consideration of, *our God is a consuming fire*. And accordingly the worshippers of God, the pious among the Gentiles, are called *εὐλαβεῖς* and *φοβούμενοι*, *men of reverence and fear*; their *fear* signifying their solicitude and diligence to please God, wherein their piety consisted. And so 1 Pet. iii. 15, *ἵτοιμοι*, *ready* (as servants are to be at every call) *to give answer to every one that asks you an account of the hope in you*, (that is, to confess Christ even in persecutions and dangers,) *with meekness and fear*; as with all meekness to men, so with all care to approve yourselves to God. And thus it is here set as the qualification of godly obedience; *as*, saith he, *you have always obeyed—so, &c. work out—with fear and trembling*, *χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν*, ver. 14, *without murmurings and disputings*, which are the worst evidences of an untoward obedience, and so most contrary to the sincere diligence and zeal to God's service, meant by the *fear and trembling*.

13. [d] *worketh in you both to will—*] The word *ὁ ἐνεργῶν*, *that worketh*, being joined with *ἐν ὑμῖν*, *in you*, on one side, and with *ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας*, *of his good pleasure*, on the other side, must in reason so be interpreted, as shall be most directly answerable to the exhortation given to them, ver. 12, *of working out their own salvation with fear and trembling*. To which it will be consequent, that as this which is done by God is done of his own free mercy, without any merit of ours which may claim it from him, and therefore requires not only our humility, but our diligence and caution and solicitude, and fear of displeasing so gracious a Father, who may, if he be provoked by our unworthiness, withdraw it from us; so it is not to be conceived to be wrought by God in such an irresistible manner, as that it shall be impossible for those in whom God thus works to contradict or resist his working. For if it were so, there could be no place for the exhortation to do that which could not be otherwise, *to work out their own salvation*, &c. To *work* then in us the *τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν*, *the willing and the acting*, or *operating*, is the giving us that strength, working in us those abilities, which are required to our willing, or working, as necessary to prepare and assist us to do either. So (God's *χαρίσματα* and *ἐνεργήματα*, *gifts and operations*, being all one) *δοῦναι λατρεύειν*, *to give to serve him*, Luke i. 74, signifies his affording that grace which enables us to serve him, not which forceth or necessitateth us to do so. The king's MS. here adds the word *δυνάμει*, *by his power*, which as it agrees well with this sense, so hath it a farther energy in it, to encourage our diligence, which is wont to be disheartened by the difficulty and impossibility of the task. Be we never so weak and insufficient of ourselves, God hath all-sufficient strength, and by that strength of his he *worketh in us the willing and the doing*: and so if we be not wanting to ourselves, but work, and *work out our own salvation with all diligence*, we shall have no reason to complain of want of strength, *we are able to do what he requires of us*, *διὰ τοῦ ἐνδυναμοῦντος*, *through him that strengtheneth us*.

17. [e] *offered upon the sacrifice*] The word *σπένδομαι* denotes the pouring out of wine upon the sacrifice; *ἡ τοῦ οἴνου ἔκχυσις εἰς τὰ ἱερουργήματα*, *the effusion of wine on the sacrifices*, saith Ammonius, of *σπονδῇ*, and *ὁ ἐπιχέμενος ταῖς θυσίαις οἶνος*, saith Hesychius, *wine poured out on*

the sacrifice. This wine being thus offered up to God, is said to *cheer the heart of God*, Judg. ix. 13. And to this St. Paul here compares the effusion of his own blood, which is most fitly resembled by wine. And the words that follow make the resemblance complete. For the bringing in of men to the faith of Christ, to the embracing and receiving the Gospel, is elsewhere compared to a sacrifice, Rom. xii. 1, *your bodies a living sacrifice*, and xv. 16, *and offering of the Gentiles acceptable*, &c. And a sacrifice being first killed, then dressed and prepared by the priests and Levites, the former of these is called *θυσία*, the latter *λειτουργία*, and both are made use of here, *the sacrifice*, and *the service* of their *faith*: where their *faith* signifying their receiving of the Gospel, the converting them is this *θυσία τῆς πίστεως*, *sacrifice of their faith*; and the farther labour bestowed upon them, (in the confirming and fitting them for this honourable employment of being offered up to God a living sacrifice,) is the *λειτουργία*, *the service*, and Paul's *spending his life*, shedding his blood in the employment, is the pouring out the wine on the sacrifice. Thus 2 Tim. iv. 6, speaking of his sufferings and danger under Nero, *ἤδη σπένδομαι*, saith he, *I am already poured out*.

20. [f] *no man likeminded*] The notion of *ισόψυχος* among Greek authors is clear all one with *ἴσος ἐμῇ ψυχῇ*, *equal to my soul*, a *second self*, most dear to me, such as Patroclus to Achilles in Homer, whom, saith he, *I love ἴσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ*, *equal to my head*, or *life*. Thus also the Greek interpreters of the Psalms use it, psal. lv. 14, *σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπε ἰσόψυχε, ἡγεμών μου καὶ γνωστὴ μου*, *thou my companion, my guide, and my known friend*. This therefore in all reason is to be the meaning of it here also, not to express what care Timothy had of the Philippians, (for that is said in the next words, *ὅστις γησιῶς τὰ ὑμῶν μεριμνήσει*, *who will sincerely take care of your affairs*,) but how dearly valued he was by Paul, so that when he came to them, they should think a second Paul was come to them. If there were any difficulty in this rendering, or place for conjecture, a man might guess St. Paul to have written either *σύζυγον* or *ισόζυγον*, the first used by this apostle in this epistle, ch. iv. 3, *γνήσιε σύζυγε*, *true yokefellow*, and the latter of the same signification, *he that draws in another yoke*. So I suppose the gloss in Hesychius must be read, not *ισοζύγιον*, *ἴσον*, *ζυγὸς ἀντίστηκον*, but *ισόζυγον*, *ἴσον ζυγῷ*, *ἀντίζυγον*, and so in Phavorinus also. But there is no reason to doubt the reading *ισόψυχον*, nor to fly to this or any other uncertain conjecture.

30. [g] *not regarding*] The word *παρὰβουλευσάμενος* is not ordinarily to be met with, unless in Hesychius and Phavorinus and other glossaries, which seem not only to have taken it from hence, but also to have read the word *παρὰβουλευσάμενος*, (though the impressions have it otherwise,) for they place it betwixt *παράβολη* and *παράβολιον*, which would not be done according to the order of the letters, if it had been *παράβουλ*. It is therefore very probable that the reading here should be *παρὰβουλευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ*: so *παράβολος*, in Aristophanes, is *ῥυψοκίνδυνος*, *he that casts himself into danger*, (in which sense we have *παράβλημένος*, 2 Macc. xiv. 38,) which is the very notion of this word in Hesychius, *εἰς θάνατον αὐτὸν ἐκιδόνος*, *one that gives himself up to death*; for so saith Phavorinus the phrases are usual, *παράβαλλομαι*

τῇ ἐμαντοῦ κεφαλῇ, *I venture, or gage, my head, παραβάλλομαι ἀργυρίῳ, I lay any money.* Thus in *Plutarch, *παραβολότερον ἀγωνίζεσθαι, to be more venturesome in fighting than ordinary*; and in Pliny's *Epistles, parabola*, that is, *periculosa*. So doth Chrysostom expound this place, *ἐξίδωκεν ἑαυτὸν, ὡς κἂν ὁτιοῦν δέη παθεῖν, he gave himself up to suffer whatsoever should be necessary*; and again, *κατατολμὴν θανάτου, contemning death.* So Theophylact, *παντὸς κινδύνου καταφρονήσας, despising all danger*, and *ἐπέριψεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ θανάτῳ, he threw himself upon death*, and at length *βίψοκίνδυνος*, the very expressions that are set by the glossaries to explain *παραβολος*. For the explaining of this the learned Isaac Casaubon, in *Epist.* 438, saith that he found in Putean's copy this reading, with this interpretation to it, *parabolanus fuit de anima sua*, in the same manner as in Justinian's code, they that go to them that are sick of the plague are called *parabolani* and *paraborarii*.

CHAP. III.

1. [a] *grievous*] What *ὀκνηρὸς* here signifies will be clear enough out of Phavorinus. *Ὀκνῶν*, saith he, is used by Homer for *ὀκνηρὸς ἔχειν*, and is *τὸ οὐ κοινεῖν, or ἐνεργεῖν, not to work, or do any thing*: thence *ὀκνος*, saith he, *ῥαθυμία, cowardice or idleness*, and *φυγὴ πόνων, avoiding of labours*, and *φόβος μελλούσης ἐνεργείας, fear of approaching action*: and again of *ὀκνεῖν*, it is *ἀλόγῳ καὶ ἀναίτιῳ ῥαθυμίᾳ κατέχεσθαι, ὅθεν καὶ ὀκνηρὸς, to be held or possessed with an irrational and causeless sluggishness*, and from thence the word *ὀκνηρὸς* comes, which here we speak of. So then it signifies *avoiding of danger or labour, fear of action when it is near, an unreasonable and causeless cowardice*: and from thence it comes in Homer, saith he, generally or for the most part (*ἡ πλείων χρήσις*) to signify *φόβος, fear, cowardice*, and so it is often used in Sophocles, *πολλὰ ἡ χρήσις παρὰ Σοφοκλεί, saith he, in this sense.* And therefore this will be a proper rendering of it, *ὀκνηρὸν, cowardly*, and so the context best bears also; that to write what he is about to write next, viz. those cautions against *the dogs, the evil workers, the concision*, (*Βλέπετε, take heed of them, thrice in a verse,*) *οὐκ ὀκνηρὸν ἐμοί, is not cowardice* in the apostle, (that is the notion of *ῥαθυμία*,) but yet safe for them, viz. to be so warned and admonished by him.

2. [b] *concision*] That *κατατέμνειν* signifies to *cut, or rend asunder*, there is no question, but the reason why the word *κατατομή*, *concision* or *cutting asunder*, is here used for a sort of men called before *dogs* and *evil workers*, is the only thing to be considered. That the Jews are called *περιτομή*, *the circumcision*, meaning by it those that are circumcised, is clear from many places, Gal. ii. 8, 9. Now the Gnostics, which were not all of them Jews, nor themselves circumcised, did yet comply with, and take upon them to be very zealous Jews, and would constrain all others to be circumcised, Gal. vi. 12. Hence it is that Rev. ii. 9, they are expressed by *λέγοντες ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι, they that say they are Jews, but are not*; see note [e] on Rev. ii. And hereupon, because these Judaizers that pretend such zeal to the law, and particularly for circumcision, do neither perform any part of the law, (but are *evil workers* here, *the synagogue of Satan*, Rev. ii. 9,) nor are circumcised themselves, (*οὐδὲ περιτεμνόμε-*

μενοι, Gal. vi. 13,) and all that they do is, as dogs, to tear and rend all they come near, and cut asunder the unity of the church, (which comes no nearer true Judaism than dogs and schismatics do to circumcision,) therefore, by an elegance and sarcasm, the apostle calls them *κατατομή*, *concision*, or *cutting asunder*, they that, instead of circumcising themselves, cut asunder the church of Christ. So saith Theophylact, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπειρῶντο κατατέμνειν*, "they endeavoured to cut asunder the church of Christ." In opposition to whom follows, *ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή*, *for we are the circumcision*: we that are the true orthodox believers are the true *circumcision*, the true children of Abraham, that actually perform that to which circumcision was designed to engage his posterity; and they that pretend thus to be Jews and Christians, but are not, are *κατατομή*, more truly than *περιτομή*, *the concision*, than *the circumcision*.

12. [c] *attained*] What *λαμβάνειν* signifies among the agonistical writers hath been formerly noted, the *receiving* the reward that is due to the conqueror; see note [I] on Rom. ix., and note [f] on 1 Cor. ix., and accordingly it is used of him that hath finished his race and course, conquered, and gained the prize, although he have not yet received it; and so it is here taken, *οὐκ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον*, *not that I have finished* my course, or that my crown is so immutably and irreversibly yet assigned me, (for that he was not yet in heaven, he needed not have said, it was sufficiently known to all,) as that I should speak confidently of it. That which is fitter for me to entertain myself with is, to use all diligence that I miscarry not.

[d] *perfect*] The word *τετελειώμαι* is an agonistical word, and signifies likewise the being *crowned*, or *receiving the reward*. So in Gregory Nyssen, speaking of the martyrs, the phrase used is *τελείωσις ἀθλητοῦ* (in the same sense that we had *κατάρτισις*, 2 Cor. xiii. 10,) agreeable to the use of *τέλεια νικητήρια*, *perfect prizes* in the agones. For of their prizes there were some more valuable than others, the meaner, such as the tripods, and shields and cups, but the more esteemed, the crowns, which had nothing of mean profit in them, but only the glory and renown of victory, the crowns being made but of leaves only, as hath been formerly said. Now the more illustrious were called *τέλεια νικητήρια*, *the perfect rewards or prizes*; and to this, saith Peter Faber, refers that of St. James, ch. i. 17, where *πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ* is *every good donative*, parallel to those of the meaner first kind of reward, and *πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον*, this more illustrious of a crown. And proportionably to this, *τελειοῦσθαι* will be to receive this crown. So Heb. xi. 40, speaking of the saints of the Old Testament, which, saith he, were afflicted in this life, and received not personally the completion of the promises that were made unto them, but received them by faith then, and we their posterity now really; and that he there calls *τελειωθῆναι*, *to be perfected*, all one with *κομίζεσθαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν*, *receiving the promise*, ver. 39, for which Œcumenius puts, *στεφανωθῆναι, καὶ πέρας ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαβεῖν*, *to be crowned, and receive the perfection of good things*. So Heb. ii. 10, God was pleased *τελειῶσαι τὸν ἀρχηγὸν σωτηρίας*, *to crown, or consummate, the captain of our salvation*, (that hath rescued us out of the sins and hazards of this life,) *διὰ παθημάτων*, *by sufferings*. So Heb. xii. 23, *δίκαιοι τετελειωμένοι*, *the just that have received their reward*. Thus the Hebrew word *קָבַץ* signifies both

τέλος, an *end*, and *βραβείον*, a *reward*. In the former sense it is, psal. cxix. 33, *I will keep it* עָרַב נִסְיָי, (understanding ל,) *in finem*, where the Chaldee paraphrast reads עַד נִסְיָי, *even to the consummation*, and ver. 112, עַד סוּפֵי, *even to the end*. In the second sense it is, psal. xix. 11, *in the keeping of them there is* עָרַב, *reward*; the Greek reads ἀνταπόδοσις, *retribution*. This is almost ^bSt. Chrysostom's note, παρ' Ἑβραίοις γὰρ τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ νίκη διὰ μιᾶς σημαίνεται λέξις, "end and victory are by the Hebrews expressed by the same word;" and thence it is, saith he, that in some psalms, instead of *eis τέλος*, *in finem*, the inscription is νικοποιῶν, *to him that overcomes*. Thus Rom. vi. 21, τέλος is put for *reward*, the same with δόξια, ver. 23, and so 1 Pet. i. 9, τέλος πίστεως, *the reward of our faith*, and Heb. vi. 8, τέλος *eis* καύσιν, *reward to be burnt*. Of another notion of this word, see note [c] on Heb. v.

[e] *follow after*] Διώκων is the word that expresses the contention ἐν δρόμῳ, *in the race*, and it signifies, *to endeavour to get before those that are before us, to labour and stretch, ἵνα καταλάβῃ, that he may get the prize by being foremost*.

[f] *am apprehended*] The word κατελήφθην here is still in the agonistical sense, and being now applied to Christ, it signifies most elegantly, that Christ doth, as in a race, contend and strive, and that for no other reward that he hath in his eye, but only the faithful disciple, whom when he converts and brings to repentance, he conceives himself to have attained his reward or crown; and so we are, as it were, the crown that is caught and wore by him, as Ephes. i. 11, we are said κληροῦσθαι, that is, to be the κλῆρος, or *portion*, which he hath for his patrimony, as it were, or as he is said to *purchase*, λαὸν, a *people*, Tit. ii. 14, and as *the church*, 1 Pet. ii. 9, is said to be λαὸς *eis* περιποίησιν, a *people purchased*, or *acquired*, by him, Acts xx. 23.

13. [g] *forgetting those things which are behind*] This phrase of ἐπιλανθάνομενος τὰ ὀπίσω, *not looking at that which is behind, or passed*, refers likewise to the custom of the racer, who doth not use to stand still, and look behind him, to see either how much of his journey he is past, or how far^a the rest are behind him, (for this is the sluggard's trick,) but sets bodily to his business, to overtake and outrun all that are before, and to get through the remainder of his race, and that is, ἐπεκτείνεσθαι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, *to stretch himself as vigorously as he can* (for so saith Hesychius, Ἐπέκτασις, ἡ ἐπὶ πολὺ τάσις) to get to the goal first. This hath Horace expressed distinctly in his description of a racer in a chariot, Serm. l. i. Satyr. 1.

Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,

Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum

Præteritum temnens, extremos inter euntem.

"The ruler of the chariot presseth to overtake those horses that are before his, but contemns and never looks after him that is behind, and outrun by him."

14. [h] *the mark*] That σκοπὸς signifies *the goal* hath been said already, note [g] on 1 Cor. ix., and that βραβείον is the *prize*, or *crown*, which either hung over the goal or was given the conqueror by the judges: and so the meaning of κατὰ σκοπὸν *eis* βραβείον is, that the racer takes the goal in the way to the crown, first conquers, and then

^a On Job xxiii.

is rewarded, the goal being the conclusion of the race, but the way to the crown.

16. [*i*] *attained*] That *φθάνειν* is an agonistical word, and signifies *to be foremost* in the race, see note [*d*] on Rom. ix. and note [*b*] on 2 Cor. x., and so *εἰς δὲ ἐφθάσαμεν* will signify, *inasmuch as we are gotten before* other men in the race, have attained some degree of spiritual proficiency.

[*k*] *the same rule*] What *κανὼν* in the *stadia* signifies, see note [*g*] on 1 Cor. ix. and note [*d*] on 2 Cor. x., viz. the white line that marked out the path wherein they were to run, and so *αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν κανόνι* here is, *to go or run by the same line*, in that path, never stepping over, or out of it, lest they lose all. And thus are they most concerned to do that are before other men, and if they have but this one care, are not likely to miscarry by any thing else. That which is most contradictory to this in our Christian race is, dividing into factions and sides, peace, unity, and charity being the white within which they are commanded to walk; and therefore it follows that they should *τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν*, *mind the same thing*, live in unity and amity, run all the same way to the same end, and be *συμμημηται*, ver. 17, all fellow-followers of the apostle.

20. [*l*] *conversation*] *Πολίτευμα* from *πολίται*, *citizens*, is literally *citizenship*, and denotes a *municipium*, which is the state and condition of those who dwelling out of the city, have yet the *jus civitatis Romane*, the "privileges of the city of Rome" belonging to them. Thus saith Cicero, de Legib. l. 2, *Omnibus municipibus duas esse patrias, unam naturæ, alteram juris, Catonis exemplo, qui Tusculi natus in populi Romani societatem susceptus est*, "All such have two countries, one of nature, the other of law, after Cato's example, who being born at Tusculum, was received into the society of the people of Rome." And Tacitus, *ibi municipales fiunt, ubi in civitatem recepti*. But this so, that these shall differ from those that had their habitation in the city, who alone might be chosen to offices in it. Thus is *πολιτεία*, Acts xxii. 28. (by which Hesychius expounds *πολίτευμα*,) the privilege of being a freeman of Rome, belonging to one that lived in Judea, and that bought by the *χλειαρχὸς* there, but by birth belonging to St. Paul. And thus is the Christian here on earth, *συμπολίτης τῶν ἁγίων*, Ephes. ii. 19, *a fellow-citizen of the saints*, not *ξένος* or *πάροικος*, *a stranger or sojourner*, but a freeman, or *munciceps* of heaven; though while he dwells here, he be in an inferior condition to them who have *domicilium in urbe*, the saints that are in heaven, who alone are capable of reigning with God. See note [*d*] on Acts xxii.

CHAP. IV.

3. [*a*] *book of life*] The *book of life* refers to the custom of well-ordered cities, which kept registers containing all the names of the citizens, out of which as apostates and fugitives and infamous persons were rased, (and agreeably there is mention of *blotting out of names out of God's book*, Rev. iii. 5,) so they that did continue obedient, orderly citizens, their names were still continued in. Accordingly *life* signifying *spiritual life* here, (the state of grace and favour of God, the inchoation of that future eternal life,) the *book of this life* is the register of all sincere Christians, (as *the book of the living*, in the Psalmist, is

the number of men that live in this world,) from which they are expunged that cease to continue such. (This is expressed in another like phrase, Rev. iii. 12, *I will write on him the name of the city of my God, and new Jerusalem.*) And as this was ordinary in cities, so was it every where in armies, into which whosoever entered, he had his name taken, and put into the muster-roll. And thus the life of every Christian, but especially of those that *labour in the word and doctrine*, being a warfare, the phrase is ordinarily used, in all authors, of all Christians. Thus in Cyril's Προκατηχ. p. 1, speaking to those that were baptized, *ὀνοματογραφία τίως ὑμῶν γέγονε, καὶ στρατείας κλήσις, καὶ νυμφαγωγίας λαμπάδες, καὶ οὐρανίου πολιτείας ἐπιθυμία, καὶ πρόθεσις ἀγαθῆ, καὶ ἐλπίς ἐπακολουθοῦσα.* Where the *writing of their names*, and, which is all one, *the calling to the militia*, are used to set down the state of a Christian; as also those other expressions of *the lamps*, for *fetching of the bridegroom*, and *desire of the heavenly citizenship, the good purpose, and the consequent hope.* And as of all Christians, so in a more eminent manner of the apostles and their fellow-labourers, here it is affirmed, that their *names were written in the book of life*, ἐν τῇ γνώσει καὶ κρίσει Θεοῦ, "in the knowledge and judgment of God," saith Theophylact, (or else, *ἦδη τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπέψηφίσαστο ἐντεῦθεν*, "that from thence God had already adjudged life to them, as when it is said, *he that believeth not is condemned already*, and so inscribed in the book of death,") either as actual soldiers in the Christian camp or church, (as the apostles called themselves,) or as those that had right to that superior heavenly citizenship, to which all labourers had title, and consequently all these *συνεργοί*, or *fellow-labourers* of St. Paul. Which at that present was perfectly true of them, though afterward Demas, one of them, (Col. iv. 14. Philemon 24.) forsook the employment, 2 Tim. iv. 10. And as of cities and armies, so in families, the phrase and custom is used, to which that of Ulysses in Homer refers,

——— Τούνομα ἐν Διὶς αὐλῇ,

His name was in Jupiter's court,

that is, he was born of a goddess: see note [b] on Rev. iii.

7. [b] *peace of God*] That by *peace* is meant the study of preserving peace among men, appears Gal. v. 22, where *εἰρήνη, peace*, is set among the fruits of the Spirit, where consequently it must not be that good of *peace*, which is a felicity, but no virtue, (no effect or fruit of God's sanctifying Spirit,) but the peaceable-mindedness, desire and pursuit of peace, called in other places *δώκεω εἰρήνην, pursuing peace*, and *εἰρηνεύω, having peace*, Rom. xiii. 18. Accordingly, *the peace of God*, Col. iii. 15, is (not God's peace or reconciliation toward us, but) that peaceableness which God hath commanded and bequeathed to us. And accordingly there it follows, *εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθητε, to which ye are called*, which determines it to be a duty of ours. And then it is not improbable, but this may be the notion of *εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, the peace of God*, or, as the king's MS. reads, *Χριστοῦ, of Christ*, in this place also. That the apostle is exhorting them to peace and unity, is apparent, ch. iii., where the *dogs that rend*, the *evil workers that defile*, the *conscion*, that (under pretence of kindness to the Mosaic law) cut and tear all to pieces, and are to be looked to, and avoided in that church, are certainly the Gnostic heretics, ver. 2. Against these he sets himself in the remainder of that chapter, and concludes, ver. 15, *As many therefore*

as are perfect, let us be of this mind, and εἴτι ἐρέως φρονεῖτε, if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, that is, if in any particular there be any difference of opinion in any among you, *God shall reveal even this unto you*; that is, there is no reason that such a difference should breed any division, destroy that unity and peace which is to be preserved among you; for, though at present ye do not, yet upon your prayers to God, and applying yourselves to use of this means, no doubt ye shall receive instructions from him by the apostles, &c. in all that is necessary for you: πλὴν εἰς δ' ἐφθάσαμεν, &c. ver. 16, *but, or in the mean, as far as we are advanced*, some before other, let not that hinder our unity and peace, *let us* (all, both those that are foremost, and that are not so forward) *walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing*. All for peace and unity still, and so on to the end, in advice to adhere to those that continue in the doctrine he had taught them, and avoid all heretics. And then begins this chapter, *Wherefore, my brethren, &c. so stand in the Lord*, that is, according to these former directions, *stand*, in opposition to apostatizing, or falling off, and *so stand*, preserve this peace, all this while exhorted to, and, ver. 2, *I beseech, or exhort, Euodias and Syntyches τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν Κυρίῳ, to mind the same thing in the Lord*, that is, to preserve this peace of God, to live in the unity of the gospel. And then the exhortation, ver. 4, 5, 6, belonging to that great Christian duty of constancy, and *rejoicing in prayer to God*, instead of solicitude (here, as Matt. x. 19, seasonably forbidden) in respect of the present pressures, (and all this enforced with the mention of the near approach of Christ's coming to destroy the persecutors, and rescue the faithful,) is directly designed to fortify them against the Gnostic compliances, and so is not alien from this matter. After all which, follows this of καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, that if they take this course prescribed, this *peace of God* by Christ commanded, (and to which the apostle had all this while so solicitously exhorted them,) would guard and fortify their hearts (the principles of action and practice) and (νοήματα) *their understandings*, which were the parts subject to errors, *in Christ Jesus*, preserve them in the right way against all the errors and temptations of those times. The only remaining difficulty is, what is meant by this epithet, added to *the peace of God*, ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν, *that surpasseth all understanding*; which will also be intelligible by what hath been premised. For as they that did τὴ ἐρέως φρονεῖν, ch. ii. 15, that is, *differed somewhat in opinion* from others, were obliged, ver. 16, not to disturb the peace of the church for that, but to expect till God should further reveal or instruct them, (which concludes, that peace was more excellent and valuable than that exact knowledge or understanding of all things, which might be revealed, and much more than the pretended knowledge and understanding of the Gnostics,) so it is most fitly here said, that this love and care of preserving that peace, prescribed by God and Christ, is to be preferred before any understanding that either some were thought to want, or others to abound in. As for the ordinary notion which is had of this phrase, for quiet and serenity of mind, as a special mercy of God, though that may be thought agreeable enough to the *not caring*, &c. ver. 6, yet, first, it will be hard to find any place where that is the notion of *the peace of God*, (though of peace and rest it is.) As for that of *my peace*, John xiv. 27, see that place. And then,

secondly, though the *no-solicitude* do here come as an attendant on the precedent *rejoicing in afflictions*, (and that a seasonable means to keep from breaking the unity of the church, and joining with the heretical Gnostics,) yet it is not necessary that this concluding form, *the peace of God*, &c. should be restrained to this last particular of *no-solicitude*, which came in but incidentally, but may rather be applied to the grand matter of the epistle, that of preserving of peace in the church.

10. [c] *flourished again*] That ἀναβάλλειν, which signifies *to flourish*, or *revive*, may be here used actively, *to make revive*, or *flourish again*, may appear first by *analogy* with other words of the same nature: so θριαμβεύειν, *to triumph*, is used in the sense of the conjugation *hiphil*, *to make triumph*, 2 Cor. ii. 14. So ἀνατέλλειν, *to arise*, is, Matt. v. 45, *to make arise*; see more, note [f] on Mark xiv. And thus is this word clearly used Ezek. xvii. 24, ἀναβάλλω ξύλον ξηρόν, *I make the dry tree to flourish*. And so St. Chrysostom seems to understand and use the word in this place, οὐ γάρ ἐστι μικρὸν τὸ μαρνανθέντα ἀναθῆλαι, “for it is no small thing to make things that are withered grow green, and flourish again.”

[d] *lacked opportunity*] That ἡκαίρῃσθε here signifies, as we have rendered it, not *wanted opportunity*, but *ability*, is the express affirmation of St. Chrysostom, οὐκ εἶχετε, saith he, ἐν χειρὶν, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ ἦτε. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, ἡκαίρῃσθε δέ, “*Ye had not in your hands, or power, neither were you in plenty*. For that is the meaning of this word.” And this, saith he and Theophylact, ἀπὸ κοινῆς συνηθείας, “taken from common use of speech, as when we say, στενοχωρία μοι ἐπῆλθε, κακὸς καιρὸς νῦν ἐστίν, *some straits have come on me, it is now an ill season with me*.” So Gal. vi. 10, ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν, not, *as we have opportunity*, but, *as we have ability*, (all one with τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην, Luke xi. 41.) For indeed that is an opportunity, when the wants of others and our plenty meet together. Of this use of these words we have frequent example among authors. So for the simple καιρὸς, Nazianzen περὶ φιλοπτωχείας, Τί γὰρ μὴ βοηθοῦμεν τῇ φύσει καιρὸν ἔχοντες; “*Why do we not help our common nature*,” that is, other men, “*having ability*?” (for if we have not ability, the opportunity of another’s want lays no obligation upon us.) And accordingly it follows there, μή μοι γένοιτο πλουτεῖν τούτων ἀπορουνμένων, “*God forbid I should have wealth and they want*,” where πλουτεῖν, *to have wealth*, is all one with καιρὸν ἔχειν, precedent. So Plutarch, in the *Apophthegms of Kings*, mentions it as a speech of Philip, (on occasion of being told that he could not encamp in such a place, where he desired, because there was no food for the cattle,) οἷος ἡμῖν ὁ βίος, εἰ πρὸς τὸν τῶν θῶν καιρὸν ὀφειλομεν εἶναι; “*What a life is ours, if we must live according to the provision of the asses!*” *ad id quod commodum est asinis*, saith Is. Casaubon. So in Xenophon, ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρὸν πίμπλασθαι, “*to be filled above plenty*.” So those that are well provided for, he calls ἐπικαίριους. So Pindar in *Olymp.* Πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαυδαμένος φέρεי τῶντε καὶ τῶν καιρῶν, “*Riches embroidered or sprinkled, variegated with virtues, give ability of many things*.” So in Polybius, l. 10, speaking of the king of Persia’s court at Ecbatana, “it demonstrates,” saith he, “by the costliness of it, τὴν μεγάλην τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταβαλλομένων εὐκαιρίαν, the great plenty of them that first built it:” and lib. 1, κατὰ τὰς τῶν βίων εὐκαιρίας, “*according to their substance*,” or *abilities*. And then if εὐκαιρία

signify *ability* or *sufficiency*, ἀκασία must needs be *want of ability*; and so the Syriac renders here, *you were not sufficient*. See Andr. Downes on Saint Chrysostom on Gal. vi. p. 760, and on this place, where he confirms this notion of the word by authorities.

18. [e] *an odour of a sweet smell*] There were two altars in the temple of the Jews, θυμιατήριον, *the altar of incense*, within the temple, and θυσιαστήριον, *the altar of sacrifice*, without in the court. On these two were offered all things that were offered to God; and under these two heads, of *incense* and *burnt-offering*, are almsdeeds or works of charity here set down, as being the prime things now under the gospel to obtain God's favour and acceptance.

[a] THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

Colossæ was a city in Phrygia, not far from Laodicea and Hierapolis, in the Lydian or proconsular Asia. To these St. Paul had not personally preached the gospel, nor so much as been among them, ch. ii. 1, but had sent Epaphras his disciple to them, and he had converted them to the faith, ch. i. 7. This Epaphras was at the writing of this Epistle (from Rome, about the year of Christ 59) a *fellow-prisoner* of St. Paul there, Philem. 23. And by him (as an eyewitness and principal actor in it) St. Paul, being advertised of the reception of Christianity among them, and the agreeableness of their actions to their faith, sends them this Epistle of consolation, to strengthen and confirm them: and the tenure and subject (and oftentimes the expressions) of it is muchwhat the same as that to the Ephesians had been, and we may thence conclude it to have been written near upon the same time with that.

CHAP. I.

15. [a] *firstborn*] The word πρωτότοκος, beside the ordinary notion of *firstborn*, (which cannot so well here refer to Christ's eternal generation, because of that which is added to it, *the first-born of every creature*, which only gives him a precedence before all other creatures, and doth not attribute eternity to him,) is used sometimes for a *lord*, or person in power, who hath the privilege of the firstborn, dominion over all his brethren: and according to this notion it is used, κυρως, in scripture for a *prince* or *principal person*. So psalm lxxviii. 27, David is called *the firstborn of the kings of the earth*, that is, the most glorious among them; and Job xviii. 13, we have *the firstborn of death*. And so among the civilians, *heres*, "heir," signifies *dominus*, "lord," Justinian Instit. l. 2. tit. 19. de Hæred. Qualit. et Diff. §. ult. And thus may it fitly be a title of Christ incarnate, in respect of his power over his church, the key of the house of David laid upon him. But it is possible it may peculiarly refer to his resurrection, in which he was the

firstborn from the dead, ver. 18, the first which from the grave was raised and exalted to heaven, and being so risen, *all power was given unto him in heaven and in earth*.

16. [b] *thrones*] These several titles here rehearsed may possibly be no more but the expressions of several degrees of dignity among men. So *θρόνοι*, *thrones*, may denote kings, or monarchs and princes; *κυριότητες*, *dominions*, (or *lordships*;) may be the *reguli*, the honours (whether of dukes or earls) next under princes; *ἀρχαί*, the *prefects of provinces and cities*; and *ἑξουσίαι*, *inferior magistrates*: and if so, then may they be here set down to denote all sorts and conditions of men in the Gentile world, by the chief dignities among them here on earth. But because they may also signify the several degrees of angels, and because there follows mention of *ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα*, *visible and invisible*, and the angels may most probably be contained by the latter of them, as this lower world of men by the former, and because it is the creation that is here referred to, and the creating of the angels, as well as men, &c., belongs truly to Christ as God, therefore it will be most reasonable in this place to interpret it in the greater extent, to comprehend angels and men too, the highest and most eminent of both sorts, thereby to set out the eternal divinity and power of Christ, who is Creator of all, and consequently before the most principal angels, which were created before men: see ver. 17. Of the great blasphemies of the Gnostics and their followers the Valentinians in this matter, of angels creating the world, &c., see Irenæus, and note [d] on 1 Tim. i. And to that theology of theirs the apostle may here refer.

20. [c] *whether they be things in earth, or—*] What is here meant by *εἴτε τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, *whether the things on earth, or the things in the heavens*, will, I conceive, be best discerned, 1st, by comparing this place of the reconciliation wrought by Christ with the parallel, Ephes. ii. 14. 16, where it clearly signifies the compacting the Jews and Gentiles into one church; and so again Ephes. i. 10, the *gathering in one all things, both which are in heaven and on earth*, doth signify all men of all sorts. Secondly, by remembering two observations frequent in this book: 1st, that it is the manner of the Hebrew writers to express this inferior world (for want of one word to signify it) by these two, the *heavens* and the *earth*, and indeed any aggregate body or *totum*, by mentioning and enumerating its parts, as the natural day, by *the evening and the morning*, and so to set down so many days and so many nights, where the truth of the story will not allow us to interpret it literally of so many nights distinctly, but of so many *νυκθήμερα*, or *natural days*, of which any the least part is computed for one. (See note [x] on Matt. xii, and note [h] on Ephes. v.) And not to multiply examples, but to confine the discourse to this particular, thus very frequently the *heavens* and the *earth* are set to signify the whole lower world, made up of the firmament of the air, that *expansum* which is called *heaven*, (as when we read, *the fowls of the heaven*;) and of the terrestrial globe of earth and water, (see note [e] on 2 Pet. iii,) and then (consequently to this) *τὰ πάντα*, *all things* here, explained and interpreted by *εἴτε τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, *whether the things on earth, or the things in heaven*; and in the like phrase, ver. 16, *τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ*, *all things that are in the heavens and on the earth*, shall signify no more than what is in other places

expressed by *ὁ κόσμος*, *the world*, (as 2 Cor. v. 19, in the very same matter that here is spoken of, "God in Christ *reconciling the world to himself*," *ἡ κτίσις* *the creation*, *πᾶσα κτίσις*, *the whole creation*, or *all creatures*, the whole world of creation, or the whole world without restriction. Now what is meant by the *whole world* or the *whole creation*, will appear by another second observation, which is taken notice of, and enlarged on, note [d'] on Rom. viii, that *κτίσις*, *creation*, and *κόσμος*, *world* simply, and *πᾶσα κτίσις*, *the whole creation*, Rom. viii. 22, and here ver. 23, signifies all the Gentile world, in opposition to the Jewish enclosure; not all the creatures absolutely, but all men of all nations, particularly the Gentile idolaters mentioned here in the next verse, *ὑμᾶς ποτε ὄντας ἀπηλλοτριωμένους*, *you that were formerly alienated*, &c. And then the meaning of the place will be clearly this, that it pleased God by Christ to *reconcile to himself* (or, as it is possible, *εἰς αὐτὸν*, *to him*, may be read *εἰς αὐτὸ*, *into one* or *the same*, and so be more perfectly parallel to *ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι*, *both in or into one body*, Eph. ii. 16.) *all the men of the world*, the Gentiles and the Jews both; the same thing which was meant by *καταλλαγὴ κόσμου*, Rom. xi. 15, *the reconciling of the world*, (that is, the Gentiles in opposition to the Jews, that there in the words immediately precedent are said to be *cast off*.) and 2 Cor. v. 19, by *God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself*. And though the word *πάντα*, *all things*, be here in the neuter, yet will that be no objection against this, it being ordinary for the neuter to be taken for the masculine; as when Christ is said to have come *σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός*, *to save that which was lost*, that is, all the men that were lost; and so Gal. iii. 22, that *God hath shut up together πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν*, *all things*, that is, all men *under sin*; and innumerable the like: and therefore that which ver. 20 is *πάντα*, *all*, in the neuter, is *ὑμᾶς*, *you men*, *you Gentiles*, ver. 21; and that joined with the *ἀποκατήλλαξεν*, *he hath reconciled* there, as *πάντα*, *all*, with the *ἀποκαταλλάξαι*, *reconciling* here. That I do not conceive the *τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, *things in heaven*, to signify angels, the reason is clear, because *Christ οὐκ ἐπέλαβετο ἀγγέλων*, Heb. ii. 16, *came not to take hold of, or reduce, or relieve, or consequently to reconcile the angels*, but only mankind. And indeed the angels that are *ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, *in the heavens*, never fell, and so needed no reconciling. And though *τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, *the things in heaven*, may possibly signify the saints departed, which are now in *heaven*, in respect of their souls, contrary to the Psychopannychists, and were so at the apostle's writing this, and even at the time of Christ's death, yet the context seems not to have any particular aspect on that matter, but only to look upon Christ, and to set him up as the one universal redeemer and reconciler of all mankind, of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, and to shew what interest the Gentile world hath in his death and resurrection: and therefore I prefer the interpretation first given, as being directly pertinent to this purpose, and agreeable to the consequences. And that will more appear, if you look on the place forementioned and parallel to this, Ephes. i. 10, where this *reconciling of all things in heaven and on earth*, expressed there by *ἀνακεφαλαιοῦν*, *gathering into one*, is called, ver. 9, *μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ*, *the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure*, noting it to be some act of free undeserved mercy, imputable to nothing but God's mere grace, (and such most notoriously was the calling of the Gentile idolaters,) and

that a mystery such as no man ever dreamed of or hoped for before; and what that mystery was, is in the remainder of that Epistle largely shewn, especially ch. ii. 14, 16, 17, and under the name of *the mystery*, ch. iii. 3, 5, viz. the bringing in the Gentiles into the church, preaching ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, among the Gentiles (ch. iii. 8.) *the unsearchable riches of Christ*. And thus, I conceive, the phrase is to be understood, Ephes. iii. 15, where of Christ it is said, that ἐξ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται, *the whole family in heaven and on earth is named by or from him*, that is, surely, all the world, Gentiles as well as Jews, are now vouchsafed by him to be called by his name, that is, to be Christians, called and received into his family.

22. [d] *body of his flesh*] *The body of his flesh* signifies no more than *his flesh*, according to the Hebrew notion of בשר, which, as it signifies body, so it is oft applied to things which have no body, and signifies *essence* or *being*.

25. [e] *fulfil the word*] Πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον, *to fulfil his word*, is a phrase which we meet with 1 Macc. ii. 55, spoken of Joshua, that for *fulfilling the word he was made a judge in Israel*: where, as *the word* signifies *the will and pleasure of God* revealed to him, so πληρῶσαι, *to fulfil it*, is *to perform it* in a very eminent manner. But in this place, ὁ λόγος being by the context confined to another notion, the preaching or publishing the gospel of Christ peculiarly, πληροῦν τὸν λόγον Θεοῦ, *to fulfil the word of God*, will be, to fulfil that preaching, that is, to proceed as far in the preaching of it as by all his diligence and care, by himself and others, he could do, and so belongs to the preaching it to these Colossians, to whom, being out of his way, he yet had sent Epaphras, ver. 7. Thus we have a like phrase Rom. xv. 19. πληρῶσαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *to fill up the preaching or gospel of Christ*, that is, to preach it from city to city, from Jerusalem as far as to Illyricum.

CHAP. II.

8. [a] *spoil*] Συλῶν is *to strip or rob*, as the pillagers in war are wont to do; ἐκδύειν ὄπλων τὸν κείμενον, “to strip one, as he lies, of his armour,” saith Phavorinus; and agreeably to this, ἀφαιρεῖν, αἰχμαλωτίζειν, *to carry away captive*. Hence συλαγωγεῖν is both ἀπογυμνοῦν, *to divest, to strip*; and being here applied to the Gnostics, it belongs to their divinity, which mixes all the heathen gods (under the title of αἰῶνες, a word corrupted from the Hebrew חיות, *living creatures*, which is set to signify *angels*, Ezr. i. 5. See note [d] on 1 Tim. i.) with Christ, and makes use of all the theology of Orpheus and Hesiod and Pythagoras, which is called ἀπείρατοι γενεαλογίαι, *endless genealogies*, 1 Tim. i. 4, ματαιολογία, *idle speaking*, ver. 6, and here *philosophy* and *vain deceit*; and also by bringing others to them συλαγωγεῖ, either carries them captive to their own heathenish errors, or else robs them, despoils them of all their Christian ornaments and weapons, leaving them naked, as it were, of all that rich provision which Christ had laid in for them, depriving them of all the advantages of the gospel. But that of *carrying captive* seems rather to be the notion of it.

[b] *rudiments*] Στοιχεῖα signifies *elements, rudiments, first principles, the letters of the alphabet*, among grammarians; *the first principles, or elements*, of which the body is compounded, among the naturalists. And

so they may fitly signify all imperfect lower sorts of doctrines or precepts, in opposition to that which is more perfect. Thus when Heb. v. 12. the higher Christian knowledge is expressed by *στερεὰ τροφή*, *solid food*, and all the inferior ordinary doctrines thereof but as *milk for children or babes* to feed on, those lower doctrines there (set down ch. vi. 1, of *repentance* and *faith*, &c.) are called *στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *the elements of the beginning of the oracles of God*. Now as Christian religion is the true manly knowledge and wisdom, so are there two sorts of elements, imperfect childish beginnings of knowledge, the one among the Jews, the other among the Gentiles. Among the Jews the rites and ceremonies prescribed them are fitly called *elements* or *beginnings*, being a *παιδαγωγία τοῦ νόμου*, *a pedagogy of the law*, a way to bring up and discipline children by those grosser means, as they were able to bear it, to initiate them to some kind of piety and virtue; and to them that have received the faith, the apostle calls them *ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα*, *weak and beggarly elements*, Gal. iv. 9, and such as were fit only for *νήπιοι*, *babes*, to be subjected to, ver. 3. Among the Gentiles, the philosophers and the magi had some ways of wisdom and of religion also, wherein they exercised their disciples, many abstinences and ways of purgations, sacrifices, and ceremonies of worship to their demons, especially the Pythagoreans, who abstained from wine and flesh and ventry, &c. So saith Porphyry in his book Πε. Ἀποχῆς, and so Clemens Alex. Strom. 3. Διὰ φροντίδος ἐστὶ τοῖς μάγοις οἶνον τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐμψύχων καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀπέχεσθαι, "Their magi teach them to abstain from wine, and things that have life in them, and the use of ventry:" and he adds, λατρεύουσιν ἀγγέλοις καὶ δαίμοσιν, "they worship angels and demons." Now which of these are here referred to is the only question. And that may best be resolved by considering the addition of τοῦ κόσμου, *of the world*, which is joined to it. That word doth once signify the service of the Jewish temple, Eccles. i. 21. *The people besought the most high God, ἕως τελεσθῆ κόσμος Κυρίου, καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτοῦ ἐτελείωσαν*, *till the worship of the Lord were finished, and they had performed their office*: where κόσμος and λειτουργία are used in the same sense, for the *worship* or *service* of the temple. And if this were the notion of τοῦ κόσμου, it would confine it to the Jewish ceremonies: but the ordinary notion of κόσμος for *the world*, is that which is generally used in the New Testament, and so must denote the men of the world, all sorts, both of Jews and Gentiles, as they are opposed to Christ: and so the *elements of the world* will be those imperfect ways of piety and virtue which either the Jews or Gentiles adhered to before Christ, or before receiving the faith of Christ. And so it must signify here, the Gentile doctrines especially noted by *philosophy* at the beginning of the verse, and the *worshipping of angels*, ver. 18, (see note [h].) but withal the *Jewish abstinencies* and *observations*, vv. 14, 16. For it is certain that the Gnostics' divinity, which through this whole chapter is peculiarly noted, was a composition of Judaism and heathenism both; and those doctrines of theirs, which they laboured to impose on Christians, are here expressed by *the elements of the world*, and so ver. 20, (see note [i].) though Gal. iv. 3 and 9, where the matter confines it to the Mosaic law, it fitly belongs to that only.

9. [c] *bodily* Σωματικῶς may denote, not *corporeity*, but *essence*, ac-

cording to the notion of $\Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon$, often mentioned (see note [d] on ch. i.) for *essence*, as well as *body*; so ver. 11, $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \tau\eta\varsigma \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$, *the body of the sins of the flesh*, that is, the sins of the flesh. Or else it may be taken in opposition to *shadows* or *dark resemblances*, God's will being in Christ (not in shadows, as among the Jews, but) plainly and substantially revealed, for the practice of inward purity, and not for the observation of those shadows thereof which had been among the Jews. And thus the 17th verse seems to interpret it, *the sabbaths*, &c., though they were, as commemorations instituted for the Jews, by strength of that institution to be observed by them, yet had they also a further aspect to somewhat under the New Testament, and, as such, are said to be *a shadow of things to come, the body or reality whereof is of Christ*: where the Christian doctrine is affirmed to be that substantial divinity of which that which was under the law was a shadow. But this cannot well be otherwise applied to *the fulness of the godhead dwelling in Christ*, (which is the primary sense, in which that other is contained, of the manifestation of divine knowledge in the gospel,) but as the word *shadow* is a general word to signify any *image*, especially a dark or imperfect one. Thus every body naturally casts its shadow, which, as it is the dark image of the body, viz. of some lineaments of it, so is it far from the substance of it. Thus *the ghosts*, that is, the species or images of men, but not their bodies, are called their *umbræ*, "shadows." And according to this notion of the word *shadow*, I suppose the word *bodily* may here be interpreted in opposition to it, that as on the earth here below the sun casts its beams, and so dwells herein, or by its beams or irradiations, but the body of the sun is in heaven, and so, though here be some light below, yet there only the fulness of light is; so here God was in Moses and the prophets (and in other wise, holy men, to whom he revealed his will) in some degree, in some rays, beams, images of his perfections, and more than so, God is said to *dwell in his saints*, (which differs from being in them only by permanence or continuance,) but still, he *is* or *dwells* in them, only in those images of him, shadows or rays, not as the sun doth in the heaven, where the body of it is in a fulness, so as he cannot be more in any other; but in Christ he *dwells in fulness*, so as nothing could be added to it, and so in him *bodily*, that is, as the sun dwells in the firmament, where the body of it is. The whole divine nature is not only in part, but fully, without absence of any part of it, in Christ; and that not by a *species* or *shadow* or *image* only, but really and substantially: and so consequently (which is the thing which is here designed to be proved by it) the will of God must be supposed to be so revealed in Christ or by Christ, that there can be no need of addition from the heathen philosophy, or from the Jewish law, which the Gnostics would needs have added to it. And that is the full sense of these words.

14. [d] *handwriting*] $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$ is a *bill* or *writing* under a man's hand, whereby he binds himself to some payment of money or duty, a band or obligation, and which stands in force against him, to bring any forfeiture or penalty upon him upon nonperformance of the condition to which he is bound; that which the rabbins call שטר חוב and שטר דמים , *cautio debitoris*, "an obligation," *scriptura vel literæ quibus continetur potestas quam alius alii tradit*, saith ^b Elias Levita, "a writing in which is contained

^b Thiebi, p. 244.

a power which one gives another over him." This is the law of Moses, as it requires *abstinence from meats, observation of days*, ver. 16, and so lays obligation on a Jew that others are not bound to, and binds him to forfeiture of all his hopes, and also to punishment, if he do not perform them. In which case this *band* or *bill* is here supposed to be brought against him signed by himself, and stands in force against him. Now two ways there are to cancel any writing; the one, by blotting or crossing it with a pen, the other, by striking a nail through it. The first is done by Christ's doctrines, (requiring now the inward purity, instead of those external observances, (and that is the meaning of *δόγματα, doctrines*, here,) as Theophylact acknowledgeth, rendering it by *τῇ πίστει, by faith*, and *τοῖς τῆς πίστεως δόγμασι, doctrines of faith*, and Ephes. ii. 15, (a place parallel to this,) it will more appear by looking on the place,) and the second is done by Christ's death, expressed in that to the Ephesians by *ἐν σαρκί*, but here by *προσηλώσας τῷ σταυρῷ, nailing it to his cross*.

16. [e] *in respect*] The meaning of *μέρος* here, which Jos. Scaliger and Isa. Casaubon, Ep. 24, have pitched on, is, that by it is noted פֶּרֶק, חֶלֶק, a *chapter* or *tract* of the Talmudists upon that subject. For the lesser parts of the Talmud are called פְּרָקִים, *divisions* or *parts*. Among their writings there is now one called מִסְכַּת יוֹם טוֹב, *the tract of a good day*, that is, a feast, and in it many *chapters* or פְּרָקִים, *μέρη, or sections*. From thence is the mention of ἀρχιφερεκίται in Justinian. Novel. de Heb. 146. By which it appears, that among the expositors of the law there were some called φερεκίται, as it were μερισται, that expounded their heads of doctrine severally, and the chief of them ἀρχιφερεκίται. And so the meaning of the place will be, *Let no man pass sentence on you by what you do in eating or drinking*, by that section of the rabbins about feasts, new moons, sabbaths, that is, by your observing or not observing of those things; which were required indeed by the Jews, but merely as shadows and types of that ἀλόκληρος καὶ ἀδιάλειπτος ἑορτή, *entire and continual feast*, that a Christian's life ought to be now under the New Testament. See Origen. Cont. Cels. l. 8. p. 404. That *μέρει* should be mistaken for *ἡμέρα, a day*, is a conjecture of some, which it is sufficient to have named, having no authority of any MS. to countenance it.

18. [f] *beguile*] Καταβραβεύω, κατακρινέω, saith Phavorinus, the word signifies *to condemn*, βραβεύτης and κριτής being all one, (only the former peculiar to the ἀγῶνες or Grecian *games*, the other common to all judicatures,) and proportionably the notion of the κατὰ in composition being the same too: and so the word will have the same signification here that κρινέω, ver. 16, of *judging* or *condemning*.

[g] *voluntary humility*] The notion of the word θέλω in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, for *taking delight* in any thing, hath been mentioned in note [g] on Matt. xxvii, and may be judged of by these examples not recited there, psalm i. 2, ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου θέλημα αὐτοῦ, *his delight is in the law of the Lord*; τὸ θέλημάς με, psalm xli. 12, *thou favourest, or lovest, or delightest in me*. And so being here joined with ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ, *in humility*, it is most reasonably to be taken and rendered, *delighting in humility*, or, as St. Hierome explains it, *superbus ficta humilitate*, "proud of a feigned humility;" but yet so, that ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ, *in humility*, may be joined with μηδεὶς καταβραβεύω,

let no man condemn you, ver. 16, so that the construction and full sense will run thus; *Let no man please himself, and condemn or judge you in point of humility and worship of angels.*

[h] *intruding*] The word ἐμβρεύσθαι is explained by ἐπιβῆναι, τὰ ἔνδον ἐξερευνῆσαι ἢ σκοπῆσαι, to enter into, to search and spy what is within; and again, ἐξετάζειν, to inquire, in Phavorinus; by ζητῆσαι, to seek and go as far as one can, ἐπιβαθμῶσαι in Hesychius. It signifies to seek, or search, or pry into that which is secret, and hardly to be discovered; and so belonging here to the doctrine concerning angels, it is fitly applied, because no man hath ever seen them, nor can speak upon knowledge concerning those points, when angels are present, what they can do, what they have done, what use hath been continually made of them by God, what hath been wrought by their ministry, &c. Now of the Gnostics it is known how great a part of their theology was made up of conceits concerning the angels, of which, as they had much from the *theologi poetæ*, the fictions of the heathens, so had they therein gratified the Judaizers also, who, affirming that *the law was given by angels*, were very favourable to the *worship* of them, (see note [d] on 1 Tim. i.) This sort of men are said to have continued long in Pisidia and Phrygia, and therefore to have been forbidden by canon in the Council of Laodicea, the chief city of Phrygia. Among them there still are oratories remaining, wherein they were wont to pray to angels. And the heresy of these *angelitæ* or *angelici* was, under a show of humility, that God was to be looked on with reverence, as invisible and inaccessible, and to be sued to by the intercession and mediation of angels, first the lower, then the higher, till at last the request was presented unto God himself. And this of the mediatorship of angels was among the Platonists a special part of doctrine. Πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, saith Plato in Sympos., μεταξὺ ἐστὶ Θεοῦ καὶ θνητοῦ, ἐρμηνεύει καὶ διαπορθμεύει θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν· τῶν μὲν τὰς δεήσεις καὶ θυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσιῶν, "Every demon or angel is betwixt God and man, declaring and delivering to God the things of men, and to men the things of God; the prayers and sacrifices of the one, and the commands and returns to their sacrifices from the other." And again, Θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μίγνυται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ ὁμιλία καὶ ἡ διάλεκτος θεοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐγγηγορότας καὶ καθεύδοντας, "God converseth not with man, but all the conversation and discourse betwixt God and man is by angels, both in time of waking and sleep." And this and the like being the doctrine of those philosophers, may well be referred to ver. 8, under the style of *philosophy and vain deceit*.

23. [i] *will-worship*] The word *ἰθελοθησκεία*, *voluntary worship*, is not elsewhere used in the New Testament; and being not at all to be found among the Greek translators or apocryphal writers of the Old, and by other later writers taken particularly from this one place, it will be worthy our inquiry how it is used here, whether in an ill or a good sense; and that will be done best by a full view of the whole place. The occasion of the apostle's discourse here is, the dogmatizing of some, ver. 20, that is, teaching some things to be forbidden by God which were not now forbidden by him, (nor by any under God which had authority to command,) and so by their ἐντάλματα, *commands or precepts, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*, (their own heretical fancies,) Matt. xv. 9. The matter of these *dogmata* is here

set down, *Μὴ ἅψη, μὴ γεύσῃ, μὴ θίγῃς*, *Touch not, taste not, come not near*. The word *ἅπτεσθαι*, *to touch*, as it is here distinguished from *γεύεσθαι*, *to taste*, seems to refer to the use of women, so as we have *μὴ ἅπτεσθαι γυναῖκός, not to touch a woman*, 1 Cor. vii. 1; contrary to which is the *ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἔχειτω*, *Let every man have his own wife*, ver. 2. For this we know, that the Gnostics, here opposed by St. Paul, (as there also among the Corinthians,) did *forbid marriage*, as a detestable, abominable thing, *διαβάλλοντες γάμον, τεκνογονίαν*, "calumniating or accusing marriage, getting of children," &c., saith the author of the Constitutions, l. 6. 16. See note [b] on 1 Tim. iv. And this they seem to have had from the Pythagoreans and the Magi, (who taught their disciples *ἀπέχεσθαι ἀφροδισίων, to abstain from venery*, saith Clemens, Strom. l. 3,) but made a worse use of it than they appear to have done. In the next place, the *μὴ γεύσῃ, taste not*, belongs to *abstinences from meats*, of which some there were among the Pythagoreans, *ἀπ' ἐμψύχων, from all living creatures*, (see Porphyry, Πε. ἀποχῆς,) and some among the Jews *from unclean, forbidden meats*. And accordingly this is another of the Gnostics' doctrines, (annexed to the former of *forbidden marriage*,) 1 Tim. iv. 3, *ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων, to abstain from meats*, according to that of the author of the Constitutions, lib. 6. 8. *τινὰ τῶν βρωμάτων βδελύσσονται, they abominate some sorts of meats*, and *φανρίζουσι, they speak evil of them*, c. 26. As for the *μὴ θίγῃς*, which is ordinarily rendered *handle not*, and may so be applied to some Jewish rites of not touching any thing that was legally unclean, I suppose it may better be rendered, *come not near*. Thus the word is used, Exod. xix. 12, of the mount, which they were not to *go up to* or *touch*, that is, approach near it: and so it is used in the same matter, Heb. xii. 20, *κἂν θίγῃ τοῦ βροῦς, if it approach the mountain it shall be stoned*. And in this notion, I conceive, it belongs to both the former interdicts, which are backed with this, as with an anathema or deep censure, making it an abominable thing to marry or eat those meats. For therein did their dogmatizing consist, in making marriage and meats *ἀπόβλητα, detestable things*, bitterly judging all that approached them: and so by the Canons of the Apostles it appears the heretics of the first times did, making *marriage the work of the devil*, and the *eating forbidden meats*, a *βδελυγμα, an abomination*. And so here, ver. 17, *Let no man judge you in meat*, &c., that is, condemn your liberty, as an abominable, damning thing, placing all religion in such observances. Of these *abstinences* thus imposed on Christians by these dogmatizing Gnostics, the apostle, ver. 22, makes his observation, *Ἄ ἐστι πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τῇ ἀποχρῆσει, Which are all, &c.* These words, I conceive, are ordinarily misunderstood. For first, *ἀποχρῆσις* signifies not *use* simply, but *abuse*; then *φθορὰ* is set in the Epistles to denote *abominable, unnatural uncleanness*, (see note [i] on Rom. viii, and [b] on 2 Pet. i, and [b] on 2 Pet. ii,) and so the sense will be, that these doctrines of theirs, borrowed from others, Pythagoreans and Jews, are abused and made worse by them, even to the bringing in all unnatural villany, set down Rom. i, whilst they detest and abominate marriage. As for that which follows, *κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, according to the commandments and doctrines of men*, that is surely to be connected with *δογματίζεσθε*, ver. 20, thus, *why do ye subject yourselves to those ordinances of abstinences*, which are far from being imposed by God,

fetched out of the philosophy of the heathen, and rites of the Jews, abolished by Christ, and yet most severely imposed on you by these heretics? Having set down these abstinences, thus imposed and abused by heretics, he then concludes with a brief character of the abstinences themselves, as they were by them pretended to be in their plea for them. Ἀτινά (or, in two words, Ἄ τινα) ἵστι μὲν λόγον ἔχοντα σοφίας ἐν ἐθειλοθρησκείᾳ, &c. "Which things have in them some notion or appearance of wisdom," that is, of extraordinary perfection (from whence they called themselves Gnostics) or piety, (which in the scripture-style is called *wisdom*,) viz. in *will-worship*, and *humility*, and *severity toward the body*: that is, 1st, in performing some acts of voluntary, uncommanded perfection; 2dly, in shewing a greater humility than others pretend to, in that of *worshipping of angels*, ver. 18, (see note [g]), and 3dly, in austerities and severities toward the body, abstaining from satisfactions which others use, (so ἀπειθία signifies,) καὶ μὴ ἐν τιμῇ τινι πρὸς πλῆσμονήν σαρκός, and *not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh*. These words have some difficulty in them, (but such as hath no influence on the inquiry in hand concerning the notion of *will-worship*;) that which others have said from St. Jerome may well be admitted, that the *honour* here is *the supplying of wants*, as Matt. xv. 6, and 1 Tim. v. 17, the word is used; and then (as an explication of the austerity precedent) οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ will be, "not in the administering of fuel or supply," *ad saturitatem carnis explendam*, "to the filling the saturity of the flesh." But it is possible τιμῇ may here be taken in a peculiar sense, so as *marriage* is said to be τιμιος, *honourable in all men*, Heb. xiii. 4, in opposition there to these Gnostics' practices, πορνεία, *fornication*, as it contains all *unlawful, unnatural lusts*, which are accordingly called πάθη ἀτιμίας, Rom. i. 26, *affections of dishonour*, and ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν, *dishonouring their bodies*, ver. 24. In this sense I suppose it evidently to be taken 1 Thess. iv. 4, that *every one know to possess his vessel*, that is, his body, ἐν ἀγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ, *in purification and honour*, that is, in a virginal or conjugal purity, μὴ ἐν πάθει ἀτιμίας, *not in passion of dishonour or dishonourable passion*, so as the *Gentiles which know not God*, ver. 5. Where I suppose conjugal chastity, under the name of τιμῇ, *honour*, to be proposed by the apostle in opposition to all the Gnostic practices which there follow, whereas *marriage* was detested and accused by these as *a work of the devil*: and then in that notion τιμῇ may possibly be taken here for the lawful, honourable use of marriage, πρὸς πλῆσμονήν σαρκός, *for the satisfying the desires of the flesh*, that is, for the avoiding of fornication, or καῦσις, *ustion*, and all villany, in which case the apostle prescribes marriage, 1 Cor. vii. 2, 9. And so this last part of the character of these abstinences will also be here fitly added, to shew the wickedness of these fair pretences of these Gnostics, in that they brought them to all dishonourable lusts, by forbidding them the use of lawful marriage, and allowing no honourable means of satisfying those desires which are implanted by nature in them. The verse being thus rendered, it is already visible that there is no ill, but a good character set on ἐθειλοθρησκεία, *will-worship*. For, first, it is here joined with two things which are confessedly good: 1. *humility*; 2. *severity and austerity to, or mortifying of, the body*; the first a known moral and Christian virtue, the second an act of self-denial, which, as such, cannot be un-

acceptable to Christ, and as a species of *revenge*, 2 Cor. vii. 11, will be numbered among the effects of *sorrow according to God*. Secondly, these doctrines are said, in respect of *will-worship* discernible in them, to have λόγον σοφίας, *rationem sapientiae*, somewhat of piety in them; which *somewhat*, if it be real, then will it be the same that is, 1 Tim. iv. 8, said of *bodily exercise, abstinence, continence, &c.*, that it is εἰς δόλον ὀφέλιμος, *a little profitable, or profitable for a little*. But if λόγος signifies *species*, only a *show of wisdom or piety*, yet still the argument will be of force. For can any thing be said to have so much as a *show of piety in will-worship*, if will-worship, which is thus pretended, pass confessedly for foolish or impious? And accordingly the Greek Fathers that interpret λόγον for a *show* only, render *will-worship by piety*, only they add, that this dogmatizer is not truly so, but pretends to be so; Δοκεῖ εὐλαβής τις εἶναι καὶ μέτριος, καὶ τοῦ σώματος καταφρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔστι δέ, *He appears pious and moderate, and to despise the body*, and then all the fault is, that *he is not truly what he appears*; and Œcumenius, ὑποκρινόμενος εὐλάβειαν ἐν τῇ θρησκείᾳ, *he pretends piety and devotion in worship*, where it appears what they meant by ἐβελοθησκεία, viz. εὐλάβεια, *piety* (the thing so commended in Simeon, Luke ii. 25, and prescribed Heb. xii. 28.) and *religion or worship*, which caused the interpreter of Clemens Alexandrinus^c to render ἐν ἐβελοθησκείᾳ, *in religione*, "in religion." And accordingly Hesychius expounds it by ἐβελουσίβεια, *voluntary worship*, or *piety voluntarily performed*, the very notion of the תרומה, *the free-will offerings* among the Jews, rendered by the Septuagint ἐκούσια, *voluntary oblations*, which were so far from being ill because not commanded, that they were far the more acceptable for being free. Ἄ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολὴν γίνεται πολὺν ἔχει τὸν μισθὸν κατὰ τοῦτο, ἃ δὲ ἐν ἐντολῇ τάξει οὐ τοσοῦτον, "for those that are done above the command have a plentiful reward in this very respect, but those that are according to command not so great." And so saith Socrates of ecclesiastical rites, ἐπεὶ δὴ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου ἔγγραφον ἔχει παράγγελμα, δὴλον ὡς καὶ περὶ τούτου τῇ ἐκάστου γνώμῃ καὶ προαίρεσει ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἵνα ἕκαστος μὴ φόβῳ μηδὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἀγαθὸν κατεργάζεται, "seeing there is of this no written command, it is manifest that the apostles left this to men's choice, that every one might do good not of fear or necessity." It is true indeed, where the matter of the worship is unlawful, there the *will-worship* must needs be so; and therefore here, ver. 18, when he speaks of *worshipping of angels*, there the ὁ θέλων, *he that takes pleasure in this sort of humility and worship*, is under an ill character: which, notwithstanding the *voluntary worship*, where the matter is perfectly lawful, not forbidden, nay approved by a general (though not commanded by a particular) precept, is far from having any tincture of ill in it. And therefore when the word ἐβελουσιβοθησκεία, *voluntary, abundant worship*, is by Epiphanius used of the Pharisees, it is not by him taken in any ill sense, but only that it was the denotation of their name which, though they might out of some vanity assume it to themselves, yet had no ill in it, but was rather a title of honour, ἀφωρισμένοι τῷ Θεῷ, *separate to God*, and their sect by St. Paul styled ἀκριβεστάτη αἵρεσις τῆς θρησκείας, *the strictest sect of religion*. For so indeed it appears that the original of these Pharisees was the חסידים, *Asidai*, so called

for their excess of *piety* and *charity*, their voluntary performances above what the law required, *ἐκουσιαζόμενοι τῷ νόμῳ*, *volunteers to the law*, that to the precepts of the law superadded some uncommanded acts of piety, 1 Macc. ii. 42, and so differed from the *Karai*, who did only that which was prescribed by the law. And consequently, though the Pharisees' pride and boasting be censured by Christ, and though their forming these voluntary acts of devotion into precepts, and entering them into books, and separating themselves from all that did not perform their severe prescriptions, rendered them Pharisees, divided even from the *Hasidæi* themselves, and then this became a fault, and so is looked upon in them; yet the voluntariness and uncommandedness of their piety was not amiss; and being the same in the *Asidæi* and in them, (and in the former of these being separated from dogmatizing and censoriousness, &c.) it is always looked on as commendable, and the more abundant, still the more rewardable. Of this sort as *the free-will offerings* among the Jews are a known example (of which it is clear, first, that they were a part of the worship and service of God when they were performed; 2dly, that they were not under any particular command of God's in the law, but were left to every man's liberty, and so were spontaneous, not necessary; and, 3dly, that there is a law, Lev. xxii, whereby he that offers them is forbid to offer them *maimed* or *blemished*, ver. 20, by which it appears that they were voluntary, and yet allowed by God, and accepted) so many others there were in the Old Testament; Abel's oblation, which was not by precept from God, say the Fathers generally. And even of sacrifices in general it is observable what the ancient author of the Constitutions affirms, l. 6. c. 18, that before the golden calf, and their other idolatries, sacrifices were not commanded or imposed on the Jews, but only left to their own choice, *ἐὰν ποιῆς*, *if they would do them*, they should be accepted, &c., and upon those provocations of theirs imposed, *ὅπως πιεζόμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ κλοιῶν ἀγχόρμενοι τῆς πολυθείου πλάνης ἐκστῶσι*, "that being straitened and collared up," (*κλοιὸς*, *desmὸς ἐπιτραχήλιος*, saith Hesychius,) "they might keep from idolatry." Such again was the celebration of Purim, the feasts of the fourth and fifth and seventh and tenth month, the feast of the dedication of the altar, instituted by the Maccabees, and yet observed by Christ himself. So David's design of building the temple, which, though not commanded by God, yet the prophet Nathan affirms of it, *Thou didst well that it was in thine heart*, 1 Kings viii. 18. So likewise the abstinences and austerities of the Rechabites in Jeremy's time, which are so commended by God, and yet were *ἐπίμετρα τοῦ νόμου*, *over and above the proportion that was required in the law*. And so in the New, Paul's refusing to receive hire from the Corinthians for all his labour among them, which matter is set down at large by him, 1 Cor. ix. The preaching of the gospel was committed to him as a trust, and was under precept, and therefore that was no free-will offering of his; that is his meaning when he saith, *Εἰ γὰρ ἐκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω, εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οικονομίαν πεπίστευμαι*, *If I do this as a volunteer, that is, ^d If I did preach the gospel without any command (and so necessity) to do so, if I did it of myself freely, this*

^d *Εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἐνεχειρίσθην τὸ κήρυγμα ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ δὲ τοῦτο ἐποίουν*, Theophylact. in 1 Cor. ix. 17.

would be rewardable in me; that is, the very preaching would, without any other more honourable circumstances to enhance it, be matter of greater reward to me than it can now it is commanded: *but if involuntary*, that is, ^eif my preaching be an act of obedience to a plain command, and so necessary, ver. 16, (and woe to me if I do it not,) and not voluntary in me, then all that can be said of me is, that being trusted with a stewardship, I do discharge it; and so ^fthere is nothing of excellence in this, nothing of contention toward that which is heroical or high. Upon which it follows, *τί οὖν ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν ὁ μισθός*; *What reward then shall be to me?* that is, what in this whole matter shall bring in any extraordinary reward to me? To which he answers, *ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, *that preaching the gospel, I do it freely, without making it chargeable to the auditors, εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρῆσθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μου, so that I make not use of my power or liberty which I have in the gospel*, that is, of the power of receiving maintenance from others, (such as Phœbe and the like, referred to ver. 5,) *without putting myself to bodily labour*, ver. 6, or by any other such means, perfectly justifiable for me to use, vv. 7, 12. The doing of this thus was that which would yield him the extraordinary reward. And although this was not observed by Cephas and other apostles, ver. 5, yet sure Cephas is not conceived to have sinned thereby; but it is positively said that it is lawful for all, vv. 7, 11, 14, for Paul as for Cephas and others, though only Paul would not use it, ver. 12; and accordingly both there, ver. 15, and after, 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9, 10, he distinctly counts, and calls it *matter of boasting, and free-will offering* of his; and so it was esteemed by St. Chrysostom, *τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίταγμα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως κατόρθωμα*, “one was a precept, the other a virtuous action of his choice,” *ἀ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολὴν γίνεται, πολὺν ἔχει τὸν μισθὸν κατὰ τοῦτο*, “for what is done above the command hath proportionably a plentiful reward.” And again of the word *necessity*, that it refers to a command, *πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἐν τῷ λαμβάνειν*, “in opposition to the freedom in receiving, (that is, the *power to receive*, ver. 12.) forementioned. So again Theophylact, *Τὸ εὐαγγελιζεσθαι ἐπίταγμα ἐστὶ, καὶ χρέος, καὶ ἐὰν πληρῶ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν κατόρθωμα*, &c. “Preaching the gospel is a command to me, and so a debt, and if I do it, there is no great matter of virtue in it:” *Τὸ δὲ ἀδάπανος κηρύσσειν, προαιρέσεως φιλοτιμία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καύχημά ἐστι*, “But to preach without charging them is the honour of my will, and in that respect there is place of rejoicing,” or I may glory or rejoice in it. So again he might have abstained from going up to Jerusalem, Acts xxi; a prophet told him that *bands expected* him there, ver. 11, in which case to fly was justifiable by Christ’s saying, Matt. x. 23, yet Paul would needs go up, ver. 13. Of such sort of performances as these is that of S. Hierome ad Demetriad. *Vende omnia, et da pauperibus; non cogo, non impero, sed propono palmam, præmia ostendo*, “Sell all, and give to the poor; I constrain not, I command not, but I propose a crown, I shew thee a reward.” *Τίμη ἐστὶν eligere, si volueris in agone coronari*, “It belongs to thee to choose, if thou meanest to be crowned.” And in Epist. ad Pammach. *Non*

^e Εἰ δὲ ἐνεχειρίσθην πρόδηλον ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ τοῦτο ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικὴν ἐντολὴν πληρῶ—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ, ἕκων. Theophylact in 1 Cor. ix. 17.

^f Διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φιλοτιμία τὸ πρῶγμα. Ibid.

tibi imponitur necessitas, ut voluntas premium consequatur, "There is no necessity imposed on thee that the will may obtain reward." And Advers. Jovinian. *Ideo plus amat virgines Christus, quia sponte tribuunt quod sibi non fuerat imperatum*, "Christ therefore doth more value virgins, because they give that freely which was not commanded them." And Advers. Helvid. *Virgo majoris est meriti dum id contemnit quod si fecerit non delinquit*, "The virgin is more rewardable, because she contemns that which if she indulged herself she offends not." And so St. Chrysostom on Rom. viii. Οἱ πνευματικοὶ πάντα πράττονσι ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ πόθῳ, καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσι τῷ καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν τὰ ἐπιτάγματα, "The spiritual do all with appetite and delight, and demonstrate it in exceeding, or going further than is commanded." And Theophylact, ὑπερβαίνουσι πολλοὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων, "many Christians exceed many of the precepts." And Gregory the Great on Job, l. 26. c. 34. *Quidam præcepta legis perfectione virtutum transcendunt*, "Some men do transcend precepts (particular precepts) of the law by perfection of virtues." And so Maimonides the sober Jewish doctor, *Ei datur premium qui quid injussus facit*, (More Nev. l. 3. c. 17, in Buxtorf's rendering,) "Reward is given to him who doth any thing when he is not commanded to do it." His words in the original Arabic sound thus, "and they teach, that although he be not enjoined by command, yet they give him a reward." He grants indeed, that he that being commanded doth a thing, hath the greater reward, according to the saying that he alludes to out of the Talmud, גורל המצוה ועשה, &c. "Greater is he that being commanded doth a thing, than he that doth it uncommanded;" and so the same Maimonides applies it, in his Yad. Tr. Talmud Torah, c. 1, to prove that a woman "that learneth the law hath not so great a reward as a man, because she is not commanded to do it:" but still some reward there is of that uncommanded performance, though not so great. And Greg. Nazianzen hath an express saying to this purpose, Σηλιευτ. α'. "In our law," saith he, "some things are commanded, and lay a necessity upon us, and the not observing them brings danger: others have no necessity, but choice, which bring honour and rewards to those that do them, but no danger to them who observe them not." And so it is apparent by St. Paul, not only in the matter of celibacy, 1 Cor. vii. 15, but also in his exhortation to the Corinthians, that they would equal the Macedonians in their liberality to the poor Jews; where he professes not to give them *precept*, ver. 8, but γνώμην, his advice or opinion only. In this matter there is an observable mistake, which the reader is liable to in our Anglican Councils, p. 449. Canonibus sub Eadgaro, can. 60, where, among other particulars, we find these words, þe lærað, &c. "We teach that all priests shall blot out all superstitions of the Gentiles, and we forbid pilpeorþunga," which word, from the sound of it, (*wilweorþunga*;) is there translated in Latin into *fictas ad libitum adorationes*, and in the margin a reference is made to ἐθελοθρησκεία, *will-worship*, Col. ii. But there is a mistake in that translation, which will be evident to any by putting these two things together: 1st, by comparing with this place an ancient Saxon Penitential, which repeats those very canons, where an ancient hand hath expounded those words by *fontis veneratio*, "the worship of wells, or well-worship;" (the probability of which interpretation will be the greater, not only by observing that the Saxon word

pil signifies a *well* or *fountain*, as frequently as it doth *voluntatem*, *will*, but also because in this present canon he speaks of heathen worshippes of stones and trees, to which the rendering this of *wells* or *fountains* will be most agreeable;) 2dly, by adding to this another canon in that Penitential, l. 7. c. 22, where there is a prohibition against "vowing or bringing alms or offerings to any well or stone or tree, or to any other creature, but only in God's name to God's church;" and when we consider how ordinary it was in former times to worship and bring offerings to wells and fountains, the reasonableness of such prohibitions will be acknowledged. Of which kind are divers injunctions to be seen, particularly in the office of Lincoln, of Oliver Sutton, against the worshipping of St. Edward's well without St. Clement's at Oxford, and St. Laurence's well at Petroburg. So in a Saxon homily of bishop Lupus, speaking of vicious men, by the assault of tribulations brought to some sense of their estate, he saith that they suddenly, by the seduction of the devil, vow their alms *οὐροντο πύλλα, οὐροντο stane*, &c., fol. 6, "either to well or stone." And in another, De Baptismo, fol. 20, he warns them against luxury, adultery, witchcraft, &c., and then adds *νεπεοῦδιαν γε pillar*, &c., "and worship not wells nor trees," &c., for all these are idle phantasms of the devil. But this by the way, to prevent mistakings.

CHAP. III.

10. [a] *in knowledge*] What *εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν* signifies here is somewhat uncertain. If the preposition *εἰς* be taken by an Hebraism for *ἐν*, *in* or *by*, then it denotes the means of working our renovation, the knowledge of the gospel, in which our pattern is set, according to which we are to form our lives for the future; and this is generally expressed by *ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας*, *the acknowledgment of the truth*, 1 Tim. ii. 4. Tit. i. 1. Heb. x. 26. But it is possible also that *εἰς* being taken in the proper notion of it, *ἐπίγνωσις* may be set in opposition, or by way of superaddition, to *γνώσις*, *knowledge*, which the Gnostics boasted of, and from whence they had their name, and with it joined all vicious corrupt practices; whereupon he requires his Colossians to forsake those sins, and to be *renewed* to that which the Gnostics have not attained to, *εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν*, *to acknowledgment or discerning*, that is, the experimental, practical knowledge of God's goodness to us in *regenerating* (which is more than the first creating) *us after his own image*, to live according to the divine pattern which he hath set us.

14. [b] *bond of perfectness*] *Σύνδεσμος τελειότητος*, *bond of perfectness*, may be, by an hypallage, *the most perfect bond*. But it may be also *bond of perfectness* in that notion that *perfect*, Matt. v. 48, is all one with *merciful*, Luke vi. 36; for so the Christian charity, that is a transcript of Christ's love to us, is a conspiracy or meeting together (so *σύνδεσμος* may signify, see note [e] on Acts viii.) of all mercifulness, or else an obligation to it.

15. [c] *peace of God rule*—] *Βραβεῖον*, as it is an agonistical word for the *ἐπινίκιος ἀμοιβή*, *the reward of the conqueror*, hath been already spoken of. Hence the *βραβεύται* are the *διοικηταὶ ἀγώνος*, *they that adjudge and give this reward to those to whom it belongs, the rulers or administrators of the combat*, and they that decide all controversies about it. Hence is the word used for *διαλλακτής*, saith Phavorinus, *an umpire*

or *day's-man*, that reconciles doubts or differences between any; and accordingly *βραβεύω*, saith he, (referring, as I conceive, to this place,) *μεισιτενέω, μηνυσάτω, ιδυνέσθω* and so here, *let the peace of God*, that peaceable-mindedness that Christ commandeth you, Matt. v. be the umpire to compose all differences between you and other men.

21. [d] *προνοεῖ*] *Ἐρέθισμα* is *ἔβρις, contumely*, saith Phavorinus, and *ἐρεθίζειν κακολογίαν* *δηλοῖ παρ' Ὀμήρου*, "it signifies evil speaking in Homer," and *πᾶς ἐρεθισμὸς ἐν χαλεποῖς λόγοις γίνεσθαι δοκεῖ*, "it consists in hard or bitter words." The word signifies *contumelious, harsh language*; and that is most likely to be the meaning here, because of the mention of the *ἀθυμώσιν*, that is here added, such words in parents being apt to discourage children.

CHAP. IV.

16. [a] *from Laodicea*] If the right reading in this place be *τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας*, that *from Laodicea*, then the meaning of it may be, That Epistle which the Laodiceans have received, do you, when you send them a copy of this, require a copy of, and when you have received it, read it in your assembly. But if *τὴν Λαοδικείας*, without *ἐκ*, be the truer reading, then it must be rendered *that of Laodicea*, noting again some epistle sent to them, and in their possession, according to that of the civil law, *L. si Epistolam, D. de Acquir. Rer. Domin. Literæ ejus sunt cujus tabellario sunt traditæ, multo magis ubi sunt redditæ*, "An epistle is his to whose messenger it is delivered, especially when it is received by him." And so which way soever it is, it refers to some epistle sent to the Laodiceans, which Tertullian against Marcion seems to affirm of that Epistle which is now inscribed to the Ephesians, that a copy of it was written to the Laodiceans, which, if it were done by St. Paul, is yet very reasonable to imagine to be sent from Ephesus to them. For Ephesus being the chief metropolis of Asia, and Laodicea being a church within that circuit, as appears Rev. i. 11, as the *Epistle* written to the *Corinthians* belonged to *all the churches of Achaia*, 2 Cor. i. 1; and so no doubt was copied out and communicated to them, and as the letter from the council of Jerusalem to the church of Antioch did belong also to all Syria and Cilicia, and was by Paul communicated to all the churches thereof, Acts xvi. 4, and as the *Epistles to the Thessalonians* are said to belong also to Philippi, another metropolis of Macedonia, (and thereupon Polycarp, in his *Epistle to the Philippians*, mentions *ἐπιστολαί*, *epistles* in the plural, which Paul had sent to them, whereas there is but one now known to be inscribed to the *Philippians*.) and lastly, as here the *Epistle to the Colossians* is expressly directed to be communicated to the Laodiceans, and this to be sent from Laodicea to Colossæ, so there is no difficulty to conceive that the *Epistle to the Ephesians* was by them communicated (as by Paul meant) to the Laodiceans also, and so may fitly be called *ἡ Λαοδικείας*, the *Epistle of Laodicea*, or which the church of Laodicea had received.

17. [b] *Archippus*] It is the opinion of some that Epaphras was at this time bishop of Colossæ, but imprisoned at Rome with Paul, and that Archippus did now in his absence supply his place. That Epaphras was about this time prisoner at Rome, is concluded probably by Philem. 23, where he calls him *συναιχμάλωτον*, his *fellow-prisoner*, (for that that Epistle to Philemon and this were written from Rome about the

same time, will be conjectured by the naming Timothy at the beginning, and all the same persons, (save only Justus,) as Epaphras, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, at the end of both of them,) but that he was then bishop of Colossæ appeareth not; only he is here said, ver. 12, to be ἐξ ὑμῶν δοῦλος Χριστοῦ, *one of them, or that came from them, a servant of Christ*, that heartily prayed for, and had great kindness toward them. But all this may well belong to him as the person who, by *commission* from Paul, had preached the gospel to them; and so being their spiritual father, might be allowed to love them passionately, and to be very solicitous of their prospering. And then it will be more probable that Archippus should be their bishop, of whom it is here affirmed, that he *had received διακονίαν ἐν Κυρίῳ, a ministry in the Lord*: where it is certain that the διακονία, *ministry*, signifies an office in the church, which he is to take care that he perform. And it is no way necessary that it should denote *the inferior office of deacon*, (or if it did, that would not sufficiently qualify him to supply the bishop's or ruler's place, whose attendant the deacon was,) but in a greater latitude *the episcopal function*, which being an authority and presidency over the flock, is yet, like that of a pastor, a laborious one to attend and wait on them, as Christ, who being the Lord (Κύριος) of his disciples, was yet as the ὁ διακονῶν, *he that ministered* unto them, *washing their feet, &c.*, and so καλὸν ἔργον, *a good work*, 1 Tim. iii. 1, that is, an office of task and ministry.

[a] THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

That the Epistles to the Thessalonians, though placed last of all those which were written to whole churches, were first in order of writing, hath been said note [b] on the Inscription of the Epistle to the Romans. And the time and place of writing this are perhaps discoverable, by comparing one passage, 1 Thess. iii. 6, with Acts xviii. 5. He had sent Timothy from Athens to encourage and confirm them, ch. iii. 1, 2, and that with some impatience to hear of them, ver. 5. [And when Timothy now came to us from you, and told us the good news of your faith and love, ver. 6, we were comforted, &c.] Now the story of this we have distinctly in the Acts; Paul had preached at Thessalonica, Acts xvii. 2, and *some of them*, that is, *of the Jews in the synagogue* there, ver. 1, and many others of the Gentile inhabitants, ver. 4, (referred to, 1 Thess. i. 10,) *were persuaded*, that is, received the faith, ver. 4. But upon a persecution raised by others of the Jews, and their proselytes, he and Silas (and Timotheus it seems, ver. 14.) were driven thence, and came to Berea; and being followed thither by those persecutors, *Paul went to the sea, and from thence to Athens*, vv. 14, 15, and Silas and Timotheus, which are said to be left at Berea, ch. xvii. 14, are warned to *make all haste* to him, ver. 15, and at Athens Paul expects them, ver. 16; and though it be not mentioned in the story, yet

it is to be supposed that they came thither to him, and from thence were dispatched to Thessalonica, Paul being content to stay at Athens alone, out of his earnest desire to confirm them by this dispatch, and to hear from them, which is the sum of ch. iii. 1—6. From Thessalonica they return to him, and find him at Corinth, Acts xviii. 5. (for that is the meaning of *ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας* there, *from Macedonia*, of which Thessalonica was a metropolis); and after this return of Timotheus it is that St. Paul writes this Epistle, for else he could not mention it, as he doth ch. iii. 6. And consequently the place from whence this (and so also the other Epistle) was written to them, may most probably seem to be Corinth, where he is said to have *stayed a year and six months*, Acts xviii. 11. Or if the subscription be authentic which dates it from Athens, it must be at some other time of his being at Athens, and not at that, Acts xvii. (before his coming to Corinth,) Paul being gone from thence before Timotheus came to him. And this gives us an evidence by the way that Silas and Silvanus are all one; he that under the name of Silas is joined with Paul, Acts xvii. 4, and with Timotheus, ver. 15, being under the name of Silvanus joined with Paul and Timotheus in the inscription of this Epistle, *Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus*, &c., ch. i. 1. By this also the time of the writing this is concludible, viz. about his first preaching at Corinth, which is placed by chronologers in the fiftieth year of Christ, at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius, (Acts xviii. 2,) that is, in the ninth of his reign, as Orosius concludes out of Josephus. This being thus far cleared, we cannot but discern the occasion of writing this Epistle, viz. the persecutions of those that received the faith, and of Paul that preached it among them, which was brought upon them by *the Jews* (and their proselytes) *that believed not*, in Thessalonica, and through all Macedonia. He had, it seems, at the first preaching the gospel unto them, told them what they were to expect, very sharp *persecutions* (ch. iii. 4.) from the Jews, and Judaizers their proselytes, exasperated by them; but withal he had advertised them what fate should shortly befall these obdurate Jews and their adherents; viz. that Christ should act revenge upon them (in an eminent manner) from heaven, by that power by which he rose from the dead, and then deliver them from the oppressions they were under, and all that their enemies' malice or their own fears could represent unto them, ch. i. 10, and ch. ii. 15, 16, and ch. v. 1. And this was the occasion of all that he after saith, 2 Thess. ii, of *the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and *the day of Christ*, vv. 1, 2, &c., of which, saith he, ver. 5, *he had told them when he was with them*. All which was exactly fulfilled in the persecutions brought on the Christians by the Jews and Gnostics, and the destructions that soon after attended upon them. And this was by him very fitly insisted on about this time, Simon Magus having already (soon after the beginning of Claudius's reign, as Eusebius sets it, l. 2. c. 12.) set himself up at Rome (and a statue erected to him) as *the supreme God*, and so being already capable of the titles of *ἀντικείμενος* and *ὑπεραρρόμενος*, &c., "he that sets himself up above all that is called God." But being by the preaching of Peter (mentioned by ^sEusebius, ^bSt. Jerome, and ¹Orosius) put to shame, and his power

^s Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 18. et in Chron.^b De Script. Eccles.¹ l. 7. c. 6.

extinguished there at that time, (ἡ τοῦ Σίμωνος ἀπίσθη καὶ παραχρῆμα καταλέλυτο δύναμις, saith Eusebius,) it was some time before he got up again, and yet longer before these Gnostics his followers found it seasonable to break out in professed hostility against the orthodox Christians, which is called the *revealing of this man of sin*, 2 Thess. ii. 3. What is said in these Epistles on this subject was fitly designed to confirm the believers in Macedonia, that the persecutions which were thus stirred up among them, and the baits of carnality and worldly advantages offered them, might not delude or gain in upon them.

CHAP. II.

1. [a] *in vain*] The word κενός, *empty, idle, vain*, is known to be proportionable to the Hebrew נִשְׁוּ, which (in the third commandment and many other places) being rendered *vain*, doth yet signify *false*, viz. empty, or void of truth. And so here being applied to St. Paul's εἰσοδος, *entrance* unto them, that is, his first preaching the gospel to them, it doth not signify the uneffectualness of it, or want of success among them, for that he had spoken of ch. i. 9, but, as the consequents here manifest, the fallaciousness or treacherousness of his aim in coming, which that it was not imputable to him he here proves, ver. 2, by remembering them of the entertainment which he found at Philippi, very far from such as would encourage a worldly designer from going any further, nothing but persecution and tribulations: and then, ver. 3, he expressly adds to this matter, ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης, *our exhortation was not out of deceit*, or *that I might deceive*.

2. [b] *contention*] The word ἀγὼν, *strife or contention*, may be taken in an active or in a passive sense, that is, either for labour, or sufferance, both in an high degree. In the former sense it is, when Christ commands us ἀγωνίζεσθαι, *to strive to enter in at the strait gate*, that is, to be very diligent and industrious. In the latter it is, Heb. xii. 1, being joined with ὑπομονή, *sufferance*, and *persevering*, and *afflictions*, mentioned before, ch. xi, and after, ver. 2, &c.; so Phil. i. 30, and Col. i. 29, where ἀγωνιζόμενος, *striving*, is bearing, suffering afflictions, and so more fit to be joined with κοπιῶ, *toiling* or *suffering hardship* there; for so κόπος signifies, *the toil* or *pains in bearing*, as μόχθος, *in doing*, ver. 9. So 1 Tim. iv. 10, where we ordinarily read ὀνειδίζεσθαι, *suffer reproaches*, the king's MS. reads ἀγωνιζόμεθα, *we combat*, that is, suffer persecutions, (which is joined with κοπιῶμεν also,) which they that do, do it in hope, and trust in the living God, which can and will reward all their sufferings. And this is agreeable to the nature of the *agones*, "combats or games" among the Grecians, whereof the poet saith,

Multa tulit fecitque——

it is made up of doing and suffering both. And so we have ἀδλσιν παθημάτων, *combat of sufferings*, Heb. x. 32, and of the women, Phil. iv. 3. αἰτίαι ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι, *which combated or contended*, that is, suffered persecutions, *together with me in the gospel*. And so here it is to be taken in this latter sense, though that also added to the former, endurance and diligence both, great industry and labour in preaching the gospel to them, and withal great persecution for so doing. For so it is in the beginning of the verse, προπαθόντες καὶ ὑβρισθέντες, *sufferings and contumelious reproachful usage*, such as scourgings, &c.; and thus Phil. i. 30. τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα, *the same combat*, is the

enduring persecution, expressed by *συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει*, ver. 27, the word used in the *agones*. So 2 Tim. iv. 7, *the fight or combat*, seems to refer to that which he had then lately passed through at Rome, before Nero's *tribunal*, vv. 16, 17.

3. [c] *deceit*] That *πλάνη*, which signifies *deceit, error*, is used not only passively for *being deceived* by others, but especially actively for *deceiving* and *seducing* others, will appear at large, note [f] on Jude. And so also that in the Epistles it refers especially to these grand seducers that were then afoot, so rife in the churches, the Gnostics, whose heresy being accompanied with so much uncleanness and carnality, wheresoever the *πλάνη* or *seduction* is joined with words that express or intimate that, there is great reason thus to interpret it. Thus Theophylact's gloss intimates, *οὐκ ἀκάθαρτόν τι διδάσκω*, saith he, *οἷα τὰ τῶν μάγων καὶ γοητῶν*, "I teach not any impurity, such as are the doctrines or practices of the magi and sorcerers." And accordingly here *ἀκαθαρσία*, *uncleanness*, (and that word signifies all manner of unnatural lusts,) being subjoined to *πλάνη*, *deceit* or *seduction*, it must be thought to refer to these practices of those seducing heretics, to whom St. Paul desireth to oppose his own dealing among them, at once vindicating his own simplicity and uprightness, and accusing them for the contrary. He came merely to convert them from all the villanies that they, while they were idolaters, had lived in, and doing so, suffered great hardship of persecutions; but they (which took sure care not to be persecuted) infused into them all false heretical doctrines and corrupt practices, uncleanness and villany. They slyly stole in *ἐν δόλῳ*, in *cunning*, but he *παρρησιαζόμενος*, ver. 2, took all *boldness* and *confidence* to preach publicly the gospel unto them.

5. [d] *used we flattering*—] *Λόγος* signifies *talk, discourse* of men, and so *ἐν λόγῳ εἶναι*, *to be on the tongues of men*, and *ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας γενέσθαι*, *to be talked of for flattery*, to be accused by men for this fault.

[e] *cloke of covetousness*] *Πρόφασις* signifies not only *an occasion and pretence*, but also *an accusation or charge* against any. So saith Phavorinus, *Πρόφασις*, *αἰτία, ἀφορμή*, it is *a charge, an occasion* against any; and again, *Προτεινόμενος εὐπρόσωπος λόγος ἐπὶ κατηγορία τινός*, "a long specious oration in accusation of any man:" and therefore the rendering *προφασίζω* by *λατινιστὶ ἐκκούσω*, may be a false print for *ἀκούσω*, *accuso*, for that will best agree with *προσβάλλομαι, ὑπολογίζομαι, ὑπονοῶ*, words that note *accusing* and *suspecting*, that went before. And so again, *πρόφασις καὶ ἡ ἀληθὴς καὶ ἡ ψευδὴς αἰτία*, it is either *a true or false accusation*. So *προφασιστικοὶ λόγοι*, עֲלִילֹת רַבִּיר, are *clancular depravings* of men's reputations, raising suspicions of them: so Dan. vi. 4. *ἐζήτουν πρόφασιν εὐρεῖν κατὰ τοῦ Δανιήλ*, *they sought some occasion*, that is, *accusation against Daniel*. As for the *πλεονεξία* that is joined with it, that signifies sometimes *unnatural lusts* and *filthiness*, as hath been formerly shewed, note [h] on Rom. i.; and so it seems to signify here, and to answer *ἀκαθαρσία*, *uncleanness*, ver. 3, so notorious among the Gnostics, which were the pest of Christianity at that time.

6. [f] *burdensome*] *Βάρος*, *weight*, is here taken for the censures of the church, the exercise of that apostolical authority and severity; so 2 Cor. x. 10. *ἐπιστολαὶ βαρεῖαι*, *letters that had a great deal of weight*,

that is, severity, threatening of censures, &c., and so *ἐν βάρει εἶναι*, to *light heavy upon* them, to use severity toward them: (which some desired to seem to do out of vanity and ambition,) and is here set opposite to the *ἐγενήθημεν ἡπιοι*, we became gentle, the tender usage of a nurse, ver. 7, and the spirit of meekness, 1 Cor. iv. 21.

8. [g] affectionately desirous] Theophylact is so peremptory for another reading in this place, *δμειρόμενοι*, instead of *ἡμειρόμενοι*, that I cannot but set it down; 'Ομειρόμενοι ὑμῶν, saith he, *τουτέστι προσδεμένοι ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐχόμενοι ὑμῶν, παρὰ τὸ ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ εἶρω τὸ συμπλέκω*. The phrase *δμειρόμενοι ὑμῶν*, signifies *bound, or close, or near to you*, from the word *ὁμοῦ*, together, and *εἶρω*, which signifies *to bind together*; adding, that some have read it *ἡμειρόμενοι* for *ἐπιθυμούντες*, *desiring, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ, but that it is not so*. If his meaning be that *ἡμειρόμενοι* doth not so signify, I suppose his authority will not prevail against the known use of the word, and the express Glossary of Hesychius, 'ἡμεῖραι, ἐρῶ, ἐπιθυμῶ, ποθεῖ, it signifies *to love, to desire*. But if his meaning be that *ἡμειρόμενοι* is not the right reading, then, unless we know what copies he had to authorize that confidence, there will be no reason to consent to it, and yet as little cause to make a controversy of it, the sense being either way the same, the word *δμειρόνται* rendered by Hesychius just as *ἡμειρόνται* is: for so in him all that we find of that word is, 'Ομειρόμενοι, δμειρόνται, ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, it signifies *to desire*, as the other before had done.

13. [h] effectually worketh] That *ἐνεργεῖσθαι* is to be rendered in a passive not active sense, and that it signifies *τελειοῦσθαι, to be perfected or accomplished*, hath been largely shewn, note [b] on Gal. v. But to what the accomplishment of the word or gospel here refers particularly, must be concluded from ver. 14. There the proof is set down of that which is here affirmed, and that with the particle *for, ὑμεῖς γὰρ, for you*, &c., and therefore in all reason that must interpret this. Now that which is there mentioned is the Thessalonians suffering persecution after the manner that other Christians had done before them, which, as it is an evidence of their constancy in the faith, so is that of their proficiency to the highest degree of perfection which this life is capable of. And besides, it being foretold by Christ, that they which will receive the faith, and live according to his prescriptions, shall suffer persecutions, their sufferings are a completion of that word of his.

14. [i] countrymen] Συμφυλῆται, men of the same tribe, or race, or country with the Thessalonian Christians, to whom he writes, may not be resolved to be the heathen inhabitants of that city or country, but the unconverted Jews which were dispersed there. For at the apostle's coming to that city, Acts xvii, the first thing we read of there, is a *synagogue of the Jews*, ver. 1; thither Paul went unto them, that is, to the Jews, and preached Christ unto them, and some of them received the faith, and of devout Greeks, or Gentile proselytes, a great multitude, &c., ver. 4. And immediately the unbelieving Jews, making use of the officers of the courts of the city, raised a tumult against them, ver. 5; and the apostle and Silas escaping, they seized upon Jason and other brethren, that is, Christians that had received the faith, and haled them to the magistrates of the city, and accused them for doing contrary to Cæsar's orders, ver. 7. And so the persecution thus early

began at Thessalonica, was evidently by the Jews which received not the faith, against the Jews and proselytes which received it; and these Jews of Thessalonica were so zealous in the matter, that as soon as they heard of the receiving the faith at Berea, they went thither, and solicited the multitude there against them, ver. 13. And so there is no question but the ἱδιοὶ συμφυλῆται, their *countrymen* that are here spoken of, are the Jewish inhabitants of Macedonia, and particularly of Thessalonica; and accordingly, that they may not think it strange that they should thus be used by those of their own nation, he gives them the example of the unbelieving Jews in Judæa that had persecuted the Christians there, as before they had crucified Christ himself, &c., ver. 15. And their special quarrel to the apostles was, that they preached to the *Gentiles*, ver. 16; for which, and all other their obstinacy, he foretells the *wrath of God* upon them, and their utter destruction approaching, ver. 16. That in this persecution at Thessalonica some were dead, and others so evil handled, that there was need of this Epistle to comfort them for those that were fallen, and confirm them, by foretelling them the approach of Christ's coming to relieve the constant sufferers, and to destroy the persecutors, and those that cowardly fell off to them, will appear ch. iv. 13, and v. 1, &c.

19. [*k*] *crown*] A *crown* was an attire or dressing for the head, and so is mentioned Ezek. xvi. 12, together with *jewels on the forehead*, and *earrings in the ear*; and so Ezek. xxiii. 42, *bracelets upon their hands*, and *crowns upon their heads*: not that this was an ensign of majesty peculiar to kings, but the name of an ornament worn by others, both men, as the Sabæans, Ezek. xxiii. 42, and women, as in that description of the Jewish nation by a woman, ch. xvi. So the Misna makes mention of crowns that bridegrooms and brides were wont to wear. The bridegroom's was of gold, or gilt, or painted, or of roses, or myrtle, or olives, and so the bride's also, Gemara Hierosol. ad tit. Sota, c. 9. But these were interdicted by the Jews about the time of Vespasian, saith the Misna tit. Sota, c. 9. Of these there is also frequent mention among the heathens, στέφος γαμήλιον, a *nuptial crown*, in Bion's Epitaph of Adonis; and in Libanius Declam. 8, speaking of nuptial rites, οὐκ ἐστεφανώσῃμην; *was I not crowned?* But as of all other ornaments, so of this it must be observed, that they were either of every day's use, (unless days of fasting and mourning,) or for extraordinary or festival days, (in like manner as there was an every day's anointing, unless upon days of humiliation,) Matt. vi, and the *oil of gladness* or festival oil, psalm xlv. 7; and the latter of these is in those places of Ezekiel called a *beautiful crown*, and here στέφανος καυχήσεως, a *crown of boasting*, that is, either of rejoicing or festivity, as rejoicing and boasting is all one, (such we know was the *nuptial crown*, *where-with his mother* is said to have crowned Solomon in the day of the *gladness of his heart*, Cant. iii. 11,) or of boasting, as that sounds literally, such as are the special kinds of ornament, wherein one is set out most pompously and magnificently, so as vain-glorious persons adorn themselves.

CHAP. III.

5. [*a*] *tempted*] It is ordinary in the scripture dialect for verbs to signify, beside the action or passion noted by them, the effect which is

consequent thereto. Of passives it hath been noted at large, note [b] on Matt. xi. And of actives there want not examples, especially in this one word *πειράζειν*, which now we speak of. For to tempt doth ordinarily signify no more than to offer temptations, to propose or suggest those objects, which if the man resist and reject, are matter of virtue in him: but *having tempted* here, signifies evidently, having brought them unto sin, that is, wrought upon them, corrupted them by temptations; for otherwise his labour in preaching the gospel to them would not become vain by that means. So when God is said to give men to Christ, John vi. 37, the meaning is, that by God's preventing and preparing grace, they do effectually come to Christ, receive and embrace the gospel.

8. [b] *live*] To live, beside the literal notation of it, signifies also to be cheerful or merry, to rejoice. So psalm xxii. 26. *your heart shall live for ever*, which is a consequent of eating and being satisfied, and praising God. So John xiv. 19. *Because I live, ye shall live also*. In the first place it is literally taken for Christ's resurrection, but in the second for their rejoicing, such as was caused by the recovery of a friend from death to life, (and these joined by the figure *ἀντανάκλασις* observed on note [k]) Matt. viii. And this is ordinary in all languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. And so here it is evidently used, *we live, if, &c.*, that is, it is matter of infinite joy to us; and accordingly it follows, as an expression of exultancy, *For what thanksgiving can we return for all the joy, &c.*

CHAP. IV.

4. [a] *his vessel*] It is the conceit of a learned man that *σκεῦος ἑαυτοῦ*, *his own vessel*, here signifies his lawful or proper wife: but there is no example nor analogy for this interpretation, unless that the wife is elsewhere called *the weaker vessel*, 1 Pet. iii. 7. But that supposes the man to be a vessel too, and concludes no peculiarity of that title to the woman, but only that she is the weaker. The wives are indeed by some called *ἀρουραι ὑμῶν*, *your fields*, in Demetrius Cydonius, by others *ναετὸς ὑμῶν*, *your dwelling*, in Euthymius Zygabenus; but nowhere *σκεῦος*, *vessel*. And indeed the context doth otherwise incline it to denote the man's own body. For that which is opposed, ver. 5, to this *possessing his own vessel with chastity and honour*, is *πάθος ἐπιθυμίας*, *the passion of lust*, that is, inordinate lust, as the Gentiles, &c. Now those Gentile impious unnatural practices were not peculiarly opposed to conjugal chastity, but simply to chastity or purity, whether in marriage or out of marriage. And to that best agrees the notion of his *own vessel*, as it signifies his own flesh, his own body. Now the word *σκεῦος*, signifying simply an utensil, or instrument of use, (see note [b] on Matt. xxi,) the body being the great utensil or instrument of the mind, is fitly so called. Thus Barnabas in his Epistle calls the body of Christ *σκεῦος τοῦ Πνεύματος*, *the vessel or utensil of the Spirit*; and so the Jews call the body כלי, *an instrument*, and the Greek *σκεῦος* is very near that, only the first σ abundant. This *possessing*, or (as κτῶσθαι signifies sometimes in the idiom of these writers) *preserving*, or *keeping* (Luke xxi. 19.) *the body in purity and honour*, is the perfect chastity either in celibacy or the conjugal state, in opposition to all those unnatural lusts which are called *πάθος ἀρμίας*, Rom. i. 26, *dishonourable*

affections, the basest, vilest submissions imaginable; and the same is here called *πάθος ἐπιθυμίας*, which makes it not improbable that that should be read *ἀτιμίας* also; but however, it signifies the same thing, *inordinate desires or lusts*. And to this also agrees that which follows ver. 6. See note [δ].

6. [b] *go beyond* ὑπερβαίνειν is a general word to signify *transgressing of the due limits* in any thing; ὑπερβαίνειν ὁροθεσία, “to go beyond the bounds,” παράβασις ὄρκων, “transgressing of oaths and obligations,” saith Hesychius; and when the close of Hesiod’s ἔργα καὶ ἥμ. is

— ὑπερβασίας ἀλειύνων.

that is, saith Proclus, ἐκκλίνειν τὰς παραβάσεις τοῦ ὀρθοῦ καὶ καλοῦ σκοποῦ, “to avoid all deviations from the right and good mark,” and so in Phocylides,

— μὴ γὰρ ὑπερβῆς.

and

— ὑπερβασίη δ’ ἀλειυή,

mischievous transgressing, this being applied to matters of uncleanness, (as appears ver. 7, and by the modest, civil expression of ἐν τῷ πράγματι, *in a matter*, and by the addition of πλεονεκτεῖν, which hath formerly been explained to belong to *inordinacy* or *unnatural lusts*.) will be concluded most probably to signify those filthinesses which exceed the bounds and law of nature. Hence perhaps it is that Hesychius hath rendered ὑπερβασίς, ὕβρις, *contumely*, in that notion of the word wherein Clemens in his *Pædagogus*, l. 2. cites it, οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἀρρενός ὕβριν, &c., that dishonourable, villanous practice here mentioned, ver. 5. And thus we find ἀνδροβασία used by Epiphanius of the Gnostics, πᾶν εἶδος ἀνδροβασίων καὶ λαγνεστέρων ὁμιλιῶν πρὸς γυναῖκας, &c. And to this purpose it may perhaps be further observable, that the Hebrew מַב or מִב, from whence is the Greek βῶ or βάω, (the old word from whence the rest of the tenses of βαίνω come,) doth in the Old Testament signify the husband’s accompanying with the wife, and is rendered *going in* unto her, and accordingly βαίνειν and ἐπιβαίνειν are by humane authors used in that sense, applied to other creatures. Aristot. Hist. Animal. l. 5. cap. 14, speaking of an elephant, Βαίνει πέντε ἐτῶν ἢ ἑξ ὧν, and

— συνάντ’ ἐπιβήτορα καπρὸν,

in Homer, Odyss. ψ., and ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς μητέρας οἱ ἵπποι, Arist. Histor. Animal. l. 6. c. 12. And to the same sense βατεύειν, and in Cicero the Latin *batuere*. Another ordinary notion there is, wherein these two words, ὑπερβαίνειν and πλεονεκτεῖν, which are here used together, do agree, viz. to denote superiority, or being in a more eminent degree. So saith Chrysostom of the bishops’ superiority above presbyters in the point of ordination, Τῇ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τοῦτῃ μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν, “In this they exceed, or have more power.” But this notion being by the context rendered unapplicable to this place, will only signify that these two words, being of the same importance in other things, may probably be so in this matter also, wherein πλεονεξία is so visibly used in these sacred writings for *unnatural, unclean excesses*. See Ephes. v. 5. Theophylact, though he acknowledge the phrase to belong to matters of uncleanness, and so interprets ἐν τῷ πράγματι, ἐν μίξει, yet thinks it belongs peculiarly to μοιχεία, *adultery*, which, saith he, is here fitly called πλεονεξία and παράβασις, (I suppose it should be read ὑπερβασίς, that it may be answerable

to *ὑπερβαίνειν*,) "because God," saith he, "hath allowed every man his wife," καὶ ὅρους τέθεικε τῇ φύσει, "and defined bounds to nature," τὴν μίξιν τὴν πρὸς μίαν γυναῖκα ἐκείνην, "that he should content himself with that one woman," and he that doth not, he may properly be said to *exceed*, and to *desire inordinately*, καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, and this peculiarly against, or to the *wronging of his brother*. But the sin here mentioned being a specification of what was meant by πάθος ἐπιθυμίας, and an instance of the practice of the *heathens that knew not God*, ver. 5, and presently attended with *God's being an avenger of all such things*, ver. 6, it will not so reasonably be restrained to adultery, but be taken for those foul sins for which the Gentiles' mysteries were so famous, and for which God's judgments remarkably fell upon them, and must in like manner be expected to fall on Christians that are guilty of them. To these St. Chrysostom applies the phrase, tom. 11. p. 24. l. 13. πάν γὰρ ὑπερβαῖνον τοὺς παρὰ Θεοῦ τιθέντας νόμους, τῶν ἀλλοκότων ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ οὐ νονομισμένων, "he that exceeds the laws set by God, desires strange and not regular things." I shall here add, how the bishops of our church in the days of Henry VIII. thought fit to interpret or paraphrase this place in the book named "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man," in the discourse of matrimony, where, falling on mention of this text of scripture, they thus express this part of it, "that no man should craftily compass and circumvent his brother to obtain his fleshly lusts:" where it is evident what they understood by the whole phrase, particularly by ἐν τῷ πράγματι, to obtain his *fleshly lusts*, agreeably to what we have here noted.

9. [c] *taught of God*] The word θεοδιδάκτος is all one with διδάκτοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the taught of God*, John vi. 45; of which see note [d] there. Yet some difference there is. There Θεός is peculiarly *God the Father*, as appears vv. 37. 39. 44. 65; and so *the taught of God* are the followers, disciples of him, who, as being first such, (having that honest heart which hath always been taught them by God, and by his preventing grace wrought in them, and accepted by him,) do, when Christ is revealed to them, constantly receive and entertain him: but here Θεός, *God*, seems rather to signify *Christ*, speaking of that which was not in them till they were Christians, viz. brotherly love, at least was taught them and required of them most eminently by Christianity. (Thus in the Epistle of pope Gregory the Ninth to the university of Paris about Aristotle's works, *Nec philosophos se ostendent, sed satagant fieri theodidacti*; "Let them not boast that they are philosophers, but let them be content that they are, or endeavour to be, God's scholars," that is, Christians, "instructed by the tractates of holy fathers," as there it follows.) And therefore the εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν, *for the loving of one another*, may either be a notation of the end, or only of the effect, and it is uncertain which. The word εἰς will bear either. If it be the end, then the sense is, that to this especially is their Christianity designed, that *they love one another*, their being Christians obliges them expressly to that, and makes his exhortation to it unnecessary. Thus St. Chrysostom applies the words of the prophet, *they shall be all taught of God*, to the perspicuity and plainness of the evangelical precepts, ὁ σαφὴς καὶ δῆλος τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν κατέστησαν ἅπαντες, ἅτε κοινοὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄντες διδά-

* Tom. 5. p. 244. l. 25.

σκαλοι, ἵνα ἕκαστος καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μαθάνειν δύνηται ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως μόνης τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ τοῦτο προσωφώνων ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγεν, "Ἔσονται πάντες διδασκατοὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ εἴπῃ ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον ἑαυτοῦ, &c. "The apostles, as common doctors of the world, proposed to make all things perspicuous and manifest of themselves, that every one might by bare reading learn them, and to this the prophet agrees, saying, *They shall be all taught of God, and shall not say every one to his neighbour,*" &c. If it be the effect, then the meaning is, that, by their having been thus formed by the Christian faith, they do already (see ver. 18.) perform this, and therefore need no exhorting to it.

13. [d] *are asleep*] That κοιμᾶσθαι, *to sleep*, signifies *to die*, to depart out of this world, (according to the scripture style,) there is no question. Only two things are here to be observed; 1st, that the word which is in the ordinary reading κοιμημένων in the preter tense, *those that have fallen asleep*, is in the king's MS. κοιμωμένων, *they that sleep*, in the present, to note simply those that die, not only those that are already dead, but that *die daily*; remembering withal, that κοιμᾶσθαι, *to sleep*, is the word which is proper to express the death of the righteous, whose death is but a repose of their bodies in their graves or dormitories, and a rest of their souls in God's hands: 2dly, that the men here peculiarly spoken of are those that die in the cause or for the faith of Christ. That sure is expressed by κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *those that sleep through Jesus*, that is, by occasion of him, or for Christianity sake; and so signifies those that have been persecuted, and died either by the hands of the persecutors, or before the time comes of Christ's destroying the persecutors, and releasing the persecuted by that means. And the considering of this will give us the occasion of this discourse, and of that concerning the *times and seasons* following it, ch. v. 1. That the Christians at Thessalonica were sorely persecuted by the unbelieving Jews, and haled and dragged to the Roman officers, as disturbers of the civil peace, hath been evidenced note [h] on ch. ii. Against these persecutions the apostle designed to confirm and comfort them by this Epistle. And the direct way of doing it was to put them in mind of what he had told them when he was with them, that God's judgments should shortly seize upon the unbelieving Jews, their persecutors, ch. ii. 16, and bring them relief by that means. Of this he speaks as of a thing known to them, ch. v. 1. But yet one objection there was either expressed by them, or foreseen and here answered by him, viz. that this deliverance being not yet come, some of the faithful either were daily put to death by the Roman officers upon the Jews' instigation, (for the accusations brought against them were capital, Acts xvii. 6, 7,) and so were not thus rescued, or else did *daily die* before this promised deliverance came. And to this the apostle gives answer here, that they should not be discouraged or grieve for those which thus died, especially in the cause of Christ, because their souls, being by death brought to their harbour and their crown the sooner, their bodies, which alone were supposed to be the sufferers, were no way losers by it, being sure to be raised by Christ, (whose resurrection converted his death into advantage to him,) and that so speedily, at the sound of the doomsday trumpet, that they which should then be found alive, which have never died, should have no advantage of them; but on the other side, they that were *dead* for the *faith of Christ* should

first be raised before they that were remaining alive should be caught up with Christ. And this was full matter of comfort to them, and answer to the objection. After which he fitly resumes the discourse of the times and seasons of the vengeance on the Jews, and deliverance of the faithful by that means, ch. v. 1. And so this is a perspicuous account of the coming in of this discourse of the resurrection in this place.

CHAP. V.

1. [a] *times and the seasons*] What χρόνοι and καιροί, *times and seasons*, here signify, appears sufficiently by ver. 2, where in another phrase the same thing is expressed by ἡμέρα Χριστοῦ ἔρχεται, *the day of Christ cometh*; which is without question the same which is so oft called *the coming of Christ*, for the destroying the enemies of Christianity, (which he should do καιροῖς ἰδίοις, *in the proper seasons*, 1 Tim. vi. 15, and *the day approaching*, and day in all languages signifies judgment; (so 1 Cor. iii. 13, *the day shall declare*, that is, the judgment that shall sit upon them; and so diem dicere is, "to call a man into any court of judicature," and a day's-man among us is a judge;) and so the word καιρός, *season*, is used Rom. xiii. 11, εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν, *knowing the season*, and that season expressed in the end of the verse, as here, by ἡμέρα ἔγγικεν, *the approaching of the day*. So Matt. xvi. 3. σημεῖα καιρῶν, *the signs of the times*, were the signs of that approaching destruction; and accordingly Luke xii. 56, it is called καιρὸς οὗτος, *this time or season*. And to this matter (plainly set down before, ch. ii. 16, the full vials of God's wrath falling on the persecuting Jews,) the rest of this discourse to ver. 12, doth evidently belong, and the suddenness and unexpectedness of it (and the surprise of all carnal men, which joined with the persecutors, or went on in unchristian sins) described, as it is frequently in the Gospel, Matt. xxiv, Luke xix, and in the Epistles, Rom. xiii. 2 Pet. iii, and elsewhere. And that it cannot belong to the last coming of Christ to judgment or final doom, appears both from hence, that that was the subject of the former discourse, chap. iv. 13, &c., and this as a distinct matter is entered upon with ἀπερὶ δὲ, &c. *But concerning the times and seasons*; and, 2dly, by the end to which this discourse is here designed by the apostle, viz. to comfort the Christians that were under persecution, and give them patience and constancy, for which this was a fit consideration, that this judgment of God would come suddenly, and when it was least expected, and so would surprise them if they were not watchful: and this but a transcript of Christ's words on this matter, Mark xiii. 32, (and the very word καιρός, *season*, there made use of, ver. 33,) and more punctually under the phrase of *the thief in the night*, Matt. xxiv. 43. All which belonged peculiarly to this doom upon the Jews, and not to the general judgment, which it is to us certain that those that then lived were not concerned in, but only in this other. And if it be here questioned how this destruction of the Jews should concern the Christians in Macedonia, and so be matter of such particular advertisement to the Thessalonians, I answer, that the Jews being at this time dispersed into several parts much further from Judæa than Macedonia, did likewise, wheresoever they were, oppose the apostles' preaching to the Gentiles, and not only so, but persecuted those that received the faith with all bitterness: and how peculiarly this was observable at Thessalonica, see note [i] on ch. ii. "The

Jews were the fountains of persecutions," saith Tertullian : and as they prosecuted the Christians before the heathen powers, so all the false-hearted, temporizing, carnal Christians, that were not willing to bear persecutions, complied and joined with them against the pure and orthodox ; and all that did so, being engaged in the same course, were involved also in the same destruction ; and so the Jews and Gnostics, which at this time were the cockle among the wheat in every Christian plantation, overran all the churches of Asia, &c., as appears by the apostle's (and Christ's, Rev. ch. ii. 3.) epistles to them, and infested this plantation in the churches of Macedonia also (as oft appeared in the Epistle to the Philippians, another church of Macedonia). It was most fit then for the apostle to forewarn them of their dangers which were likely to assault their constancy ; and to fortify them against timidity on one side, and the carnal baits on the other, (as he doth in the former part of this Epistle,) by this assurance that God's judgments would suddenly surprise these enemies of his, and nothing but constancy and purity be likely to preserve any from that heavy destruction.

10. [*b*] *live together with him*] *To live together with Christ*, though it comprehend under it, yet must not necessarily be confined to, the future immortal life, but may belong first and literally to preservation and deliverance here ; so as *σώζεσθαι*, which is ordinarily rendered, *to be saved*, doth (vv. 3. 8, 9, and oft elsewhere) denote *deliverance out of calamities and destructions* here, which is also attended constantly (and when the temporal is not had, supplied) with eternal life. Thus doth the matter here in hand incline to interpret it ; being the description of that coming of Christ for the destroying of the enemies of Christianity, which is designed as a means of preserving the constant Christians, and giving them quiet halcyonian days after the storms wherein they had been tossed. And so *to live* is to live prosperously and cheerfully in the profession of Christianity here, together with an assurance of living and reigning with him eternally. And according to this must the phrase, *whether we sleep or wake*, be interpreted, not so as *sleeping* signifies death, and *waking* being not yet dead, but *alive*, (though that sense will have truth in it also applicable to the notion of *life* for eternal life,) but as may best agree with the contexture of this chapter. Here this calamity approaching the Jews and Gnostics is said to *come as a thief in the night*, ver. 2. Upon which he tells the pious Christians that they are in no danger of receiving hurt from this, ver. 4, they *are not in darkness*, that this *day* or judgment should thus surprise them ; and so again, ver. 5, on which he builds his exhortation, ver. 6, *wherefore let us not sleep, but watch and be sober*, in the figurative notion of *sleep* for sin, and *watching* for carefulness and constancy ; and ver. 7, the ground of that figurative notion of *sleep* is set down, because, as sleep is a night work, so drunkenness is a night work, and so every sin, and therefore that visitation that comes *as a thief in the night* is likely to surprise them, and none else. And on the contrary, the *sober, pure, constant* Christian, he is sure to escape ; which he further proves, ver. 9, by Christ's *dying* to that end, to bring us to that purity ; and consequently being risen again, and coming to do vital acts, (such is executing vengeance on enemies,) he will be sure to preserve those which are thus qualified, and that *whether they wake or sleep*. That cannot

now be in that figurative sense formerly used for *piety* and *sia*, for they that thus sleep shall not thus live; but (as by the figure ἀντανάλαισις, noted on [k] Matt. viii. it is ordinary) in the vulgar ordinary sense of *waking* and *sleeping*, the one noting solicitude, the other security: and so the sense will be most current, that without their special care and solicitude (referring all to God, and so laying them down to sleep, and taking their rest) they shall be secured by Christ, and *live* when others that were more solicitous for their safety, the Gnostics, were destroyed with the Jews.

12. [c] *are over you*] Προϊστάμενοι ὑμῶν, *those that are set or rule over you*, are sure the bishops of several churches, called in the first times προεστῶτες, *prefects*, and *presidents* in the Latin church. As for that objection which may arise here from the plural number, which argues that they were more than one. the account is to be the same that was given for ἐπίσκοποι, more bishops than one, Phil. i. 1; because, 1st, as Philippi was a metropolis of Macedonia, and contained many churches, and consequently bishops under it, so was Thessalonica here also, and all the churches that were under it were written to also in this Epistle inscribed to the metropolitan church: 2dly, it hath been before observed (note [a] on Phil. i.) that Thessalonica and Philippi, being both churches of Macedonia, these epistles were written to both, and indeed to all the Christian churches of Macedonia, (as the Epistle to the Corinthians belonged also to the saints or Christians of all Achaia.) And there being many bishops constituted in that whole country, they are all here contained under these phrases, κοπιῶντες ἐν ὑμῖν, *they that labour among you*, that is, *labour in the word and doctrine*, 1 Tim. v. 17, and προϊστάμενοι, *those that are set over you*, and ρουθετοῦντες, *they that exhort you*, it being the bishops' office to do all these.

14. [d] *unruly*] Ἀτακτοί, *irregular*, is a military word, and signifies *disbanded soldiers*, that have left their employment, or service, or obedience to their commanders, and so may here be set to express those that live not in obedience to the apostle's rules, or to the commands of their superiors the bishops in their churches, who are here first admonished according to Christ's directions, Matt. xviii. 15; and so again a second time, 2 Thess. iii. 12; and if they reform not, are then to be censured and excommunicate, 2 Thess. iii. 6. But the context in that place seems to refer to one particular kind of irregularity, (contrary to the express orders of the apostle there, ver. 10.) viz. living idly, giving over the works and duties of their callings, ver. 11, which, beside the disobedience to his orders, was literally also a forsaking their colours, leaving that rank wherein they were placed by God; and so there, ver. 7, ἀτακτεῖν is set opposite to *labouring*, ver. 8.

22. [e] *appearance*] The word εἶδος, which is ordinarily rendered *appearance*, is known to signify (as the Latin *species* among authors) *kind* or *sort*. Thus they that interpret it otherwise acknowledge the Syriac to render it. And so the meaning of the place will be, ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους πονηροῦ, *from all sort, or the whole kind of evil*, from all that is truly so, be it never so small, according to that of Ribbi in Pirche-avoth, c. 2. יהי וחיר במצוה קלה כבמורה, *be as careful in the keeping a light as an heavy commandment*. Thus the place seems to be understood by St. Basil, who opposes πᾶν εἶδος πονηροῦ, *every kind of evil*, to τὸ δόκιμον, which will upon trial bear the touch, on the beginning of the prov.

δόκιμος τραπεζίτης τὸ μὲν δόκιμον καθίξεται, ἀπὸ δὲ παντὸς εἵδους πονηροῦ ἀφέξεται, “A good merchant will keep that which is good, unadulterate metal, but will abstain from all kind of evil, or adulterate;” not from that which appears ill, if it be not, for to what purpose then is his skill or touchstone? but from that which is ill, whatever it appear. So Theophylact, μὴ τοῦτου ἢ ἐκείνου, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς παντὸς προφήτου ψευδοῦς, καὶ ἁμαρτήματος, “fly from all simply, not from this or that, from every lying prophet and from every sin.” So ¹Leontius de sect. πρᾶξ. γ’, speaking of the heresy of the Manichees, which “chose the worst things ἐξ ἐκάστης αἰρέσεως, out of each heresy,” he adds, οὐ φείδεται δὲ οὐδὲ εἰδωλολατρίας, οὐ παντὸς εἵδους κακοῦ, “it abstains not even from idolatry, nor from any sort (not *show* or *appearance*, but *kind* or *sort*) of evil.”

23. [*f*] *whole spirit and*—] The δλόκληρον ὅμων, the *all* or *whole* of you, the entire or complete man is here divided into three parts, *spirit, soul, and body*. There seems to be a particular mention of each of these in the creation, Gen. ii. 7. First, חַדָּם אֶרֶץ, *the dust of the earth*, that visible mass, the flesh or members, that is, the body: then, נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, *the living soul*, the animal or sensitive faculty, common to man with beasts and other sensitive creatures, and that is ψυχή, *the soul*, which therefore in the New Testament ordinarily signifies *the life*, Luke xii. 20. τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσι, *they require thy soul*, that is, *thy life from thee*. So Matt. x. 39, and xvi. 25, 26, and elsewhere. See ch. ii. 8. Thirdly, נְשָׁמָה חַיָּה, *the breath of life*, the rational faculty capable of divine illumination, and so called πνεῦμα, *the spirit*, or that which was at first breathed into man by God, and returns immortal into his hands again. And so this may be the full meaning of the words, *your spirit, soul, and body*, that is, your rational, immortal spirit, your sensitive, mortal soul, and your body, the place of residence of both, which three make up the whole man, the δλόκληρον ὅμων, *the whole of us*; and so Marcus Eremita^m Πε. Μεταν. Τριμερὴς ὑπόστασις σώματος, πνεύματος καὶ ψυχῆς, “the three-parted hypostasis of body, spirit, and soul.” But there is another notion of the word *soul*, which may possibly make a change in this matter: for the Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ, *soul*, Gen. xxiii. 8, is by the Chaldee Paraphrase rendered רְעוּלָה, *the will*, and so it must there signify; for there *Abraham communed with them, saying, If it be your soul*, (we render it *mind*,) that is, your pleasure, your election or choice, (that is, an act of the will,) *that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me*, &c. So psalm xxvii. 12, *the soul of my enemies* must signify *the pleasure*, and is rightly rendered *the will of my enemies*, so as they may deal with me as they please; and so the same phrase is again used psalm xli. 2. So Deut. xxi. 14. *Thou shalt let her go רְעוּלָהּ, according to her soul*, that is, her will, whither she please or choose to go, that is, freely, the will being that free faculty which chooses what it pleases; and accordingly the Septuagint read there ἐλευθέρην, *free to go whither she will*. This Thalassius, Cent. 2. 27, calls ψυχὴν πρακτικὴν, *the practical soul*, viz. the beginning of action, for such the will is. And that this is the notion of the ψυχή, *soul*, here, is the opinion of the most ancient writers, Origen and Irenæus, as shall anon appear: and if it be so, then the word σῶμα, *body*, must be taken

¹ Bibl. Pat. Græc. t. i. p. 503 E.

^m P. 907 D.

in a more comprehensive latitude, so as to contain the senses and sensitive appetites that are seated in the body, in the notion that *the flesh and the members* are opposed to *the spirit and the mind*, Rom. vii. and Gal. v. And then this will be the division of the man: the flesh, or body, or sensitive carnal appetites, on one side; and the spirit or upper soul, the rational proposals, on the other side; and the will or choice, that freely inclines to one or the other of these as it pleaseth. For the first of these three, the fathers are wont to set τὰ πάθη, *the passions, ἐπιθυμίαν, sensual desire*; τὸν δῆμον, *the common people of the soul* in Maximus Tyrius, τὸ θῆλυ, *the woman-part* in Philo, τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν, *the child in us* in Simplicius on Epictet. p. 70; and again, p. 266, περιπέριον ψυχῆς μέρος, *the lower foot-part of the soul*, by which the soul communicates with the body, τὰ ἀλογα πάθη, *the unreasonable affections* generally among the Stoics, and ἀλογία, *unreasonableness*, ἵππος, *the horse* in Socrates, θηρίον, *the beast* in Plotinus, or ζωὸν τὸ σῶμα, *the body enlivened*, θηρία καὶ τετράποδα, *the beasts and four-footed creatures* of the soul, which still allure us to bestial things; οὐκ ἀνθρώπου ἢ ἀνθρώπου, “not of man as man,” (saith Nemesius de Nat. Hom. c. 1.) ἀλλὰ ζώου μὲν προηγουμένου, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ἐπομένου, ἐπειδὴν καὶ ζῶν ὁ ἀνθρώπος, “but of the living creature primarily, and consequently of the man, in that man is a living creature.” For the spirit they set τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, *the leading faculty* of the soul, τὸν νοῦν and νοερὸν, *the intellectual faculty, ἡνλοχον, the rider of that horse* in Socrates, τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ῥυθμίζοντα καὶ μετροῦντα τὰς ἀλόγους ἐν ἡμῖν ὀρέξεις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠφέλιμον ἀπευθύνοντα αὐτάς, “the pedagogue that modulates the irrational appetite, and sets it right to that which is profitable;” in Simplicius, τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν Θεόν, *the God in us*; in Julian, κυριώτατον ψυχῆς εἶδος, καὶ ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸν δαίμονα ἐκάστω δοθέντα, οἰκοῦντα ἐπ’ ἄκρῳ τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ συγγένειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἵροντα, Orat. 2. p. 127, “the chief part of the soul, the demon that is given to every one, dwelling in the top of the body, and raising us from the earth to our kindred in heaven;” the τὸ ἄρρεν, *the masculine part* in Philo, τὸν ἀνθρώπον, *the man* in others, *the inward man* in St. Paul, and τὸν νοῦν, *the mind*, δianoian, *the understanding*, Mark xii. 30, and σύνεσιν in the same sense, ver. 33. Betwixt these two then, as in the middle of them, is placed ψυχὴ, as that signifies *the will*, the elective faculty, called by the ancients ἀντεξούσιον and αὐθαίρετον, *the will or choice*. This philosophy concerning the parts and division of man Nemesius cites from Plotinus, ἐκ τριῶν τὸν ἀνθρώπον συνεστάναι, σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ, “that the man is made up of three, body, soul, and mind;” and he affirms Apollinarius bishop of Laodicea to have followed him in it. The same we may see in Irenæus, l. 5. c. 9, together with the notion of δλόκληρον ὑμῶν for *the whole of you*, which we have given. Sunt, saith he, tria ex quibus perfectus homo constat, carne, anima, spiritu, “There are three things of which the entire perfect man consists, flesh, soul, spirit.” And again, Anima est quidem inter hæc duo, aliquando subsequens spiritum elevatur ab eo, aliquando autem consentiens carni decedit in terrenas concupiscentias, “The soul is betwixt the flesh and spirit, and sometimes following the spirit, is elevated by it, sometimes consenting to the flesh, falls into earthly concupiscences.” So Origen, l. 1. sup. Epist. ad Rom. Triplex hominis portio, corpus, seu caro, infima nostri pars, cui per genitalem culpam

Πε. φύσ. ἀνθρώπου.

legem inscripsit peccati serpens ille veterator, quaque ad turpia provocamur, ac victi diabolo nectimur; spiritus, quo divina natura similitudinem exprimimus, in qua Conditor optimus de suæ mentis archetypo æternam istam honesti legem insculpsit digito, h. e. spiritu suo, hoc Deo conglutnamur, unumque cum Deo reddimur; porro tertia, et inter ea media, anima, quæ velut in factiosa republica non potest non alterutri partium accedere, hinc atque hinc sollicitatur, liberum habet utro velit inclinare; si carni renunciando ad spiritus partes sese induxerit, fiet et ipsa spiritalis, sin ad carnis cupiditates semet abjecerit, degenerabit et ipsa in corpus.

"There are three parts of a man, the body or flesh, the lowest part of a man, on which the serpent by original sin inscribed the law of sin, and by which we are tempted to filthy things; and as oft as we are overcome by the temptation, are joined fast to the devil: the spirit, by which we express the likeness of the divine nature in which God from the pattern of his own mind engraved the eternal law of honest with his own hand or spirit; by this we are joined fast to God, and are made one with him: then the soul, which is the middle betwixt these two, which, as in a factious commonwealth, cannot but join with one or other of the former parties, being solicited this way and that, and having liberty to which it will join; if it renounce the flesh, and join with the spirit, it will itself become spiritual, but if it cast itself down to the desires of the flesh, it will itself degenerate into the body." All most distinctly and largely to the same purpose, when the soul or will thus consents to the body or flesh, then *lust* is said to *conceive*, and *bring forth sin*, James i. 15. Thus the flesh or lower soul, like the harlot, solicits the will, the middle faculty of the man, to impure unlawful embraces, *δελεάζει, invites and attracts* it with some pleasant bait; then when it hath obtained its consent, by this means it *conceives sin*, which, when by some degrees it is grown to perfection, proceeds from consent to act, from conception to birth, from act to delight, from delight to frequent iteration, thence to habit, from habit to obduration, and at last itself is able to bring forth again, it *brings forth death*: with which agrees that of the poet,

"*Διτὴς ἄρουρα θάνατον ἐκκομίζεται [ἐκκαρπίζεται].*

Æschyl. 'Επρ. ἐπὶ Θηβ. 601.

"That which is sin in the field is death in the harvest." And

ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦς ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν

"*Διτὴς, ὅθεν παγκλαυστὸν ἐξαμὰ θέρος.* Id. Πέρσαις. 821.

"Lust blossoms and fructifies sin, from whence comes a lamentable harvest." So again, when the spirit gets the consent and the embraces, the fruits of the spirit follow also. And so °Thalassius having compared the will, under the title of *ψυχὴ πρακτικὴ, the practical soul*, or beginning of action, to a woman, adds, *ἡ δὲ νοῦς συγγενόμενος ἀπορίκει τὰς ἀρετὰς*, "with which when the mind joins, it brings forth virtue." To this is referred the *spirit's lusting against the flesh*, and the *flesh against the spirit*, and many the like passages of the New Testament; and in Julian, Or. 4. p. 267. *διττὴ μαχομένη φύσις, εἰς ἓν κεκραμένη, ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τῆς μὲν θείας, τοῦ δὲ σκοτεινοῦ καὶ ὀφώδους*, "the double nature that is at strife mingled together, viz. soul and body, one divine, the other dark and black," from whence, saith he, rises the *μάχη καὶ στάσις, the strife and dissension* in man.

[a] THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

This second Epistle seems to have been written not many months after the former, about the fifty-first of Christ, whilst the apostle yet remained at Corinth, or was removed to Athens perhaps. For having in the former expressed his intentions and desire to visit them again in Macedonia, 1 Thess. iii. 10, 11, it nowhere appears that he did find an opportunity to do so; and then it is not improbable, that being by the interveniency of affairs, and perhaps of dangers, hindered from making good his resolution, he should thus hasten to send this Epistle to supply that defect, to confirm their minds, and to correct an error which he saw they were in concerning that coming of Christ, (mentioned in the former Epistle, ch. ii. 16, and v. 3,) for the acting revenge upon his enemies the Jews, which they, either from the words of his Epistle, (see note [c] on ch. ii. 2,) or by some other means, had persuaded themselves would come more speedily than in truth it was likely to come. The ill consequence of this mistake the apostle foresaw, viz. that if they depended on it *as instant*, *ὡς ὅτι ἐνίσταται*, and should find their hopes of immediate deliverance which was to attend it frustrated, this would be sure to shake their faith and their constancy. And therefore discerning their error, he thought it necessary to rectify it, by mentioning to them some things which were necessarily to be precedent to it, and reminding them that this was exactly according to what he had told them when he was among them. And this is visibly the sum of the two first chapters, the third being enlarged occasionally to some particulars.

CHAP. I.

5. [b] *kingdom of God*] That *the kingdom of God* signifies the state of the gospel or Christian profession, appears oft in the Gospels, especially in the parables of Christ; when *the kingdom of God* is likened to *a net*, to *a pearl*, &c., and to that the addition of *ἐν ᾗ πάσχετε*, *for which ye suffer*, may here seem to incline it, but the *καταξιώθηαι* that goes before is not well applicable to that. For that signifying *to be vouchsafed* or *thought worthy* to have their parts in it, or to have it bestowed upon them, it must refer to somewhat yet future, which through the mercy of God should be bestowed upon them; and then that, whatsoever it is, being hoped for and depended on by them, it may well be said that they *suffer for that*, that is, either for the professing that hope of theirs, whereby the malice of others is provoked against them, or at least in hope or intuition of it. Two other notions therefore there are of *the kingdom of God*: first, that of reigning with Christ in endless bliss in another world; and, 2dly, the exercise of Christ's regal power, which was then so oft foretold to be approaching, in destroying his enemies, and preserving his faithful subjects, according to that double office of a king, Rom. xiii, of *avenging of offenders*, and *rewarding*

them *that do good*. Of this see note [c] on Matt. iii. And that this is the notion of it in this place appears very probable by that which follows, where it is said, that *it is just with God to repay tribulation to their persecutors*, and *to the persecuted deliverance, release, refreshment* from the persecutions under which they had been. This was it that the apostles had foretold them in their preachings, (see note [a] on the title of *the Epistle to the Romans*;) and the benefits and fruits which they had been promised upon their perseverance in the faith through all their persecutions, not excluding their eternal reward, (but supposing that for the future, and in case they did not outlive the present distresses, 1 Thess. iv. 13,) but withal giving them into the bargain this assurance of an eminent deliverance here, halcyonian days of rest to the church upon the destruction of their persecutors, according as it fell out in Vespasian's days, after the destruction of the Jews. And this the apostles professed to expect, and so did the orthodox Christians generally: and as St. Stephen was stoned for that expectation, Acts vi. 14, so were the apostles and their followers persecuted also; and so it was literally *ὑπὲρ ἧς πάσχετε*, for this avowed expectation of this kingdom thus understood they suffered persecution.

7. [c] revealed] *Ἀποκάλυψις Χριστοῦ, the revelation of Christ*, as *the coming of Christ*, is a phrase of a doubtful signification, sometimes signifying the coming to the final doom, but sometimes also that coming that was described Matt. xxiv, and was to be within that generation. And so sure it signifies in several places of St. Peter, 1 Pet. i. 7. 13, and ch. iv. 13; and the *σωτηρία ἐτοιμή ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ, the deliverance ready to be revealed in the last time*, ch. i. 5, the destruction of the Jews being the time of the deliverance and escaping to the Christians that were persecuted by them (see Rom. xiii. 11). So again, 1 Pet. v. 1, where St. Peter saying of himself that he was a *witness of the sufferings of Christ*, addeth, he was also *τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός, partaker of the glory that should be revealed*, that is, present at the transfiguration, where by Moses and Elias were represented and declared the glorious consequents of his crucifixion, that is, the destruction of his crucifiers, and deliverance of his faithful disciples; see note [a] on Matt. xvii, note [b] on Luke ix, and 2 Pet. i. 16. And so here it most probably signifies, where the *vengeance* on the oppressors, that is, the crucifiers of Christ, and persecutors of Christians, is described, and an appendix of that *rest and release* to the oppressed, which is that *σωτηρία, deliverance*, so oft promised to them that persevere and endure and outlast those persecutions, and that *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ*, ver. 10, *in that day*, which is the notation of that time of vengeance upon the Jews; see note [a] on Heb. x. As for the mentions, 1st, of the *angels*, 2dly, of the *flame of fire*, 3dly, of the *everlasting destruction*, which may here seem to interpret this *revelation of Christ*, so as to signify the day of the general doom; it is evident, 1st, that the angels being *ministers of God* in executing his judgments on nations, this remarkable vengeance on the Jews may well here, and is elsewhere fitly expressed by his *coming or revealing himself with or by his angels*. So Matt. xvi. 27, and elsewhere often. See note [g] on Jude. Then, 2dly, for the *πῦρ φλογός, fire of flame, or flaming fire*, that is ordinarily the expression of the appearance of angels, (*he maketh his ministers a flaming fire*, saith the Psalmist,) and so adds little to the former; and,

2dly, God's judgments, if they be destructive, are ordinarily in prophetic phrase expressed by *flaming fire*; see Matt. iii. 12: 3dly, for the *καὶ ὁ καθαρισμὸς αἰώνιος*, that signifies *an utter destruction*: when of the chaff it is said, Matt. iii. 12, that *it shall be burnt with unquenchable fire*, it refers to the custom of winnowing, where the fire being set to the chaff, and assisted with the wind, never goes out till it have burnt up all. Meanwhile, not excluding the eternal torments of hell-fire, which expect all impenitent sinners that thus fall, but looking particularly on the visible destruction and vengeance which seizeth on whole nations or multitudes at once in this life. And that this is the meaning of the *καὶ ὁ καθαρισμὸς αἰώνιος*, *everlasting destruction* here, appears by all that here follows in this chapter, the time assigned for it, *ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι*, &c., *when Christ shall come* (the ordinary expression of this his vengeance on his crucifiers) *to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired among all believers in that day*; which that it belongs to somewhat then approaching, and wherein those Thessalonians were then concerned, (not to the general judgment, yet future,) is evident by his prayer for them, that they may have their part in that great favour of God, ver. 11, and *that the name of the Lord Jesus may be glorified ἐν ὑμῖν*, among them to whom he writes, *καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ*, and *that they may be glorified in or through him* by this remarkable deliverance, which should shortly befall them which were now persecuted.

CHAP. II.

1. [a] *by*] The preposition *ὑπὲρ* is oft taken in the notion of *περὶ*, *of*, or *about*, or *concerning*, or *for*, as that denotes the matter of the ensuing discourse, as when we say in English, *Now, for such a matter*, or *point*, or *question*, which is the form of entering upon any discourse. And thus it seems to be understood here, making *the coming of Christ*, &c., the things which he proceeds to discourse of; which having been touched upon in the former Epistle, ch. v. 1, (and it seems that which was said in that Epistle, misunderstood by them in some circumstances,) he proceeds, as in a known matter, to speak of it, and so *ὑπὲρ* will be best rendered *concerning*.

[b] *coming of our Lord*] Παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου, *the coming of the Lord*, hath been at large explained, note [b] on Matt. xxiv. to signify the coming of Christ as a judge to destroy the Jews, as psalm xcvi. 13. *For he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth*; and as psalm xcvi. 5, *the hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord*, the very *παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου* here,) and by that means to rescue those that were persecuted by them: and this is by St. James, ch. v. 7, 8, called by this title, *παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου*, *the coming of the Lord*, and that then *ἐγγίζουσα*, *approaching*, and further expressed, ver. 9, by *the Judge standing before the doors*; and so there is little reason to doubt but that it so signifies here. It is true indeed that 1 Thess. iv. 15, *παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου*, *the coming of the Lord*, is used for the final day of doom; but the phrase here appears not to refer to that place: for after the description of that to the end of that fourth chapter, the apostle, ch. v, begins *περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν*, *but concerning the times and seasons*, as of somewhat which was then approaching, and presumed to be sufficiently known among them, and on that subject he tells them, that they *know that the day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night*. Now to this

coming of the day of the Lord it is that the apostle here refers in this second Epistle, (that which he had said of it in the first Epistle, and particularly the αἰφνίδιος ὄλεθρος, *sudden destruction*, ver. 3, being misinterpreted by some of them, and changed into ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *the day of Christ is instantly approaching*,) as may appear by the end of the second verse, where the very phrase is used, *the day of the Lord*, which therefore is to be taken for the interpretation of παρουσία Χριστοῦ, *the coming of Christ*, ver. 1, the one as well as the other ordinarily denoting this judgment of Christ's upon the Jews, (see note [d] on Rom. xiii.) And then the ἐπισυναγωγή ἡμῶν εἰς Χριστόν, *our assembling to him*, must be proportionably explained to signify that greater liberty of the Christians to assemble to the service of Christ, the freedom of ecclesiastical assemblies, which was a consequent of that great judgment on the persecutors in the times of Vespasian and Titus, see note [b] on Rev. i, and ch. v. 10, and ch. vii. 15. Thus is the phrase used 2 Macc. ii. 7, where God's *gathering his people again together*, an effect of his receiving them into mercy, is his giving them the liberty of the temple, and his service there. And so ἐπισυναγωγή ἑαυτῶν, *the assembling of themselves*, Heb. x. 25, is their meeting together in the public service of Christ. And this, as it was an happy consequent of this deliverance, so was it to be used as a solemn means of expressing their gratitude to Christ, who had thus delivered them, and so was peculiarly a *gathering together εἰς αὐτόν, to him*.

2. [c] is *at hand*] The word ἐνέστηκεν here notes the immediate approach of this day, or the instant coming of it. So ἐνεστῶτα, *the things just at hand*, Rom. viii. 38, and 1 Cor. iii. 22, are set opposite to τὰ μέλλοντα, *the things to come*, which were future, but after some time, not so immediately to come to pass. And this being the direct and exact notion of the word, is a key to the whole matter. For that this day was ἐγγίζουσα, *drawing near*, had been oft affirmed by the apostle, and, as Lactantius saith, (see note [a] on title of the Epistle to the Romans,) commonly foretold by Peter and him in all their preachings; and 1 Thess. v. 1, he had further given them warning that it would *come as a thief in the night*, that is, on a sudden, unobservably or unexpectedly. This it seems was mistaken by them, and the suddenness and unobservableness of it when it should come, interpreted by some to denote the immediate, instant approach of it, at that time wherein he spake. This error of theirs they founded on three things: 1st, on the revelations which some had received in this matter, and which were understood to this sense; which is the meaning of διὰ πνεύματος, *by spirit*, the spirit of prophecy, either truly such, or pretended to be such; 2dly, on the discourses and affirmations of St. Paul when he was among them, which is the meaning of διὰ λόγου, *by word of mouth*; 3dly, on the words of his former Epistle, where he had said, ch. v. 2, that it *cometh as a thief in the night*, and that *when they said, Peace and safety, τότε αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὄλεθρος, then a speedy destruction invadeth them*; which last they interpreted, as if he had said, ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν, *that it were now instant or present at hand*, and so founded their doctrine upon St. Paul; which is the meaning of ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, *as if we had thus taught*, either *by word of mouth*, or *by that Epistle*, or by both, that this *day of the Lord* was now instantly a coming: where, as the mistake was no more than by interpreting ἐφίσταται by ἐνέστηκε,

the *approach when they said, Peace*, that is, when they least looked for it, by the being *now immediately at hand*, so it was an error of ill consequence, and directly contrary to what the apostle had taught them, *when he was with them*, ver. 5; and therefore their embracing it was justly branded by him with the title of *ταχέως σαλευθῆναι*, *being suddenly shaken* from the sense, or understanding, or notion of that coming which he had imparted to them. And besides it was a mistake that he foresaw would shrewdly disturb them, when looking for it according to that belief, they should find themselves defeated, and so be tempted to call the apostle's truth in question, from whom they took themselves to have it. And as this would be apt to give them doubts of the truth of the whole gospel, which they had believed on the same authority, so would the sharpness of the present persecutions be in danger to shake them quite out of their constancy, when they found themselves thus deluded in their expectation of relief; and this is the meaning of *θροεῖσθαι*, *being troubled*. And accordingly we find in St. Peter, 2 Epist. ch. iii. ver. 4, that many, thinking Christ's promise broken concerning this his coming, went over to the Gnostics, joined with them in infidelity and carnality, *walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming?*

3. [d] *falling away*] That ἀποστασία in its natural signification imports no more than *abscission* or *departure*, is clear by the verb ἀφίστημι, from which it immediately comes. So Acts xv. 38, when it is said of John τὸν ἀποστάρτα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Παμφύλλας, sure it signifies no more than that *he had departed from them*, not from the faith of Christ in our modern notion of apostasy; and in that place the king's MS. reads ἀποστατήσαντα, which is a verb made from ἀποστάτης, *apostate*, and yet there signifies no more than *leaving* or *forsaking their company*, not the faith of Christ, at that time. Thus the word is used distinctly in this matter of Moses's law, Acts xxi. 21. ἀποστασίαν διδάσκεις ἀπὸ Μωσέως, *thou teachest the Jews in Asia, &c. to forsake the Mosaic law*. And therefore it is possible that the word ἀποστασία here may signify either, 1st, this departing of the apostles from the Jews, leaving them and departing to the Gentiles, which was indeed a great provocation to the Jews to persecute them most bitterly, and so might be made use of by the Gnostics as the opportunity most fit to exasperate the Jews against them; or else, 2dly, the departing of the believing Jews from the Mosaic observances, circumcision, &c., and this also sharpened the persecutors against them. And so St. Luke uses the word ἀποστὰς, Acts xix. 9, of Paul, when the Jews *were hardened* and *disobedient*, and *spoke evil of that way before the multitude*, ἀποστὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητὰς, *he departed from them, and separated the disciples*, that is, he (and the Christian believers) forsook and separated from them, and betook himself to the Gentiles of Asia; and so at other times he did, Acts xiii. 46, and finally, Acts xxviii. 28. And to this the apostle seems to exhort the Hebrew believers, Heb. xiii. 13. *Let us therefore come forth to Christ without the camp*, make an express separation from the unbelieving Jews, *bearing Christ's reproach*, that is, although we be persecuted by them for doing so. But besides these, there is the ordinary vulgar notion of *apostasy*, which may very probably be meant here, a notable discernible apostatizing of Christians to that abominable impiety of the Gnostics, of which St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 1, affirms, ἀποστή-

σονται τινες τῆς πίστεως, προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνοις, *some shall apostatize from the faith, giving ear to deceitful spirits*; and this, saith he there, *the spirit saith expressly*, that is, Christ hath distinctly foretold, Matt. xxiv. 10. *And then shall many be scandalized*, that is, fall off from the faith, *and false prophets shall arise and deceive many*, ver. 11, and *the love of many shall grow cold*, ver. 12, contrary to the *enduring to the end*. And this there as the immediate forerunner of that great day; for, as it there follows ver. 14, *Then shall the end come*. And against this the apostle warns them to *take heed*, Heb. iii. 12, *lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God*; and they that did so, he saith they do *ὑποστρέλλεσθαι εἰς ἀπώλειαν*, *draw back or fall off unto perdition*, Heb. x. 39. And (besides that by these warnings and intimations (see Heb. xii. 15.) it appears that many did, according to Christ's prediction, fall off) it is further most certainly known, that Samaria, which was the first-fruits as it were unto Christ after his ascension, and embraced the faith universally, Acts viii. 12. 14. did also, by the subtlety of Simon Magus and the Gnostics, fall off from their first faith to that abominable heresy. And so this may very fitly be here referred to by the apostle, as that which must necessarily come to pass before the coming of this day.

[*e*] *man of sin* "Ἀνθρώπος ἀμαρτίας, *the man of sin*, is here the denotation of a very wicked sort of people: and though it be in the singular number, must not yet in any reason be confined to a single person, but to some one or more ringleaders and their followers. Thus we know Χριστός, *Christ*, signifies him as he is the head of his church, and is sometimes used to signify the whole society of Christians, (see note [*d*] on Gal. iii.) And so ἀντίχριστος, *antichrist*, is sure no single person considered alone, but in conjunction with his followers. And in this latitude proper names of persons are prophetically used to signify people, Jezebel for this heresy of Gnostics, the whole set of them, (see note [*n*] on Rev. ii.) and many the like. And accordingly here it cannot be strange that the ἀνθρώπος ἀμαρτίας, *the man of sin*, should signify more than one single person, viz. Simon and the Gnostics. So likewise for all that follow, υἱὸς ἀπώλειας, *the son of perdition*, (one fit and sure to be destroyed, as בן מוֹת, *the son of death*, one that shall surely die, 2 Sam. xii. 5.) ὁ ἀντικείμενος, *he that opposeth himself*, (a circumlocution of Antichrist,) and ὁ ἄνομος, *the wicked one*, ver. 8. All which are here set to denote that impious sect under him, which is known by the ancients by the title of πρωτότοκος τοῦ Σατανᾶ, *the first-born of Satan*, that accursed Simon the magician. That it was some magician is clear by what is said of him ver. 9, of *the working of Satan* evidenced in him, ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει, καὶ σημείοις, καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους, &c., ver. 10, *in all power, and signs, and lying wonders*: and accordingly saith Theophylact, Ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶν ἔχων Σατανᾶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργούντα, "It is a man that hath Satan in him working by him," (which one beside many other circumstances sufficiently prove that it was not Caius, or any other of the Roman emperors, as some have conceived.) And that it was particularly Simon Magus appears by Eusebius, l. 2. c. 12, who at the beginning of Claudius's reign mentions his coming to Rome, and there describes him διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμει μαγικὰς ποιήσαντα, (words directly parallel to this ninth verse,) *doing such miracles there by the help of the devils*, that he was

taken for a god, and accordingly had a statue erected betwixt the two bridges built on Tiber, with this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*; and, saith he, almost all the Samaritans, and some of other nations, confessed him τὸν πρῶτον Θεόν, *the first or principal God*, and accordingly worshipped him θυμιάμασι καὶ θυσίσαις καὶ σπονδαῖς, *with all sorts of sacrifices*, and with him also Helena, (which went about with him, but had before been a prostitute strumpet in Tyrus,) calling her τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρώτην ἐννοίαν, *that first cogitation that proceeded from him*, a kind of Pallas out of Jupiter's head. Of him we may read at large in Irenæus, and by both see how truly not only that title belongs to him (given to him by Eusebius) that he was πάσης ἀρχηγὸς αἰρέσεως, *the ringleader of all the heresy* that crept into the church, and so of the apostasy here spoken of among the Samaritans, and of all the doctrines and practices of the Gnostics quickly following in the church, but also how perfectly applicable to him is that which is here added, that he *exalted himself above all that is called God or worship*, &c. For before his baptism it is said of him, Acta viii, that he was by all the Samaritans cried up to be δυνάμει Θεοῦ μεγάλῃ, (or, as the MSS. read, ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη, *the divine power, which is called great*, that is, the Divine Majesty, called diversly by several nations, but by all acknowledged as the greatest and supreme Deity,) and after the feigned reception of the faith and baptism, he did not lessen, but rather increase his pretensions. And accordingly saith Irenæus, l. 1. c. 20. *Simon Magus intendit contendere adversus apostolos, uti et ipse gloriosus videretur esse. A Claudio Cæsare statua honoratus esse dicitur propter magiam. Hic igitur a multis quasi Deus glorificatus est, et docuit semetipsum esse qui apud Judeos quasi Filius adparuerit, in Samaria autem quasi Pater descenderit, et in reliquis gentibus quasi Spiritus S. adventaverit. Esse autem se sublimissimam virtutem, hoc est, eum qui sit super omnia Pater, et suslinere vocari se quodcumque eum vocant homines.* "Simon Magus set himself to contend against the apostles, that he also might appear glorious. He was for his magic honoured with a statue by Claudius Cæsar. He was glorified by many as a god, and taught that himself was he that appeared as the Son among the Jews; that in Samaria he descended as the Father, and in other nations came as the Holy Ghost. That he was the most sublime virtue, that is, he which was the Father over all, and that he was content to be called by the highest titles that any man did call him." And so saith Tertull. de Anima, Simon (speaking of Helena his *prima ennoia*, by which he created the angels and powers which made the world, and whom he called also *the lost sheep*, because of her having been in a brothel-house) saith that *ad hanc descendit Pater summus*, to her descended the supreme Father, (calling himself by that title,) and having carried her back to his palace, *exinde ad hominum respexit salutem*, "from thenceforth had all care to the salvation of men." Again, that statue of his was made, saith Irenæus, *ad figuram Jovis*, "after the figure of Jupiter, and Helena's after the figure of Minerva; and these," saith he, "were worshipped by men." And at last among the doctrines of his followers, Saturnilus and Menander, he sets down, *Judæorum Deum unum ex angelis esse*, c. 22, "that the God of the Jews was one of the seven angels that made the world." *Ipsum vero Simonem unum patrem esse qui fecit angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates*, "But that Simon himself was the only father that

made the angels, archangels, virtues, and powers." So clearly making himself superior to the God of the Jews, and indeed creator of him. So saith Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, (see note [b] on Jude.) Now for the ἀποκαλύφθῃ, this man's and these Gnostics' *revealing* themselves, that signifies their putting off that disguise of Christianity under which they veiled themselves a while, and setting up, he and his followers, professedly against Christ and his apostles. For Simon himself, that at first he was baptized and made a show of being a Christian, hath appeared Acts viii; but this without any sincerity at that time, any γνησία πρόθεσις, *genuine purpose* of change, saith Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. 1. After this he went on in his way of deceiving the people by his sorceries, as appears by his desiring to buy the power of working miracles from the apostles; and being denied that, soon after he set up and opposed himself against Christ, and accordingly is here called ὁ ἀντικείμενος, *the adversary*, or *he that opposeth himself*, and by St. John ὁ ἀντίχριστος, *the antichrist*, which is the same. And about the time of erecting the statue to him at Rome, being by the preaching of the gospel driven out of that city, it was some space of years before he appeared there again in contestation with St. Peter; which may pass for his *revealing* of himself, that at the writing of this Epistle was yet future. And accordingly Theophylact, speaking of *the mystery of iniquity*, Ἀρχὴν εἴληφε, saith he, καὶ γὰρ Σίμων καὶ Νικόλαος οἱ αἰρεσιάρχαι τὰ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἐνέργουν, "the mystery of iniquity was already begun, for Simon and Nicolas, leaders of heresies, did work the works of antichrist." As for the Gnostics, the followers of him and other such leaders, thus it was: the Jews persecuting the Christians, and those persecutions shaking the faith of many, and the Gnostics keeping themselves safe from those persecutions by forswearing of Christ in time of danger from the Jews, (as they sacrificed to idols to secure them from the Gentiles,) and having other carnal baits, all manner of filthiness, to invite carnal and fearful persons to their party, did soon draw all Samaria from Christ, and so, wherever Christianity was planted in other parts, at Rome, in Asia, &c., corrupted the believers every where, so that *many were polluted or infected* by their poison, Heb. xii. 15, and at length joined with the Jews in the greatest bitterness of persecuting the orthodox Christians, first secretly, ὡς κύνες λαθροῦνται, "as dogs that bite and bark not," saith Ignatius, and then they were *the mystery* here, but at last openly and avowedly, and that is the meaning of καὶ ἀποκαλύφθῃ, *the revealing this mystery*. And this avowed opposing and persecuting the Christians was to be a forerunner of that day of the Lord, and till that was come, the day was not yet *instant*, though *near at hand*.

4. [f] *worshipped*] Σέβασμα in this place being joined with λεγόμενον Θεός, *called God*, not to distinguish it from the former, but with an ἢ, or, to explicate the former, or to extend it further than the former might be thought to extend, must signify, not the *worship* itself, but that which is *worshipped*, whatsoever that is. The nations and people of the world, all of them, acknowledged and worshipped somewhat which they called *God* or *Numen*, but all false and idol-nothings, save only the one Creator of heaven and earth; yet on these they bestowed those magnificent titles of *God*, and *great power of God*, and other the like: and to comprehend all those titles by which all those false gods

were known, this word *σέβασμα*, *worship* or *deity*, or (by repeating the word *λεγόμενον*) all that is called *worship* or *deity*, is here used. And so the word is used by the author of the Book of Wisdom, ch. xiv. 20, and rightly rendered *a God*. So Acts xvii. 23, *ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ἑμῶν*, *beholding your worships*, that is, their *δαίμονες*, their *idols* (so saith Theophylact, *σεβάσματα*, *ἦτοι εἰδωλα*, *worships*, that is, *idols*) and *demons*, of which their city had and worshipped so many. For so, ver. 16, it is said of him that he did *θεωρεῖν*, *behold that their city was κατείδωλος*, *full of idols or false gods*, and ver. 22, that he did *θεωρεῖν*, *behold again that they were δεισιδαιμονέστεροι*, *worshippers of more idols or demons* than any other city. So in Photius Ep. 162. *Τὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας σεβάσματα, θεοὺς, &c.*, not “the worships,” but “the gods that are worshipped by the Grecians:” and again, *οἰκείων ἰδυσφίμησε σέβασμα*, *he reproached his own God*. And so it is truly here said of Simon Magus, that he did *set himself up above all that is any where worshipped*, true or false god, making himself the supreme Father of all, who had created the God of the Jews, as appeared note [e].

4. [g] *sitteth in the temple of God* [What *καθίσαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ ὡς Θεὸν*, *to sit on the temple of God as God*, signifies, cannot now be difficult after the consideration of the former passages, notes [e] and [f]. For being owned by all Samaria as *the supreme God*, and *worshipped*, as was said, *θυμιάμασι, καὶ θυσίαις, καὶ σπονδαῖς*, *by incense and sacrifices*, &c., it cannot be doubted but these were performed to him in those places which had been set apart to the worship of the true God; and so that is *to sit or place himself in the temple of God, ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεός*, *vaunting or declaring himself that he is God*, assuming those honours to himself. Thus saith Justin Martyr, Apol. 2. of some, that is, of him and Helena his strumpet, that they did *λέγειν ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεοὺς*, “affirm themselves to be gods.” And so Irenæus, *Docuit semetipsum*, &c. “He taught that he was God.” See note [e]. To this purpose it is that Justin Martyr affirms that Claudius erected him a statue at Rome on Tiber, betwixt the two bridges, inscribed *Simoni Deo sancto*, “to Simon the holy God:” every such statue or image being, according to the theology of the heathens, a kind of *ναὸς*, or *temple* or *chapel*, where the god to whom the statue was consecrated was said to dwell. And although Petrus Ciaconius in Opusc. suspects this to be a mistake of Justin, because about that place in Rome an. Dom. 1574, a basis of a marble statue was digged up with this inscription, *Simoni Sancto Deo Fidio sacrum*, &c., yet the authority of Justin, writing this so soon after to the emperors of Rome, who could and would have discerned his falsity if it had been such, will be abundantly sufficient to oppose to this conjecture, especially when Irenæus insisting on it soon after him, and Tertullian, better acquainted with that city and story than to be thus imposed upon, have added their confirmations of it; and many writers of the church of Rome after them continued the tradition unquestioned, till this conjecture set up against it.

6. [h] *withholdeth* *Κατέχειν* here signifies *to hinder*, to restrain him that is there spoken of, that is, the *ὁ ἀντικείμενος*, the impious proud *adversary*, Simon Magus and his Gnostics, ver. 11, from putting off their disguise, and revealing themselves in their colours, that is, cruel professed enemies to Christ and Christians: and by the addition here of *ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ*, *in his own season*, some conjecture may be made

what the *τὸ κατέχον*, *that which hinders*, signifies. For it being thereby manifest that there was a season most proper for them thus to reveal themselves, the *τὸ κατέχον* must be the absence or not approach of that season. Now what the Gnostics' season of shewing or revealing themselves was, appears by what hath formerly been said, viz. the Christians separating from the Jews. Till they did this, the Gnostics wanted a pretence to exasperate the Jews, but then having that advantage, they shewed themselves in their colours; and so this is their season of revealing themselves. And the point of time when this season came was, when the apostles departed professedly from the Jews, (see paraphrase on Rom. vii. 1,) and not only gave over tampering and complying with them, but preaching to them also, as contumacious and hopeless, with a *Behold we turn to the Gentiles*. For this made the Jews to become implacable to the Christians, to persecute them bitterly, (see Eph. iii. 1. 13.) not only as contemners of Moses's law, which interdicted that free commerce with the Gentiles, but as those that hated them, and thought them unworthy of the gospel of Christ, Acts xiii. 46. And from thence sprang the apostasy of many weak Christians to this party, through this necessity of adhering to one side or other, either of persecuting with the Jews, or being persecuted with the Christians, the apostle, Heb. xiii. 13, calling the Christians to come from among them, to *go out unto Christ without the camp, bearing his reproach*, that is, to leave off the Jewish ceremonies, which now became obstructions and hinderances to the progress of the Christian faith, and to do it though it brought all persecutions upon them. And accordingly all were now forced to make their choice and avow it, and so they did (to avoid the persecution from the Jews): many professed themselves Jews, though they were not so by birth, (nor circumcised many of them, Gal. vi. 12, 13,) and then, having departed from the faith, soon proceeded to the greatest hatreds of them which did not, expressed the fiercest zeal against the Christians of any, according to Christ's saying, that the Jewish Pharisaical proselytes became *doubly more the children of the devil than themselves*, (see note [e] on Matt. xxiii.) This then being the season of the Gnostics breaking out against the Christians, the absence of that season must consequently be the apostles and orthodox Christians keeping fair with the Jews; and being not yet departed to the Gentiles, their observing some ceremonies in compliance with, and in hope of gaining the Jews. This we know they did for some time upon a double consideration: 1st, on hope of doing good upon the Jews by that means, (so Paul circumcised Timothy, Acts xvi. 3, and so he *purified* himself, Acts xxi. 26;) and, 2dly, to avoid the persecutions of the Jews, which it seems St. Peter did, Gal. ii. 12, *fearing those of the circumcision*. And as yet the apostles, it seems, had not given over these compliances when St. Paul wrote this. And this, as long as it lasted, kept it from being a fit season for the Gnostics to shew themselves, and so in all probability is the *τὸ κατέχον* here, *that which hindered*, and the *ὁ κατέχων*, ordinarily rendered, *he that hinders*, ver. 7, (which is in all reason the same, the gender making no difference in this matter, and if it did, yet the *ὁ* being applicable to the law, *ὁ νόμος*, and not any necessary denotation of a person, and withal the neuter as fit to interpret the masculine, as the masculine to interpret the neuter.) It is true indeed divers of the ancients, expecting still

some further antichrist continually, did fancy the Roman empire to be the τὸ κατέχον, or *that that hindered*: but that was caused by looking for that as future which was some time past, and now out of their minds, and by the apostle's not mentioning what it was; which omission of his was occasioned by his having told them of it formerly, and supposing that they knew it sufficiently, (καὶ νῦν οἶδτε, and now ye know, &c.) so that there was no need of repeating it; and it seems they had been, at his being among them, so fully instructed in it, that he tells them, 1 Thess. v. 1, that he *need not write* to them of this subject.

7. [i] *mystery of iniquity*] It must here be explained, 1st, what ἀνομία, *iniquity*, and 2dly, what μυστήριον, *mystery*, and 3dly, what ἐπεργείαι, *acted*, here signify. For ἀνομία, that may signify no more than some *great enormous sin or conjuncture of sins*; and so will very fitly be applied to this sect of the Gnostics, who were the vilest sort of people in the world in respect of their abominable lusts, perjuries, joining with idols, &c. But the notion which seems to be most proper to this place is somewhat superadded to all this, viz. their malicious bitter persecuting of the orthodox Christians. This is the notion of ἀνομία, *iniquity*, Matt. xxiv. 12, upon the increasing of which *many should be offended*, ver. 10, and their love of Christ, zeal to Christianity, *should grow cold*. And then it will be easy to conjecture what is *the mystery of iniquity*, viz. this villainy in both parts of it, the vile sins of these men, and their bitter hatred to Christians, both somewhat disguised and kept secret, not professed and avowed, (because it was not yet seasonable,) but yet acted underhand more warily. And that is the meaning of ἐπεργείαι, *agitur*; for the word is generally used in a passive sense, (see note [b] on Gal. v,) and so signifies this which is spoken of to be already acted, ἀρχὴν εἰληψε, *hath received its beginning*, saith Theophylact. And so in other the epistles it is affirmed, that there were among them *emulations, contentions, strifes, seditions, confusion, and every evil work*, all this together with the *unclean abominable sins, ἤδη, already* acted among them, but as yet more secretly and closely, only waiting their opportunity to break out and shew themselves at a time of the best advantage, when that compliance of the Christians with the Jews, the observation of the Mosaical rites, (one of which was, that they that were Jews should not converse with those of another nation, John iv. 9,) should be laid down, removed out of the way, the apostles every where leaving the Jews, and departing to the Gentiles, laying down the use of the Mosaical rites, and calling their disciples to come out from the Jews, as they do Acts xix. 9. Heb. xiii. 10, 13. Gal. ii.—v.

8. [k] *that Wicked*] That ὁ ἄνομος, *the wicked*, here, is the same with ὁ ἀντικείμενος, *the opposer*, ver. 4, there is no question; and that this was Simon and his followers, hath been shewed (note [e].) and clearly appears by the character, ver. 9, that his *coming* is κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ, *according to the working of Satan in all power, and signs, and lying wonders*; that is, that they used sorcery, and did many strange things (such prodigies as the devil could help him to act) by that means, and as it follows, ver. 10, succeeded very prosperously among many hypocritical, unsincere, carnal Christians, who were (by their indulgence of lusts, and promise of immunity from persecutions, and by the strangeness of their sorceries, Simon undertaking to fly in the air,

&c.) corrupted and seduced by them. And this is further described in the destruction, that upon this revelation of themselves should soon involve him and his. The relations of which are punctual among the ancients. Of Simon saith Arnobius adv. Gent. l. 2. *Viderant currum Simonis magi, et quadrigas igneas Petri ore difflatas, et nominato Christo evanuisse. Viderant pondere præcipitatum suo, cruciatibus et pudore defessum, ex altissimi culminis se rursum præcipitasse fastigio.* "The chariot and fiery horses of Simon, with which this magician undertook to fly in the air, were blown away by Peter's mouth, and vanished at the name of Christ; and so he fell down, and brake his legs, and after some time was brought to Brunda, and through the torments and the shame became weary of his life, and cast himself headlong from the top of an high place, and so perished." Many other testimonies of this are elsewhere mentioned, (see note [a] on 1 Tim. iii.) And for the Gnostics, his followers, it is Eusebius's affirmation of them, l. 3. c. κθ'. *Δόγον θάπτον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβήκασιν, In a moment they were utterly destroyed, the αἰφνίδιος θάνατος, swift destruction, foretold 1 Thess. v. 2.* And two means are here mentioned by which this should be done, 1st, by the breath of Christ's mouth; 2dly, by the brightness of his coming: the former noting the power of the gospel in the mouth of the apostles Peter and Paul, who contended with him personally at Rome, and brought ruin and shame upon him; and the second noting the vengeance that befell the Jews by the Roman armies, at which time the Gnostics, that sided with them, were destroyed also, (see 2 Pet. ii. 9, and note [a] on Jude.) And this seems to be so called 1 Tim. vi. 14, where he is charged to continue constant to Christ whatever combats he met with, *μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας, until the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ*, which was surely somewhat then approaching, that was likely to fall out in Timothy's lifetime, and which, as he adds ver. 15, God, as the *blessed and only Potentate*, expressing his mercy and power together to all that adhere unto him, and as *King of kings, and Lord of lords*, subduing and bringing down the stoutest persecutors, should shew forth *καποῖς ἰδίαις, in those proper seasons* which he had appointed for it.

CHAP. III.

2. [a] *unreasonable*] That *ἄνομοι, absurd men*, with the addition of *πονηροί, wicked or villainous*, signify the Gnostics here, (described ch. ii,) will appear, first, by a place in Polycarpus's Epistle to the Philippians, p. 18, where, citing the place 1 Cor. iii. 9, against *μαλακοὶ and ἀσυνενοήτως*, those that were *guilty of effeminacy and unnatural lusts*, he adds, *οὗτοι οἱ ποιῶντες τὰ ἄνομα, neither they that do absurd things*, noting the *ἄνομα* to be an expression of those filthy sins against nature. Secondly, by the prayer which here follows, ver. 5, that *God would direct their hearts to the love of God and patience of Christ*, that is, that constancy of love to God which consists in confessing him in time of persecutions, the want of which is often noted in the Gnostics, and those that were corrupted by their infusions. See note [a] on 1 John ii. And accordingly in that Epistle of Polycarpus, p. 20, describing Simon Magus the father of the Gnostics, he makes up his character of these four things: 1st, "denying Christ to be come in the flesh;" 2dly, "not confessing

the testimony of the cross;" 3dly, "converting the oracles of God to their own lusts;" 4thly, "denying the resurrection and judgment to come." To which he sets opposite the "Christian's patient suffering for Christ," p. 21, and "loving him that died for them."

10. [b] *If any would not work*—] This was a proverbial speech among the Jews, in Beresith Rabba, רמי לא לעי לא נניס, and in Ohel Moed, כל מי שאינו מתיגע אינו אוכל, *Whosoever doth not labour doth not eat*. Of this see (beside Drusius Dec. 3. Adag. 8.) Buxtorf, Lex. Talmud. in the word נניס. Of the like proverbs used by Christ, see note [4] on Matt. x.

[a] THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO TIMOTHY.

THAT Timothy, first converted by Paul, (and therefore here called his *own son in the faith*, vv. 1, 2,) and that some time before his coming to Paul at Lystra, Acts xvi. (as appears by the testimonial which he then had of the brethren, ver. 2,) and then after employed by him for the planting of the gospel, Acts xvi. 3, &c., was at length placed bishop of Ephesus, the prime metropolis of Asia, appears sufficiently in the records and writings of the ancient church. So the anonymous author of his life in Photius, Num. 254, Ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονείται τῶν Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἐνθρονίζεται, "The apostle" (so were others called beside the primary) "Timothy is ordained and installed bishop of the metropolis of the Ephesians by St. Paul." So the fathers of the council of Chalcedon, Acts xi., who from Timothy to their time reckon twenty-seven bishops of Ephesus. So Eusebius, l. 3. c. 4, Τιμόθεος τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῃ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, "Timothy is storied to have been the first bishop of the province of Ephesus." And the same might be testified by innumerable more. St. Chrysostom may be taken for all, Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. v. 19, Δῆλον ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν λοιπὸν ἦν ἐμπεπιστευμένος ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἥ καὶ ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, "It is manifest that Timothy was intrusted with a church, or rather with a whole nation, that of Asia." Now for the time when he was placed in this bishopric, as that will be useful to direct us when this epistle was written, so will that itself be concluded from this first epistle, ch. i. 3, where St. Paul's exhorting him *to abide at Ephesus*, that he might *admonish some not to teach other doctrine*, &c., is an intimation of his leaving him bishop resident there, and that, saith he, he did, πορεύμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, *going or when he went into Macedonia*, that is, in that part of St. Paul's travail set down Acts xx. There, ver. 1, St. Paul went out from Ephesus, πορεύεσθαι εἰς Μακεδονίαν, *to go into Macedonia*, at which time, in all probability, (and by analogy with the words, 1 Tim. i. 3,) he left Timothy bishop there. It is true that when St. Paul is in Macedonia, Timothy is with him there, 2 Cor. i. 1,

and after he had *wintered* in Epirus, Tit. iii. 12, and spent *three months in Greece*, Acts xx. 2, 3, and returned back into Macedonia, then Timothy is with him, Acts xx. 4, and goes straight to Troas, ver. 5. All which might well be after the leaving him at Ephesus, either on occasion of the business of that church, about which he might go to consult St. Paul, being so near, or in obedience to some summons of St. Paul, (such as after we see he had to a longer journey, even to come to Rome to him, 2 Tim. iv. 9.) After this coming to Troas, Acts xx. 6, (although I suppose he was with him among the rest of the bishops of Asia at Miletus, ver. 17, yet) there is no further mention of Timothy in the book of the Acts. Supposing then that this of Acts xx. 1. was the point of time to which St. Paul refers, when he speaks of his being left to reside at Ephesus, and supposing again that he could not write to him at any part of the time when he was with him, and yet the whole contexture of the epistle rendering it probable, that it was written (by way of directions) soon after his leaving him there, and that whilst it was yet uncertain to St. Paul whether he should come to Ephesus again, ch. iii. 14, 15, (which also may be the reason that there are no salutations in the close, because of his coming newly from thence, and his thoughts to be there again speedily,) it will be from these premises reasonable to conclude, that either it was written on the way as he went from Ephesus toward Macedonia, Acts xx. 1, at Troas, perhaps, where he stayed a while, (see note [a] on title of 2 Cor.) or at his very first coming to Macedonia, or in Epirus, or in Greece: but the former of them, as nearest to his coming from Ephesus, is the most probable. That it was before his coming to Miletus, Acts xx. 17, may thus appear: 1 Tim. iii. 14, he tells Timothy that *he hopes shortly to come to him*, (to Ephesus, that chief metropolis of Asia,) but at his being at Miletus, he tells them that *he knows that they shall see his face no more*, Acts xx. 25, 38, and therefore that his being at Miletus must needs be after the writing this epistle: his meeting them at Miletus being to supply the place of his coming to Ephesus, which had formerly been designed by him, but now put off through haste to get to Jerusalem by Pentecost, Acts xx. 16. As for the subscription of the epistle, that it was from Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana, it is Cujacius's observation, that that could not be ancient, there being no distinction between Pacatiana and Salutaris till the time of Constantine; and it is further evident, by Col. ii. 1, that Paul had not, at the writing of that Epistle to the Colossians, been at all at Laodicea, and yet that that was long after the writing of this epistle, that being set by chronologers an. Chr. 59. Soon after this, as St. Paul tells the Ephesians and Asiatics, Acts xx. 29, that *after his departure grievous wolves should enter in among them*, so he here saith he left Timothy at Ephesus to fortify the church against them; and who those *wolves* are appears by their *fables and genealogies* here, ch. i. 4, which are the known character of the Gnostics then, and the Valentinians afterward; and so is the *swerving from charity, good conscience, and faith unfeigned*, &c. vv. 5, 6. Besides this suppressing of heretics, another special use there was of leaving Timothy at Ephesus, that, as metropolitan of Asia, he might ordain bishops and deacons in all the other cities where they were wanting, as is said of Titus in Crete. And accordingly this epistle brings him particular directions to that purpose, ch. 3. Which is a

proof that this epistle was written to him soon after his fixing there, to furnish him for the discharge of this office. Meanwhile this is evident, that the Gnostics were now scattered in Asia, and so characterized by him ch. iv. and vi., and there distinctly specified, (more than in any other place of the New Testament,) under the title of *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις*, ch. vi. 20, *science falsely so named*, that is, the men that assumed falsely to themselves the name of *Gnostics* or *knowing men*. And against some doctrines and practices of theirs he here arms him.

CHAP. I.

4. [*b*] *genealogies*] Most of the divinity of the Gnostics (made up out of the Greek poets, Antiphanes, Hesiod, Philistion, &c.) consisted of *συνγίαι* and *γενεαλογίαι*, *conjunctions*, and then from them *genealogies*, how one thing joins with another and begets a third, (out of *Night* and *Silence* come forth *Chaos*, &c.) and applies all the theology and genealogies of the gods in *Orpheus*, &c., to the *αἰῶνες*, as they called the *angels*, (see note [*d*].) In reference and opposition to which it is, that the apostle here, ver. 5, sets down a true Christian genealogy of that excellent grace of charity, so much wanting in those heretics, accordingly as it is produced in a Christian, and that, saith he, is the special genealogy, with the study of which we Christians (especially they that call themselves Gnostics) need to trouble ourselves. See Tit. iii. 9.

11. [*c*] *glorious gospel*] Δόξη here seems to refer to the *schechina* among the Jews, which we have often spoke of, noting the *presence* or *appearance of God, of Christ* on the earth among us. See note [*k*] on Matt. iii. and note [*n*] on ch. xvi.

15. [*d*] *acceptation*] What is the importance of ἀποδοχή here, must be learned from the use of קבל among the Jews, especially in the Chaldee idiom, where it signifies *to receive* any thing for undoubted, and with an honourable respect, the same that they express also by שמע, *to hear*, that is, obey, and believe with the exhibition of honour: see Paulus Fagius on the Chaldee Paraphrase, Gen. xxv. 15. Thus when 2 Kings xiv. 11, the Hebrew reads שמע, and the Greek ἤκουσεν, *heard*, the Chaldee Paraphrase reads קבל, *received*; by which appears what is the meaning of δέχεσθαι προφήτην, *to receive a prophet*, Matt. x. 41, (which in like manner Luke expresses by ἀκούειν, *to hear*, in opposition to ἀθετεῖν, *to neglect*, Luke x. 16,) to wit, to believe and honour him. So 1 Cor. ii. 14, οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, *receives not the things of the Spirit*, that is, neither believes nor values them, but as it follows, *they are foolishness unto him*. So John i. 12, λαμβάνειν, *to receive*, is explained by πιστεῖν, *to believe*, in the end of the verse, and so παραλαμβάνειν, ver. 11, where the Syriac hath קבל, in both places. Hence are the *cabala* of the Jews, their *receivings*, that is, *traditions*, (as *to give*, Ephes. iv. 8, is all one with *to receive*, Psal. lxxviii. 18, and as in the Greek λῆμμα and δῶρον, *receipt* and *gift*, are all one,) which they esteem so undoubted and honourable. For as the office of the doctor is מסר, *to deliver*, so of the disciple, קבל, *to receive*, as in the beginning of Pirche Aboth, “Moses, קבל, received the law from mount Sinai, וספירה, and delivered it to Joshua.” And as from the former of these words is the Hebrews’ קבלה, *cabala*, their *doctrine received*, and had in so much reverence, so from the second is their מסורה, their *doctrine delivered* by hand from their antecessors, and without writing

transmitted to posterity, the first expressed in the New Testament often by ἀποδοχή, the second by παράδοσις. So that this is the full sense of this place: If there be any undoubted *dogma* worthy of belief, any true *cabala*, this certainly is it, *that Christ came into the world to save sinners.*

17. [e] *eternal*] The αἰῶνες here of which God is said to be the *King*, may possibly signify *the several ages* of the world, and no more, that being the ordinary notation of αἰών, *age*. But it is also known what notion of αἰῶνες there was among the heretics of those first times, set down at large by Irenæus in his discovery of the Valentinians, where there is a great deal of fantastical unintelligible stuff about the *Æones*. And therefore considering that the Gnostics' heresy was now abroad in the church of Ephesus, named distinctly in the close of this epistle, ch. vi. 20, and referred to in a great part of this chapter, vv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, and because the Valentinians were but the progeny of these, saith Irenæus, and took their doctrines from them, and because it hath been already shewn (note [a] and [h] on Col. ii.) that these were the titles of the angels, who were in Ezekiel called חַיִּים, *living creatures*, (and from thence these αἰῶνες formed by them;) it is therefore not improbable that the apostle might refer to this theology of theirs here, as he had done before, ver. 4,) by their genealogies. And then this will be the meaning of the βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, *the King, or Ruler, or supreme Commander* (as of the whole world, so particularly) *of the angels*, his constant subjects and servants, and executioners of his will, those to which under the name of αἰῶνες the Gnostics attribute so much. To the same purpose is added, *the incorruptible, invisible, only wise God*, (in opposition to Simon Magus, whom they taught to be *the supreme God*, being but a corruptible, visible man, that by his sorcery got the reputation of wisdom among them.) And the *giving glory and praise* to him is an ancient form of *confession of faith*, which was wont to be done by way of *doxology*, and so is here set as a short *creed*, against the Gnostics, so as the *doxology* in that form which is now continued in the church was framed against other heretics.

18. [f] *prophecies*] That the apostles received frequent revelations, and never more distinctly and frequently than to this matter of designing bishops and governors of the church, may appear by many places. Thus concerning Paul and Barnabas the text is distinct, Acts xiii. 2, *The holy Spirit said, Separate to me Paul and Barnabas for the work to which I have called them:* and so here of Timothy, and ch. iv. 14, for that by *prophecy* here is meant such revelation, may appear by comparing 1 Cor. xiv. 25 with ver. 30, for there what is προφητεύειν, *to prophesy*, in the former place, (and ver. 31,) is ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτῷ, *to receive a revelation*, in the latter. To this sense Saint Chrysostom and Theophylact are clear, τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ ἱεροσύνης ἀξίωμα μέγα ἐν, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δέεται ψήφου, ὥστε τὸν ἄξιον δέξασθαι, διὸ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῆς προφητείας ἐγίνοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου· οὕτω ὁ Τιμόθεος ἡρέθη ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεροσύνην, "The dignity of being a doctor and a priest being a great one, wants God's suffrage that a worthy person may receive it, thereupon the priests were made anciently by prophecy, that is, by the Holy Ghost. Thus Timothy was chosen to the priesthood," that is, his episcopacy. And so generally it is said of the bishops of

Asia, that the *Holy Ghost* had set them over the flock, Acts xx. 28. Thus saith Clemens Romanus of the apostles, that at their first preaching in every region and city, καθίστανον τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ Πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους, "They constituted their first-fruits, making trial" and judgment of them "by the Spirit, into bishops and deacons:" and again, πρόγνωσιν εὐληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, "having received perfect foreknowledge," that is, revelation or prophecy, "they constituted the forementioned bishops and deacons;" and not only so for the present, but for the next course or succession; for so saith he, μεταξὺ ἐπινομήν δεδώκασιν ὅπως ἔαν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδίδωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν, "Afterward they gave order that if those whom they had constituted should die, other men that were approved" (by the Spirit also) "should undertake their ministry or employment." So saith ^o Clemens Alexandrinus of Saint John, that in Asia he constituted bishops, sometimes (ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων) "made up whole churches," ὅπου δὲ κληρὸν ἕνα τινὰ κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινόμενων, "sometimes ordained some certain persons, such as were signified to him by the Spirit." (See note [f] on Acts viii.) That this should thus be done in the apostles' time, besides the will of God, there is this reason also discernible, because in the first preaching of the faith to any city or region, performed by the apostles in their journeys, as it was necessary that the apostle, before he went away from them, should leave a governor among them, so it was not possible in so short a stay as ordinarily was made after the conversion of some in a city, to discern, by any human means, who of those νεόφυτοι, *new converts*, would be fit for that employment; and so this rendered it very necessary that the apostles, either by the discerning spirit which they had extraordinarily bestowed on them, or by particular revelation, should thus make designation of the persons. But after, when churches were settled, and men had continued in the faith so long as to give testimony of their sincerity and abilities to qualify them for that office, there was not that need of revelation in this matter, human means being in some measure sufficient to direct in it. And accordingly, by the qualifications which Saint Paul names to Timothy and Titus, in their ordaining bishops in every church, it is evident that they made bishops upon observation and experience of men's behaviour and abilities, and upon the testimonials of the brethren, (and therefore were forbid to make a *novice* bishop, that is, one lately converted, 1 Tim. iii. 6, because of him they could not have this experience, or these testimonies,) and were not afforded divine revelation in it, or any thing proportionable to that.

18. [g] *war a good warfare*] What is the meaning of the phrase στρατεύειν στρατείαν here, must be fetched out of Numb. iv. 3, where the Levites are said to go צבא, *into the army or host*, which is rendered by the Septuagint λειτουργεῖν, *to officiate*; and so Numb. i. 50, λειτουργήσουσι καὶ παρεμβалоῦσι, *they shall minister and encamp*: so generally under the law the ministry of the priests is compared to a *warfare*, the temple to a *camp*, the inferior officers to *watchmen*, and the like; so Exod. xxxviii. 8, when the women brought their gifts after childbirth to the tabernacle, they are expressed by צבאות אשר צבאות, *the war-*

riors that warred in the door of the tabernacle. And therefore it is that 2 Sam. vi. 2, where there is speech of the bringing back of the ark, it is called *the ark of the Lord, whose name is the Lord of hosts, who dwelleth between the cherubims*, that is, the Lord of the ark or tabernacle (the temple being not then built) dwelling in it, between the *cherubims*: and that perhaps is the reason why in Zachariah's prophecy, which concerns the rebuilding of the temple, he is so oft entitled *the Lord of hosts*, as the title most agreeable to stir them up to that work: so when, Psal. ciii, the angels are called *his host*, it is because they minister unto him, and, as it follows, *do his will*; and so the sun and moon are called *the host of God*, as those that minister unto him. Thus when, Isai. xl. 2, it is said, *their warfare is accomplished*, (where the old Latin reads corruptly *malitia for militia*), it belongs clearly to the cessation of the Levitical priesthood; and so, Dan. viii. 13, *the sanctuary and the host shall be trodden down*; and so, Isai. xxiv. 21, *in that day God will visit the host of the most high*, the temple in the like manner. Thus in the New Testament, *the weapons of our warfare*, 2 Cor. x. 4, the instruments of the exercise of our apostleship, the censures of the church, &c.; and 2 Tim. ii. 3, *καλὸς στρατιώτης, a good soldier of Christ*, that is, minister; and ver. 4, *I have fought a good fight*, executed the office of my apostleship as I ought to do. And just so here, *στρατεύειν καλὴν στρατείαν*, to discharge the office of evangelist first, then bishop, as he ought.

CHAP. II.

1. [a] *supplications, prayers*—] Of these four sorts of prayer it is affirmed by St. Chrysostom, that they were in his time all used in the church, *ἐν καθημερινῇ λατρείᾳ*, "in the daily service," *καὶ τοῦτο*, saith he, *ἴσασι οἱ μύσται, πὼς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πρωΐᾳ*, "and this is sufficiently known to all the priests," or those that "officiate morning and evening." And so it appears by the *liturgies*. The word *δέησεις* referring to the larger or lesser *collecta*, that in the *litany*, for deliverance from all the evils there named, and the other after, in which the phrase *τοῦ Κυρίου δεήθωμεν, we humbly beseech thee, O Father*, is used, which is for the averting of evils. The second to the prayers for mercy and other wants. The third to the *αἰτήσμεθα*, wherein the word *αἰτήσμεθα, Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's church, for kings, &c.*, is inserted. And the fourth to the solemn *thanksgiving for all men*, and to the hymns sung to the praise of God. And it may be observed, that the direction here of *praying for kings, &c.* is agreeable to that of the Hebrews: R. Chaninah, in Pirche Aboth, c. 3. §. 2, *הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות שאלמלא מוראה איש אח רעהו חיים בלעו*, "Pray for the peace of the kingdom, for unless there be fear, men will devour one another alive." And so when Petronius came to set up Caligula's image in the temple, they that would die rather than that should be done, being asked then whether they would wage war with the emperor, answered, No; but on the other side twice a day they offered sacrifice for the safety of the emperor: see Josephus, and Jer. xxix. 7. Accordingly was the Christians' practice, as long as the emperors continued heathen, praying in their *liturgies ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, for kings*; after, when they were Christian, *δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων*, "We pray thee for our most pious kings,

defenders of God, or of the faith of Christ," as it is in St. Chrysostom's liturgy; and that *ὑπὲρ κράτους, νίκης, διαμονῆς, εἰρήνης, ὑγείας, σωτηρίας αὐτῶν*, "for their power, victory, continuance, peace, health, safety." The very things which they prayed for for them when they were yet Gentiles, saith Tertull. in Apol., *Sine monitore precamur pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum*, "We pray for a long life to our emperors, a secure empire, a safe house, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a good people, a quiet world." This was after done for Arian and heretical kings, as Constantius. Παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλείων ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ συμμάχων, saith Cyril, Cat. 10, "We beseech God for the common peace of the churches, for the quiet of the world, for our kings, their soldiers, and auxiliaries."

8. [b] *holy hands*] The ceremony of washing was among the Jews constantly used before prayers: so PARISTEAS, *ἔθος ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἀποσιφάμενοι* (I suppose it should be ἀποσιφαιμένοις) *τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰς χεῖρας, ὡς ἂν ᾗξαντο πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, "It is the custom for all the Jews to wash their hands whensoever they pray to God:" and so among the Mahometans. So Abul Faraj De Moribus Arab., *Fundamenta legis sunt* 1. *munditie cura*, 2. *oratio*. "The foundations of the law are, 1. cleanness, 2. prayer." Others, as Al Gazal, that mention the *fundamenta legis*, leave out *mundities*, "cleanness," and comprehend it in *oratio*, "prayer," according to that saying of Mahomet, (in Ebnol Athir,) *Non accipit Deus preces absque mundatione*, "God receives not prayers without cleansing, or washing;" and, *Orationis clavis est mundities*, "Cleanness is the key of prayer," saith Al Gazal; and Mahomet again, *Fundata est religio in munditie*, "Religion is founded in cleanness." This significant rite the apostle here applies to the thing signified by it, cleanness of the heart and actions, and makes that necessary to the offering up any acceptable service unto God. Of this Al Gazal, an Arabic writer, makes three degrees, 1. the *cleansing* the members of the body from unlawful actions, 2. the *cleansing* of the heart from all manners that are worthy of *dispraise*, all *vices* worthy of *hatred*, 3. the *cleansing* of the *secret* (that is, the inward) *affections* of the heart from every thing beside God, that they may be at full *leisure* to meditate of, or pray to him. See Mr. Pocock's Notes on Abul Faraj, p. 302, and Miscell. Notes, c. 9. p. 388.

15. [c] *saved in child-bearing*] Some difficulty there is what is here meant by *σωθήσεται διὰ τεκνογονίας*, *she shall be saved by child-bearing*. A first notion that may be thought to belong to it is, that as *σώζεσθαι*, *to be saved*, signifies oft *to escape*, noting some temporal deliverance, (of which see note [b] on Luke xiii.) so *διὰ* may note *by*, that is, *through*, not as a means or condition, but as the term out of or through which the deliverance is wrought, as *σώζεσθαι δι' ὕδατος*, *being saved through the water*, 1 Pet. iii. 10, and *διὰ πυρός*, *through the fire*, 1 Cor. iii. 15, is being delivered out of the water and fire; and then the meaning of it will be, that she shall pass, though with some difficulty, safe through childbearing; and this as a moderation of that curse inflicted upon woman-kind upon Eve's sin, that she should *bring*

forth children in sorrow, or with sore travail at their birth. But this doth not seem probable to be the meaning of the place, because that which follows, *if they continue in the faith*, &c. ver. 15, is not a condition of that deliverance from the peril of childbirth, that being common to believers and pagans, faithful and unfaithful. And indeed the curse being but this, that *in sorrow she should bring forth*, Gen. iii. 16, there hath since been no change in that matter, no promise upon any condition, that that punishment should be moderated. A second interpretation then there is, by observing the importance of the word τεκνογονεῖν, (which is rendered *childbearing*,) ch. v. 14, where of the *younger widow* it is said, *let her marry*, and τεκνογονεῖν, where it is thought to signify, not only or peculiarly, *bringing forth*, but also *breeding* and *bringing up children*. And then that may be conceived the meaning of it here, and so the phrase will be, *she shall be saved διὰ τεκνογονίας*, by bearing, and bringing up, or breeding her children in the fear and nurture of the Lord, to which the next words are applied also, ἐὰν μείνωσιν, *if they*, that is, the children, *abide in the faith*, &c. But against this there are two exceptions also: 1. that τεκνογονεῖν, in that ch. 5, doth no way appear to signify any more than *bringing forth the children*; for that other part of *breeding*, or *bringing up*, may well be contained under *ruling the household*, (which there follows,) of which the children are a part, and then there is no example that the word should signify in that larger sense, and consequently no reason that it should be so interpreted here: 2dly, there is as little reason to apply the following words to the children, *if they*, that is, if the children, *shall continue*, &c., for beside that there is no other mention of the children precedent, save what is in that compound word; and again, if τέκνα, *children*, be understood, then that plural neuter must have a verb singular to join with it, according to rules of grammar and use of these books, and so it would be μείνῃ, not μείνωσιν: besides these, I say, there will be little reason that the *children's continuing in the faith* should be the condition of the salvation of the mother, when she is before presumed to have done her part in the breeding of them. The difficulties thus discernible against either of these interpretations make it not unreasonable to pitch upon a third interpretation, so as τεκνογονία shall signify, the *woman's bearing of the promised seed*, which was the means foretold for the *bruising the serpent's head*, and so for the rescuing the woman from that eternal punishment which was justly deserved by her sin. This is no new interpretation, but so ancient as to be mentioned by Theophylact, though not accepted by him; and this perfectly agrees with every circumstance in the context. For thus it will connect with what went before; *the woman*, that is, Eve, ver. 12, *being deceived, was in the transgression*, that is, was first guilty of eating the forbidden fruit, but rescued from the punishment by the promised seed, that is, *by her childbearing*, by the *Messias*, which was to be born of a woman, and so to redeem that nature which he assumed; but this not absolutely, but on condition of faith, and charity, and holiness, and sobriety, and continuing in all these: and this advantage belonging not only to the first woman, Eve, but to all her posterity, in respect of whom it is that the number is changed from the singular to the plural, she, as the representative of all women, had the promise made to her, Gen. iii. 15, but the condition must be performed by all others as well

as her, or else the benefit will not redound to them. And this is the most literal importance of the *διὰ* also, being *saved by* this, as by a means of all women's and men's redemption and salvation.

[*d*] if they continue] The changing of the number here from *σῶθήσονται*, she shall be saved, to *ἐὰν μένωσιν*, if they abide, hath had an account given of it already, note [c], to which it may further be added, that this is but agreeable to the former discourse, vv. 9, 11. In ver. 9, it is in the plural, *that the women adorn themselves*, but ver. 11, in the singular, *let the woman learn in silence*, and ver. 12, *but I suffer not a woman*, &c., where it is certain that *the women* in one place are all one with *the woman* in the other places. And so it is here also.

CHAP. III.

1. [*a*] a good work] *Καλὸν ἔργον* here signifies *honestum opus*, a work of some virtue and excellence in itself, as being that which is the consecrating a man's life, at least the greatest part of it, to the service of God, to which therefore an *immarcible crown of glory* is proposed by St. Peter as the reward, 1 Pet. v. 4, where, as the *great reward in heaven*, Matt. v., is an argument that the virtue to which it is assigned is a very eminent virtue, very acceptable in the sight of God, so is this an evidence that the *good work* here is looked on as an eminent state of piety, so far from being censurable in him that desires it as he ought to do, in order to the glory of God, or the love of our brethren, or the just provision for their spiritual wants, that it is very commendable in him, and the desire of it is an act of Christian piety in the more perfect degree, as the designing this without putting the flock to any charge is yet more excellent in St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 18. And this may be further evident by the fault of those who forsake this or any other ecclesiastical office, and return to *the world*, *ad seculum*, again; such was Demas, who had been a fellow-labourer of St. Paul's, Philem. 24. Col. iv. 14, but after *forsook* him, 2 Tim. iv. 10, *ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα*, *having loved this present age*, or *world*: not that this crime was that *love of the world*, which, 1 John ii. 15, is a crime in any Christian, but that he betook himself to his own worldly secular affairs again, forsaking the attendance on the service of God in his church; as he that *marries a wife* is said to be *solicitous for the things of this world*, *how he may please his wife*: which *love of the world*, though it be not in itself a fault, (for then marriage could not be faultless,) yet if it be the taking one off from ecclesiastical employments which hath devoted himself to them, will be a fault in him; and that was Demas's crime, not, as it is thought, forsaking of Christianity. And that was charged on some others, though Timothy stuck close to him, Phil. ii. 21, *all seek τὰ αὐτῶν*, &c., betake themselves to the care of *their own secular affairs*, not to the affairs of Christ, in attending on the gospel, ver. 22. And the criminousness of this arising from hence, that he forsakes that which is more excellent for that which is less so, though it be not otherwise unlawful, *ecclesiastical for secular* employments, is an evidence that the *ecclesiastical* employment is *καλὸν ἔργον*, in this notion, a *good*, that is, *excellent* work, a state (if lived in as it ought) of some perfection.

2. [*b*] husband of one wife] What is the meaning of *μίας γυναῖκος ἀνὴρ*, the husband of one wife, both here and ver. 12, and Tit. i. 6, and

of *ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή*, *the wife of one husband*, ch. v. 9, will not be easily resolved. For if it should be interpreted as an interdict of choosing to the office of bishop or deacon any who had lived in polygamy, that is, had had *more wives at once*, though that might have some colour of sense in it from the practice of the Jews, as far as concerned the man, (who among them was permitted polygamy,) yet this is not applicable to the widow or woman, ch. v. 9, for never among Jews (or even Turks) was it permitted that the woman should have more than one husband at once; and the reason is clear, because the multitude of husbands did not help forward, but rather hinder propagation, for which it was that the multitude of wives was permitted. Only among the barbarians there is mention of the *πολύανδροι*, a people so called, because *the wife among them had many husbands*; and among the Medes that dwelt in the mountains, it is said that *a woman was married to five husbands at once*. But there is no probability that this should be referred to, or looked upon in this place. Then for the other interpretation, that here the *digamist*, or *he that hath had two wives successively* one after another, should be made incapable of holy orders, or be under some reproach for so doing, and his having married but once should be as necessary to a bishop or deacon as sobriety, &c.; this is a little strange, it being ordinary for the wife to die soon after marriage, and without children, and in that case, the second marriage tending as much to the ends of matrimony (comfort of life, propagation, remedy of lust) as the former can be supposed to do. And besides, this prohibition being not to be found in the laws of any nation, and being grounded on no other text but this, (of the meaning of which the question now is,) will no further be concluded hence than the words of this place do enforce it. A third sense the phrase is capable of, which seems much fitter for the matter in hand, that he be said here *to be*, or *to have been*, *the husband of more wives than one*, who married after divorce, that is, who having put away his wife on any cause whatsoever, even for that of fornication, which the law of Christ allows, doth marry another. This he that had done was by the words of Christ, especially as they are set down Mark x. 11. Luke xvi. 18, and by a speech of St. Paul's, 1 Cor. vii. 39, under such prejudices, that we cannot wonder that here he is not thought fit to be received into holy orders, and so the woman also. They that marry after divorces, are, in the first canon of the council of Laodicea, expressed by *οἱ ἐλευθέρως καὶ νομίμως συναφθέντες δευτέρους γάμους*, *freely and legally coupled in second marriages*. And the like mention we find of them, Concil. Neocæsar. can. 52, where such a *διγάμος* is supposed, *αἰρεῖν μετάνοιαν*, *to entreat absolution*. And, Concil. Ancyran. can. 39, *Διγάμων ὅρος*, *the term of abstension, or separation*, which belongs to the digamist, (in this notion of it,) is mentioned as a known and vulgar thing. And, Concil. primi Niceni can. 8, the Novatians' error appears to have been, their refusing to communicate with these digamists upon their repentance, in like manner as with those that had fallen in time of persecution; which signifies these two to be looked on as crimes of high importance in a Christian, for which the censures of the church fell heavy on them, though upon repentance the catholics admitted them to communion again. And thus also in ὁ Ἀθηναγόρας, "we

Christians," saith he, "are commanded either to remain every man as we are, ἡ ἐφ' ἐνὶ γάμῳ, or to content ourselves with one marriage," (which is nowhere commanded in that other sense of marrying after the death of the first, and therefore must be understood of this other sort, after divorce.) "For the second marriages," saith he, "are ἐπὶ πεπρωμένης μοιχείᾳ, a comely kind of adultery: adultery," saith he, "from Christ's words, *for he that puts away his wife, and marries again, committeth adultery.*" (which proof of his restrains his words to those second marriages which are after divorces;) but that a well-favoured, fashionable, comely one, because the imperial laws say nothing against such marriages after divorces allowed by them. And again, saith he, "It is the law of Christ, that no man shall put away her, ἥς ἔκτανσέ τις τὴν παρθενίαν, whom he hath deflowered, or made no virgin, and marry again." This seems to be Theophylact's understanding of it; for as on this place he saith it was opposed to the practice of the Jews, among whom, saith he, ἐφέϊτο πολυγαμία, "polygamy was permitted," or, as other copies read, ἐφέϊτο πολυπαυδία, "multitude of children was desired," in which respect their divorces were permitted; so on Tit. i. 6, he applies it to him who had so little kindness, πρὸς τὴν ἀπελθοῦσαν, that he marries another, and after expressly to the δίσγαμος, who, saith he, doth that which is not ἀνέγκλητον, "unblameable," εἰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω νόμοις δοκεῖ, "though it be approved by the laws of them which are not Christians:" where if ἀπελθοῦσα be thought to signify the *dead wife*, then it will be unapplicable to the practice of the Jews; for all others, as well as they, married second wives after the death of the former; and therefore it must probably signify her that is *departed by divorce*, and then that which followeth of the digamist will also concur with it to interpret his sense to this purpose. For of such marriages after divorces, we know the practice and allowance of the Grecians and Romans, as well as Jews, and of the imperial laws. And so before him Theodoret, "If any man having put away his former wife shall marry another, he were worthy of reprehension;" and therefore a bishop, that must be ἀνέγκλητος, must not be such an one. So Chrysostom also, from whom Theophylact had his sense and words. So Plutarch, in his *Ῥωμαϊκ.* making mention of a law prohibiting to marry second marriages on festival days, saith, that it was brought up, because either widows married, which might do well to do it in secret, or those whose husbands were living, and then they ought to be ashamed to think of any other husband. So Valer. Max. l. 2. c. 1, calls "the experience of many marriages, *legitimæ cujusdam intemperantiæ signum*, a sign of intemperance," but such as the law of heathen men permits. So in *Ærodius*, among the presbyters that were brought as witnesses against Marcellinus, one being found to have married again after divorce, *placuit reprobari*, "he was rejected," saith he: whence it appears that such marriages were not only allowed by the imperial laws, but that they were practised also among Christians; which farther appears by Marculfus, Formul. l. 2. c. 30, *Dum inter illum et illam non charitas secundum Deum, sed discordia regnat, et ad hoc pariter conversare minime possunt, placuit utriusque voluntate ut se a consortio separare deberent, quod ita et fecerunt*, "Seeing between him and her

Christian charity doth not reign, but discord, and so they cannot converse together, it is agreed by the consent of both parties that they should separate from one another's companies, which accordingly they did." This, it seems, was a formula used among Christians, as there was another to the same purpose, Leg. Rom. c. 19, and Novel. Instit. 117. And this being allowed by the secular imperial laws, and accordingly practised, the council of Carthage thought fit to make a canon to reform it, (can. sec. Zonaram, 116,) and to reduce it to Christ's and St. Paul's institution, and therefore appointed that the emperor should be desired to make an imperial law against it. * St. Hierome mentions some that being "divorced this day, married the next," and adds, *Uterque reprehendendus maritus, et cui tam cito displicuit, et cui tam cito placuit*, "both husbands were to be blamed, he that was so soon displeased with his wife, and he that so soon liked and married her." And so † Innocentius, of those who after a divorce marry anew, *in utraque parte adulteros esse*, "they are on both sides adulterers," and to be excommunicate. To this belongs that of † Justin Martyr, Οἱ νόμῳ ἀνθρωπίνῳ διγαμίαι ποιοῦμενοι, ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ διδασκάλῳ εἰσὶ, "they that by man's law make second marriages are sinners in the account of Christ our Master." He that would see more to this purpose for the confirming of this interpretation, may consult Zonaras's scholia on that canon, and Rodolphus Fornerius Rerum Quotid. l. 6. c. 23, and Burchard. l. 9. c. 72, and the Notes on Cod. Can. Eccl. Universæ. And that this custom was also among women, who thus divorced themselves from their husbands, will appear by Justinian's Novell. 117, which will therefore be applicable to the prohibition of the widows being chosen, which was not ἐνδὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή, *the wife of one husband* also.

[c] of good behaviour] Κόσμος, εὐτακτος, well ordered or composed, saith Phavorinus; and so c. 2. 9, καταστολή κόσμος, such an habit, or attire, as argues gravity of manners and mind.

6. [d] novice] Νεόφυτος signifies not in respect of age, for Timothy himself was such; but in respect of receiving the faith, by analogy with the use of the word φυτεύω, to plant, for to instruct in Christianity, to teach the faith, as when St. Paul saith that he hath planted; and so saith Theophylact, it is all one with νεοβάπτιστος, newly baptised, lately received into the church.

15. [e] house of God] What οἶκος Θεοῦ, the house of God, here signifies, is evident by the context. The whole discourse here is to give Timothy directions for the choosing and constituting bishops and deacons in his province, that is, over all Asia, of which Ephesus, where Timothy was placed by St. Paul, was the chief metropolis. This then being the province wherein he was to ordain, must needs be the οἶκος Θεοῦ, house of God, wherein he is here directed how he should behave himself, being by St. Paul set there as the οἰκονόμος, or steward in an house, who having, under the master, chief power in the family, to him it belongs to entertain or remove servants and officers out of it. But this not so to restrain the phrase to that one province, but that both the universal and every other particular church of Christ is capable of that title, as truly and properly as that of Ephesus or Asia at that time.

* 1. 1. Adv. Jovin. c. 29.

† Ep. 3. c. 6.

‡ Apol. 2. post init.

For indeed the phrase is derived from the temple, which, as the special place of God's presentiating and exhibiting himself, is called *God's house*, where he dwells, and delights, and meets the pious votary, receives his addresses, entertains and treats him, as in his own house, and answers the petitions which he came to offer there, and where his angels, which are his attendants and court, as it were, are peculiarly present, 1 Cor. xi. 10. As when the angels appeared to Jacob at Luz, he presently calls it *Bethel, the house of God*, saying, *Surely God is in this place, this is no other than the house of God*, &c. Proportionably to this the whole family of God, as that comprehends the whole corporation or community of all the Christians alive, is fitly styled *οἶκος Θεοῦ*, this great *house of God*; and in like manner, every lesser society of Christians, among whom God is pleased to dwell also, and rule by his *οικονόμος*, or *steward*. And such is every bishop in every particular church. Of this *house of God*, in this sense, two titles are here set down, fitly belonging both to the whole and to each branch, but especially verified at that time wherein the words were delivered, that first age of the apostles' preaching and planting of the faith. The first title is *ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ζώντος*, the *church of the living God*, in opposition to the false, dead, liveless gods, whose pictures were adored in their heathen temples. Those were *ἐκκλησίαι*, *places of meeting*, and assembling, but only for the worship of idols, empty nothings. But the *house of God*, where Timothy was set the *ἄνομος*, or *steward*, at Ephesus, contrary to Diana's temple there, was the *church of the living God*; and so was every such regular assembly of Christians under a bishop, (such as Timothy was,) an *ἄνομος* set over them by Christ. Such again every larger circuit under the metropolitan, who, as Timothy again, had *χειροτονίαν καὶ κρίσιν*, *ordination and jurisdiction*, over the whole province. And such all the particular churches of the whole world considered together, under the supreme head, Christ Jesus, dispensing them all by himself, and administering them severally, not by any one *ἄνομος*, but by the several bishops, as inferior heads of unity to the several bodies, so constituted by the several apostles in their plantations, each of them having an *αὐτονομία*, a several distinct commission from Christ immediately, and subordinate to none but the supreme Donor, or Plenipotentiary. The second title is, that it is *στυλοὺς καὶ ἰδρυματὶς τῆς ἀληθείας*, the *pillar of truth*, and the *basis* of that pillar. The houses anciently were built on pillars, Judg. xvi. 26, where we find the *pillars whereupon the house standeth*, and ver. 29, the *two middle pillars, whereon the house stood*, and on which it was borne up, and upon the removing of which the house fell; and so when the Psalmist describes the land by this similitude of an house, he supposeth it set on pillars, and the feebleness of those pillars, when they want bearing up, are an evidence of the weakness of the earth, *The earth is weak, and the inhabitants thereof: I bear up the pillars of it*. Psal. lxxv. 3. Now of a pillar it is known, that it receives the usefulness from the *basis* on which it stands, which being so set that it cannot sink, the pillar being firmly fastened on that, and standing upright, it is able to bear a vast weight of building laid upon it. And so these two, though several in themselves, yet joining together, and consolidated into one, they do as one, not severally, support what is laid upon them. A like expression we find in the Jewish writers, from whence it seems to be

imitated; as when Maimonides, in his first volume, lib. המדע, begins his first Hilchot, called יסודי התורה, thus, יסוד היסודות ועמוד החכמות, "the foundation of foundations and the pillar of wisdom, is to know there is a first being," &c., which phrase, though it differ from this in speaking of a *first*, absolutely *first foundation*, whereas this speaks indefinitely of a *foundation*, yet it agrees with it in this, that *foundation* and *pillar* are joined together, to signify, not several, but one and the same title. It is therefore necessary so to render these words, στύλος καὶ ἰδρυάμα, *pillar and ground*, that they be not distinct titles of the *house of God*, a *pillar* one, and a *basis* another, but (by the figure of ἐν διὰ δύοιν, *one described by two*) a *pillar upon its basis*, which firmly sustains that which is built and erected upon it. And so is the *house of God*, (the church, both universal of Christ, and, under him, of all the apostles, and each particular, of each single apostle's plantation,) this pillar erected firmly upon the *basis* to sustain, to uphold the truth of Christ, which being by Christ and his apostles erected, as a roof upon a pillar, is sustained and upheld by it. If the truth of the gospel had been scattered abroad by preaching to single men, and those men never compacted together into a society under the government of bishops, or stewards, &c., such as Timothy was, to whom was delivered by St. Paul that παρακαταθήκη, 1 Tim. v. 20, a *depositum*, or *body of sound doctrine*, to be kept as a standard in the church, by which all other doctrines were to be measured, and judged; if, I say, such a summary of faith had not been delivered to all Christians that came in, in any place, to the apostle's preaching, and if there had not been some steward to keep it, then had there wanted an eminent means to sustain and uphold this truth of the gospel, thus preached unto men. But by the gathering of single converted Christians into assemblies or churches, and designing governors in those churches, and intrusting this *depositum*, or *form of wholesome doctrine*, to their keeping, it comes to pass that the Christian truth is sustained and held up, and so this *house of God* is affirmed to be the *pillar and basis of truth*, or that pillar on a *basis* by which truth is supported. According to which it is that Christ is said to have given, *not only apostles, and prophets, and evangelists, but also pastors and teachers*, that is, the bishops in the church, (known indifferently by those two titles,) εἰς καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων, *for the compacting of the saints into a church, εἰς οἰκοδομήν. for the building up of the body of Christ*, confirming and continuing them in all truth, Ephes. iv. 12; *that we should be no longer like children, carried about with every wind of doctrine*, &c. ver. 14. And so again when heresies came into the church in the first ages, it is every where apparent by Ignatius's Epistles, that the only way of avoiding of error and danger was to adhere to the bishop in communion and doctrine; and whosoever departed from him, and that *form of wholesome words* kept by him, ἡφθάρται, was supposed to be corrupted, and immersed in that sink of corruption which was then among the Gnostics, the pests of that age of the church. To which purpose these sayings of that divine martyr are express, Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσειε τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, "Let no man do ought of those things which belong to the church without the bishop;" and, ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσει, τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει, "he that doth any thing without the privy of the bishop, worships the devil." Epist. ad Smyrn. And this is his meaning

of ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου εἶναι, *being within the altar*, preserving communion with and dependence on the bishop, who sat in that part of the church which was called the θυσιαστήριον, or altar, which he that did not ὑπερέιται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ, *falls short of the bread of God*, Ep. ad Ephes.; from thence concluding, Σπουδάσωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἵνα ὦμεν Θεῷ ὑποτασσόμενοι, "Let us take care not to resist or oppose the bishop, that we may be subject to God: Πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα· τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δεῖ ὡς αὐτὸν Κύριον προσβλέπειν," "For every one whom the Master of the house sends to his own stewardship, him must we receive as him that sent him: we must therefore look to the bishop, as the Lord himself." And in the Epistle to the Magnesians, Πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶ μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲν καλοῦσι, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα πράσσουσι, "We ought not only to be called Christians, but also to be such, as some call, or acknowledge the bishop, but do all without him." And again, μηδὲ πειράσγητε εὐλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν, "not to think it reasonable to entertain any private opinions of our own: for," as he adds, "they that did so were sure to be seduced in such times, being once grown wiser than their teachers." So in Ep. ad Philadel. Ὅσοι Θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν, "As many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, these are with the bishop: ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος, ἵνα ὁ εἰς πρᾶσσητε κατὰ Θεὸν πρᾶσσητε, "There is one altar as one bishop, that whatever ye do, ye may do according to God." And speaking of seduced heretics, he mentions their only way of repentance, εἰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα Θεοῦ, καὶ συνῆδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, "if they repent and return to the unity of God, and the counsel of the bishop." And so every where in all those Epistles to the same purpose, to signify that that form of doctrine, deposited with and kept by the bishop in the church, is the only sure means to support and preserve the truth. Which how little it belongs to those congregations or churches which have either cast out that apostolical form of sound words, or by degrees received in many corruptions and falsities, either against the will of their governors, or by connivance or assistance of them, doth easily appear by what hath here been said, because as the good husbandman sows seed in his field, so the enemy may scatter darnel, and the field bring forth the fruits of one as well as the other.

16. [f] *godliness*] The notion of *piety* in this place is observable for Christian religion, doctrine of Christ, whether as that which is itself the true way of serving and worshipping of God, so as will be acceptable unto him, (and so is εὐσέβεια, *piety*), or that which prescribes, and delivers the most exact and perfect way of serving God, and so by a metonymy is called *piety*. That it signifies so here, appears by the parts of this mystery, as they are here set down; that is, Christ incarnate, *manifested in the flesh*, &c., the several articles of our faith from the birth to the assumption of Christ, which all together are called μυστήριον εὐσεβείας, *the mystery of piety*; the parts of our religion, into which all Christians are initiated or entered; the foundation on which all our Christian practice is built, God being so desirous that men should live according to that law of his revealed by Christ, that to preach it to us, and enforce it on our practice, he was

himself pleased to assume and manifest himself in our flesh, and to testify the truth of this, the Spirit of God came down visibly upon Christ, and the *voice from heaven, This is my beloved Son*, Matt. iii. 17, and so in the several particulars here mentioned, as branches of our initiation into Christian religion, grounds of our believing and practising the Christian doctrine. Thus, ch. vi. 5, where, speaking of the wicked heretics of those times, the Gnostics, he mentions it as a piece of their doctrine, that *εὐσέβεια* is *πορισμός*, *piety* (that is, the Christian religion, the being of that profession) is *gain*, matter of secular advantage. Thus again, ch. vi. 3, it is called more expressly, *ἡ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλία*, *the doctrine which is according to piety*. So Tit. i. 1, *the truth which is according to piety*, is set to denote the gospel. Agreeable to which it is that *mercifulness* and *spotless purity* are called *θρησκεία καθαρά*, *pure worship*, &c. Jam. i. 27, that is, prime special branches of the true religion. In other places, it is true that *εὐσέβεια*, *piety*, is taken in a narrower sense for that virtue particularly of worshipping God aright, as Tit. ii. 12, in distinction from the duties toward others and ourselves, 1 Tim. vi. 11, 2 Pet. i. 6, and in one place, 1 Tim. v. 4, for the return of gratitude in children to their parents, which is a kind of piety also, as the love of our country, honouring of magistrates, that are a sort of gods as well as parents to us, is ordinarily called *piety*.

CHAP. IV.

2. [a] *conscience seared*] The meaning of this phrase, *κεκαυτηριασμένοι τὴν συνείδησιν*, is, I conceive, not rightly apprehended, when it is thought to signify *an insensate conscience*, as if the resemblance were here to flesh, when it is *seared* or *cauterized*. Hesychius and Phavorinus have both taken notice of the phrase, and rendered it to another sense. *Κεκαυτηριασμένοι* (it should be *κεκαυτηριασμένοι*) *βεβασανισμένοι*, *μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν συνείδησιν ὑγιή*, saith Hesychius, the phrase denotes *those that being brought to the test are found faulty. have not a good conscience*. The meaning of this must be collected from the office of the *βασανιστοὶ*, *explorers*, or *examiners*, or *triers*, by which he explains it, and of them, saith he, *βασανιστῆς, ὁ διατητῆς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὴν ἀλήθειαν πυνθανόμενος*, "One set to examine slaves to find out the truth." And when any upon such examination is found faulty, he is wont to be branded for a cheat or rascal, and that branding or stigmatizing is here the thing referred to; and so *κεκαυτηριασμένοι τὴν συνείδησιν*, are *men of a prostituted, branded, stigmatized conscience, infamous villains*. And so saith Phavorinus also, *Κεκαυτηριασμένος τὴν συνείδησιν, τούρῃσι, μὴ ἔχων ὑγιή*, (referring, no doubt, to this place,) it signifies, *having not a sound, or whole conscience*.

3. [b] *Forbidding to marry*] Many heretics there were in the ancient church which *prohibited marriage*, and taught *abstinence from meats*, as necessary, having much of their doctrine from the Pythagorean philosophers. Such were the Encratites, Montanists, and Marcionites. But these came after the apostles' times, and are not so probably spoken of here as those which were present then in the church. And such, saith Ignatius, there were in the apostles' times, Ep. ad Philad.; and such, saith Irenæus, was Saturninus, l. i. c. 22, who, with Simon Magus, was the father of the Gnostics. Of him

Theodoret saith, that he was the first that among Christians affirmed marriage to be the work of the devil, and commanded to abstain from the flesh of beasts. And indeed that this was generally the doctrine of the Gnostics, appears from Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3, where, speaking of them he saith, they do *εὐφήμως δὲ ἐγκρατείας ἀσχεβεῖν, εἰς τε τὴν κτίσιν καὶ τὸν δημιουργόν, διδάσκοντες μὴ δεῖν παραδέχεσθαι γάμον καὶ παιδοποιῶν, μηδὲ ἀντεισάγειν τῷ κόσμῳ δυστυχήσοντας ἑτέρους, μηδὲ ἐπιχορηγεῖν τῷ θανάτῳ τροφήν*, "under a pretence of continence they committed all villany against the creation and the Creator, teaching that men ought not to receive marriage, nor get children, nor bring into the world such as would be miserable, nor furnish death with food or nourishment;" that is, people the world with men, whom death will consequently feed on. And again, *Εἰσὶν οἱ πορνείαν ἀντικρὺς τὸν γάμον λέγονσι, καὶ ὑπὸ διαβόλου ταύτην παραδίδοσθαι δογματίζουσιν*, "There are that affirm," and teach for doctrine, "all marriage to be fornication," that is, utterly unlawful, "and that it is brought in and delivered by the devil," p. 446. So Irenæus, l. 1. c. 22, *Nubere et generare a Satana dicunt esse*, "The Gnostics affirm marriage and generating to be from the devil." So the author of the Constitutions, l. 4. 8, *τὸν γάμον ἀθετοῦσι*, they condemn marriage, and set it at nought; *ἀγαμίαν διδάσκουσι*, teach not to marry at all, l. 6. 10; and for meats, *τινὰ τῶν βρωμάτων βδελύσσονται*, they abominate some kinds of meats, l. 6. 8, and c. 26, *βρώματά τινα φαυλίζουσι*, they affirm some meats to be ill. (see note [i] on Col. ii.)

5. [c] *word of God*] *The word of God* in this place, by which meats are said to be *sanctified*, that is, rescued and freed from all uncleanness or pollution, so that they may lawfully be used and enjoyed, is certainly that word of truth now revealed in the gospel, which frees the Christian from those observances. For this only can satisfy conscience, that it is lawful to do so, and consequently that it may be done with faith or assurance that they do not sin. And as this secures us in general that no meat is now unlawful to a Christian under the gospel, so to make it in the particular lawful to each one, the addition of prayer is the only requisite, meaning by that the prayer of faith, coming to God with the assurance it is lawful, and acknowledging it to be received of him, and praying for his blessing upon it.

8. [d] *profiteth little*] *Πρὸς ὀλίγον* is not to be taken in a sense wherein *little* signifies nothing at all, but as when it is set in comparison and opposition to some greater matter, as here in opposition to *πρὸς πάντα*, for all things, as in that speech of Plato's, *Σωκράτου ἐπ' ὀλίγον φροντιστέον, ἀληθείας ἐπὶ πολὺ*, "Socrates is a little to be considered, but truth much."

13. [e] *reading*] *Ἀνάγνωσις*, *reading*, is the rendering of the Hebrew מִקְרָא, set opposite to the *δευτερώσεις*, or *traditions*, (which the rabbins call the *oral word*,) and in the holy scripture so called, because none but that was suffered to be read in the church, but this not simply read, but expounded also. See note [c] on 1 Cor. i.

15. [f] *Meditate*] The word *μελετᾶν* is agonistical, saith Peter Faber, and belongs to the *προγυμνασίαι* and *προαγῶνες*, in which the young men are exercised in Ephebeæ, and from thence it is applied to exercises in the schools, declamations, &c. So Hesychius, *Μελετᾶ, ἀσκεῖ, ἐπεμελείται, γυμνάζεται, μελέτη γὰρ ἀσκησις*, it signifies *to exercise*, as well as *to take care*, or *meditate*: and so the relation which here it hath to proficiency doth infer.

CHAP. V.

3. [*a*] *widows* There were two sorts of *χήραι*, or *lone persons*, which we render *widows*, in the ancient church. First, those that were taken in to serve and officiate there as *diaconissæ*, (and those were especially, though not only, chosen of virgins, *ἀεπαρθένοι*, *that always continued such*, as by a place of Ignatius may be collected;) these were a kind of imitation of those which in Christ's and the apostles' times voluntarily had devoted themselves to the service of God, and to *ministering to*, that is, providing for, the necessities of Christ and the apostles and saints, *out of their own substance*, ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς, Luke viii. 3. Such was Joanna, a married woman, and Susanna, and others there. Such was Phœbe, ἀδελφὴ ἡμῶν, οὕσα διάκονος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κερκεραῖς, Rom. xvi. 1, *our sister*, that is, a believer, and she a *deaconess of the church in Cenchrea*, which is most probably the γυνὴ ἀδελφῆ, 1 Cor. ix. 5, the Christian woman that went along with Paul and Barnabas. For before there was any stock in the hands of the church to make provision for either the apostles or any other, there could no other course be taken but this, to have them supplied by such persons which did, ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς, *out of their own possessions*, liberally impart to them. But when afterward the faithful had brought their possessions, and laid them at the apostles' feet, and when instead of that greater liberality, yet by the help of the offertory at the sacrament, wealth came into the hands of the church, (and thereby, saith Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, προσετώς πᾶσιν ἐν χρεῖᾳ οὐσι κηδεμὼν ἐγένετο, "the prefect became the guardian to provide for all that were in want,") then this office was instituted in the church, first of *men-deacons*, Acts vi., and after of *women* also, which were more useful for economical services, and these were called *πρεσβύτιδες*, Tit. ii. 3, *elder women*, and afterward *diaconissæ*, *deaconesses*, and might be admitted into the church at forty years old. See can. 5. of the council of Chalcedon. The second sort of widows were those who being childless and helpless, were to be fed and maintained by the church, and these are particularly spoken of in this place, and those many of them formerly married, and therefore were not to be received in till *sixty years old*, ver. 9; for so Zonaras, on the council of Chalcedon, gives the reason, because, saith he, "the widow which hath had an husband is not, at the same age, so likely to continue unmarried, as she that hath lived a virgin to that age," καὶ γενομένη, &c. μᾶλλον ἢ εἴη πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἐπιελιγῆς. And in case she marry, that she is to be removed out of this list seems clear; both first, because in that case the husband must provide for her, and, secondly, by what is here said, ver. 11, of the care in not admitting such as are young and likely to marry. This relief, which is here spoken of for widows, being designed on purpose to give them the more leisure and vacancy for acts and exercises of piety, ver. 5, *waiting on God, continuing in prayer and supplication night and day*, which is not supposable of married women, which have so many other affairs belonging to them, ver. 14, to bring forth and bring up children, to manage the household, and the like.

8. [*b*] *provide* Προνοεῖν, *to provide*, here doth not signify, laying up by way of careful, thoughtful providence beforehand, but only taking care of for the present, as we are able, relieving, maintaining, giving

to them that want. So saith Hesychius, Προνοεῖ, ἐπιμελείται· Πρόνοια, ἐπιμέλεια, φροντίς, *to take care for*. So children that are exposed by their parents are ἀπρονοήτοι, in Harmenopolus, *unprovided, destitute*. So when Alexander Aphrodisæus saith, πᾶν τὸ προνοοῦν τινος ἀγαθὸν τι τῷ προνοουμένῳ περιποιεῖ, ἀπορ. λυσ. βιβλ. δ'. ζητ. ε'. "he is said to provide for any who allows him any good thing." And Ammonius, in his scholia on the ε' φωναί, having resolved that one of God's acts is προνοητικὴ τῶν καταδεστέρων, *providing for those that want*, applies that of the poet to it, Θεοὶ δατῆρες, &c., *God's giving them what they want*, making his *providence* and *giving* to be all one; and so προνοεῖν here is interpreted by ἐπαρκεῖν, ver. 16, which is the son's duty to the aged helpless parent, and he that doth it not was infamous among heathens; and accordingly Theophrastus, in his Characters, among the vilest actions, whoring, gaming, stealing, &c., placeth τὴν μητέρα μὴ τρέφειν, *neglecting to feed the mother*; and elsewhere, next after frequent worshipping of God, he placeth γονεῖς γηροτροφῶν καλῶς, *duly feeding the aged parents*: and therefore John being by Christ commanded to be a son to Mary, presently *takes her home to his house*, John xix. 27. As among the Samians, the mothers of those which were slain in the wars were given to the richer citizens to be maintained by them; and the form of speech was like Christ's to John, Σοὶ ταύτην δίδωμι τὴν μητέρα, *I give thee this mother*. Thus in Hierocles, speaking of marriage and children, παραστάτας καὶ γηροβοσκούς—γεννώμεν, saith he, "we beget helpers and feeders of our age:" and as he adds, "when the fathers die, their children must in their stead perform this office to the grandfather:" so Aristoxenus, in his Pythagorean Sentences, lib. 4, "the children must think all they have to be their parents'," and consequently must provide for them to the utmost of their power. See Stobæus, ser. 77.

11. [c] *was wanton*] Καταστρηιάζειν, as (without the preposition) στρηιάζειν is ὑβρίζειν, βαρέως φέρειν, and so στρηιάς, τρυφάν, in Phrynichus, and ἀτακτεῖν, in Phavorinus, *to grow stout or proud or disorderly*, not willing to bear so much strictness, and so to put oneself out of the list or number of the votaries; and here the widows that were ἐν κανόνι, as after-times called it, in the number of those that were to be maintained by the church, and there to wait on the service of the church, when they begin to be weary of that kind of life, then they are said καταστρηιάζειν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, or στρηιάζειν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *to grow insolent and weary of Christ*, that is, his service in the church. Thus στρήνος, Rev. xviii. 3, signifies *irregular, disorderly behaviour*; and στρηιάζειν, vv. 7, 9, *to live disorderly, enormously*.

17. [d] *double honour*] The διπλὴ τιμὴ, *double honour*, refers to the elder brother's portion, כּוֹשֵׁב יֵשׁ, *double portion*, Deut. xxi. 17; and this going along with the *power of ruling the family*, Gen. iv. 7, (after the death of the father,) is fitly accommodated to the office of bishop in the church; and so the electing of Barnabas and Paul to the apostleship, Acts xiii. 2, is expressed by ἀφορίσαστε, *separate*, the word used about the first-born, Exod. xiii. 2; and so in Clem. Conetit. l. 11. 28, διπλὴ αὐτοῖς ἀφορίζέσθω μοῖρα, *Let a double portion be separated for them*. Thus the *double portion of the spirit of Elias resting on Elisæus*,

was the making him his successor in the office of prophet, as the father above the ordinary sons of the prophets, to have rule over them. And so this verse is the setting down the reasonableness, that the bishop that dischargeth his duty or prefecture well, should be looked upon in all respects as one that hath the primogeniture of maintenance, (to which ver. 18 refers,) as well as dignity, especially if his pains be extraordinary, as it must be, if he both preach the gospel where it was not before heard, (which is called λόγος, *the word*, and εὐαγγελίζεω, *to preach*, Rom. xv. 20, and κηρύσσειν, *to preach*,) and take pains in farther instructing the believers in the churches, which is διδασκαλία, *teaching*, or *doctrine*. For the word τιμή, that that signifies *wages*, *reward of service*, appears (among many others,) by the third verse of this chapter, *honour widows*, that is, relieve, maintain them. So John xii. 26, where, speaking of those that attend on and minister to Christ, he saith, *τιμήσει αὐτὸν ὁ Πατήρ, the Father shall honour*, that is, reward him, or pay him his wages; but especially Matt. xv., where the command of God's, of *honouring the parents*, ver. 6, is expressed, ver. 5, by giving them that by which they may be *profited*, that is, maintenance, &c. (see note [1] on Col. ii.) So in Nicolaus Damascenus, of the Thyni, *Τῶν ξένων τοὺς μὲν ἐκουσίως ἐλθόντας σφόδρα τιμῶσι, They honour*, that is, entertain, receive *strangers exceedingly*. So Acts xxviii. 10, *they of the island honoured Paul with many honours*, giving him *provision for his journey*. As for the ἀξιοῦσθωσαν, that is joined to it, although that comes from ἄξιος, *worthy*, yet it signifies, without any reference to that, simply *to enjoy*, *to receive*, *to have*, as might appear by many evidences among authors. One for all, that of Justin Martyr, or the author περὶ τῆς ἀγ. καὶ ὁμοουσ. τριάδ., where speaking of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, he saith of them, *τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μιᾶς θεότητος ἡξίωται*, (not "they have been counted worthy," but) "they have had" (have been endued with) "one and the same divinity."

19. [e] *Against an elder receive not an accusation*] What is the meaning of κατηγορίαν παραδέχεσθαι, *to receive an accusation*, here, must be explained by the judicial proceedings among the Jews, where before the giving of the sentence there were three parts; 1st, מוֹבָא רִיב, *the admission of the cause*, or *suit*, when the judge doth not reject the complaint or accuser, and that is here κατηγορίαν παραδέχεσθαι, *to admit an accusation*; and is the meaning of Isai. i. 23, *neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them*, the character of an unjust judge, that he admits not the widow's complaint against the oppressor. After the complaint is admitted, then, 2dly, there is מְכִוְנָה רִיב, *the confirmation of the suit*, or *complaint*, when the accuser confirms his suggestion by oath; for before that oath, one saying one thing, and the other the contrary, (which is called ἀντιλογία, *contradiction*, Heb. vi. 16, and in Lucian, δικάζειν and ἀντιλέγειν, as parts of judicial proceedings,) the judge is uninclined to either side, but then comes in the oath, and is πῶς ἀντιλογίας, *the end of that affirming and denying*, (in the author of that epistle,) takes away the equilibrium that the judge was in before, and by it he is now confirmed to the believing the one part against the other, whereupon the oath is said to be πρὸς βεβαίωσιν, *for confirmation*, in that place, Heb. vi. 16, as in the Roman law, *Orkos ἐπιφερόμενος*

ἀμφισβήτησιν τέμνει, saith Peellus, in Συνοψ. νομ. v. 12, 13, *the oath coming in, parts the controversy, or doubt*; and in Leg. Bajuvar, c. 12. tit. 15. 2, *In his vero causis sacramenta præstentur, in quibus nullam probationem discussio judicantis invenerit*, (see Bignon. not. in Marculfi Form. l. 1. c. 38,) “then is the use of oaths, when the discussion of the plea by the judge yields him no satisfactory proof.” The 3d part is, חֲקֹר יָדַי, Job xxix. 16, *the searching out of the cause*, by arguments afterwards produced (*causæ κατασκευή*) and considered of by the judge. The first of these only it is that belongs to this place, *the admission of the complaint, or accusation*, which against a πρεσβύτερος, or *governor*, of the church is not allowed under *two or three witnesses*, in respect of the gravity of his person, and weight of his office or calling, who must not be defamed, (as the being brought into the court is a kind of defamation,) if there be not great cause for it.

22. [f] *Lay hands*] That χεῖρας ἐπιτίθειν, *laying on hands*, is a ceremony of prayer or benediction, is ordinarily known in the Old Testament, used first by the father to the children, in bestowing the blessing upon them, and with that succession to some part of the estate. So when Jacob blessed the children of Joseph, Gen. xlviii. 14, *he laid his hands upon their heads*, ver. 15. And from thence it was among them accommodated to the communicating of power to others as assistants, or deriving it to them as successors. So when Moses assumed the seventy to assist him, Numb. xi. 17, this, saith Maimonides, was done by his laying hands upon them, Sanhedr. c. 4. And when he left the world, and constituted Joshua his successor, God appointed him to *take Joshua*, and *lay his hands upon him*, Numb. xxvii. 18. So Deut. xxxiv. 9, *Joshua was full of the spirit of wisdom*, that is, was his successor in the government, *for Moses had laid his hands upon him*. From these three uses of the ceremony, in prayer, in paternal benediction, in creating of officers, three sorts of things there are in the New Testament to which it is principally accommodated. In prayer it is used either in curing diseases, or pardoning sins. Diseases, the corporal bands, Luke xiii. 16, were cured by imposition of hands, Acts xix. 17, and xxviii. 8; and so it was foretold, Mark xvi. 18, *they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover*. And so sins, the spiritual bands, were done away, or pardoned, by the same ceremony, laying on of hands, used in the absolution of penitents. Thus, Heb. vi. 2, as *the baptisms* are those used among the Jews and Christians for the admission of proselytes, so *the imposition of hands* doth probably denote the restoring of penitents that were lapsed after baptism, (see note [b] Heb. vi.) From that of paternal benediction is that of laying on hands in blessing of infants, Mark x. 16, by that means signifying them to be fit to be received into the church by baptism, as those that have title to this kingdom of heaven, the church here, and, through the same mercy of God in Christ, heaven hereafter. This benediction and imposition of hands I suppose it is that Clemens Alexandrinus refers to, Pædag. l. 3. c. 11, in these words, *Τίνι γὰρ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐπιτίθει χειρά; τίνα δὲ εὐλογήσει;* “On whom doth the presbyter lay hands? whom shall he bless?” meaning most probably in that place the solemnity with which the catechist dismissed those that were catechised, preparatory to their baptism: and so saith Eusebius of Constantine, de Vita Constant. l. 4, that to prepare for his baptism, ἐξομολογούμενος τῶν διὰ χειρο-

θεῖος εὐχῶν ἡξιοῦτο, "he made profession," (that is, confessed his sins and professed the faith,) and then "was vouchsafed those prayers that are given by imposition of hands:" to which purpose also the author of the Constitutions called Apostolical, l. 7. c. 39, where having set down the severals in which the *catechumenus* must be instructed, he adds, "but let him that lays on hands adore God," &c. Secondly, that of confirming those of full age that had formerly been baptized. Such that of the Ephesian disciples seems to be, Acts xix, who being baptized, ver. 5, *Paul laid his hands on them*, ver. 6. To which in those times many extraordinary gifts were consequent, speaking with tongues, &c., as had formerly fallen out, Acts x. 44. Lastly, from that in creating successors, or assistants in power, came the use of imposition of hands in ordination, whether of bishops or deacons, Acts vi. 6, and viii. 17, and xiii. 3, 1 Tim. iv. 15, 2 Tim. i. 6. To this last it is that this exhortation of Paul to Timothy is by many thought to refer, that he should be careful to have those whom he received into orders sufficiently approved to him. But the context seems rather to refer it to that which was used in absolution, that he should not make too much haste in receiving those that were under censures to absolution; for that was the thing which would most probably make him *partaker*, or *guilty of their sins*, which the censures were designed to reform in them, but would not do so, if before they had approved their repentance and reformation, they were received to the peace of the church again. And thus it connects with the words foregoing, ver. 20, *Those that offend, rebuke before all, that the rest may have fear*, and ver. 21, *I charge thee that thou observe these things without prejudging, doing nothing by favour or inclination or partiality*, whereon it follows, *Lay hands suddenly on no man*; and to that also belong the following rules, ver. 24, 25, (see note [h].) Thus in Victor about the Vandalic persecution, l. 2, *Qui nobis penitentiae manus collaturi sunt, et reconciliationis indulgentiam, obstrictos peccatorum vinculis soluturi*, "they that lay their hands of penance upon us, and confer the indulgence of reconciliation, and loose us from the bands of sins;" where it is clearly used in this sense. And in Can. 5, of the council of Carthage, dist. 50, *presbyteris et diaconis, si quando de gravi aliqua culpa convicti ministerio remoti fuissent, manus non imponerentur ut penitentibus*, "priests and deacons which had been convict of any grand fault, and so removed from their ministry, should not have hands laid on them as penitents." And in the third council of Carthage, (that in St. Augustine's time,) Can. 32, *Cujuscunque autem penitentis publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universa ecclesia noverit, ante absidem manus ei imponatur*, "When the penitent's sin is known to the whole church, the bishop is to lay his hands on him before the absid," that is, the upper part of the quire, where the altar is. And Concil. Agath. Dist. 5. c. 63, *Penitentes tempore quo penitentiam petant, impositionem manuum et cilicium super caput, sicut ubique constitutum est, consequantur*, "Let the penitents receive imposition of hands, and sackcloth upon their heads, as it is everywhere appointed." And so Hincmarus concerning the divorce of Thietberga, *Sacri canones jubent ut penitentes tempore quo penitentiam petunt, imposituram manuum, et cilicium super capita a sacerdote, sicut ubique vulgatum est, ante absidem accipiant*, "The holy canons command that the penitents when they demand repentance," that is, admission to penance and absolution,

"shall receive from the bishop imposition of hands, and sackcloth upon their heads, as it is everywhere known, before the absis," where the altar stands. So in Fulgentius, Ep. 1. de Conjug. *Accepta manus impositione, penitentiam, secundum modum quem habet Christiana religio, peregit*, "He performed penance by imposition of hands, according to the manner observed in the Christian religion." So in Avitus Alcimus, Ep. 24, *Manus impositionem adhibete converso ab hæresi*, "Use imposition of hands to him that is converted from heresy." And in the author contra Prædestin. l. 3, *Non ausi sunt ecclesiarum pontifices manum imponere penitenti, nisi confessionem voluntariam ostendenti*, "The bishops of the churches durst not lay hands on the penitent, but on his shewing his voluntary confession." And in the Chronicle of Jo. Gerundensis, speaking of the Arians' synod of Toledo, one of the canons is, *De Romana religione ad nostram catholicam fidem venientes non debere baptizari, sed tantummodo per manus impositionem, et communionis perceptionem abluï*, "They that come from the Roman religion to our catholic faith ought not to be baptized, but only purged by imposition of hands and receiving the communion." And this is the notion which St. Cyprian had of this place, and Pacianus in Parænesi ad Pœnit. And though Theophylact seem to understand it of ordination, yet what he adds in explication of the following words, *neither partake of other men's sins, τῶν γὰρ μελλουσῶν &c.*, "Thou shalt be guilty both of his future sins and even of his past, because thou hast neglected them, made darkness light, and not dismissed him to the state of mourning and compunction," seems to belong to absolution.

22. [*g*] *keep thyself pure*] What is the meaning of *σεαυτὸν ἀγρὸν τήρει*, *keep thyself pure*, will appear by the ancient glossary, *Ἄγρὸς castus*, it signifies that kind of purity which consists in perfect chastity, free from all show of impurity. So 2 Cor. xi. 2, *ἀγνή παρθένος, a pure, chaste virgin*. So Titus ii. 5, the widows or female officers of the church must be *ἀγαί, pure or chaste*, and Timothy must behave himself toward the younger women *ἐν πάσῃ ἀγνείᾳ, in all purity or chastity*, ch. v. 2; and so the Hebrew שָׁמַר שְׂמִינִי answerable to *ἀγρὸς* signifies. So that this precept and the other following of *drink a little wine*, though they come in here as in a parenthesis, (the 24 and 25 being to be connected in sense to the matter of absolution and censures, see note [*h*].) yet they are added seasonably and pertinently to the *μηδὲ κοινωνῶναι* immediately precedent after this manner, Thou art not to be over favourable to offenders, to absolve them too easily or speedily. But above all thou must be sure not to join with them in their course. And because there be two chief heads of that false doctrine which is most frequent among you, (the heresy of the Gnostics, from which especially flow the faults to which the censures are most due,) viz. *forbidding of marriage* (to which is consequent all impure abominable living) and *abstinence from wine and meats*, ch. iv. 3; I therefore now warn thee concerning these two. In the former respect, that abstaining spontaneously from marriage, not as from a thing unlawful, but only denying thyself that liberty which thou mayest lawfully use, thou be sure to preserve perfect chastity, and not fall into the least degree of Gnosticism, for that is *κοινωνεῖν ἀμαρτίας ἄλλοτρίαις, to commit those sins which thou art to censure in others*. That is the meaning of *κοινωνεῖν* and *συγκοινωνεῖν, to be guilty thyself, not only to be blameable for thy indulgence to others, and so for*

their commission. So Ephes. v. 11, *Μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε, have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness*, that is, do not permit yourselves to be drawn into their dark, villanous mysteries, to commit those heathen sins which there are committed, but *rather discover them, and bring them to light*. And so Rev. xviii. 4, *Go out of her my people, that ye may not συγκοινωνεῖν, communicate with, or partake of her sins*, that is, be corrupted with and drawn into the like commissions. And so here, it will be a caution to Timothy against the Gnostic practices, (as elsewhere *to avoid youthful lusts*, 2 Tim. ii. 22,) not to fall into those guilts which he ought to detest and punish, but to keep himself perfectly pure from their practices. As for the second thing, their abstinences from meat and wine, this temper is to be observed; it is no doubt lawful for those that can do it without any hurt to their bodies, to abstain from meats which are most pleasurable, and so from wine; and for thee to do thus, as long as thy health well permits, is both lawful and commendable, (and the Gnostics' heresy consists in this, that they impose such abstinences on all as necessary, and so διὰ βδελυρίαν, not δι' ἀσκησιν, as the Canons Apostolical style it, *out of a detestation*, and an opinion of the unlawfulness of meat, not "for self-denial," or "austerity:") but these creatures of God being created for the benefit and refreshment of man, these thou mayest very safely make use of, and thy health of body being infirm and subject to frequent diseases, there is no reason thou shouldest never drink any wine, the continual use of water may be hurtful to such an habit of body as thine, and moderate taking of wine may be more proper, and then it is best to remit of that austerity which might otherwise be laudably continued, and tend to the preserving of virginal chastity, but is not to be imposed on those whose health will not bear it. To this interpretation of the words agrees the discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem, * Catech. 4, *Νηστεύοντες οἶνον τε καὶ κρέων ἀπεχόμεθα* (so the Barocian MS. reads instead of *νηστεύομεν ἀπεχόμενοι*) *οὐχ ὡς βδελύγματα μισοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν μισθὸν προσδοκῶντες—μὴ τοῖσιν καταφρόνει τῶν ἐσθιόντων, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενίαν μεταλαμβάνοντων, μηδὲ ἐλεγχῃ* (so the Barocian, not *ψέγῃ*) *τοὺς ὀλίγῳ οἶνῳ χρωμένους διὰ τὸν στόμαχον καὶ τὰς πυκνὰς ἀσθενείας*, (the Barocian adds *καὶ μὴτε αὐτοὺς ὡς ἁμαρτωλοὺς κατακρίνης*) *μὴτε ὡς ἀλλότρια μίσει τὰ κρέα· οὐδε γὰρ τινὰς τοιοῦτους ὁ Ἀπόστολος, λέγων, κωλυόντων γαμῆν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων, &c.* "When we fast we abstain from wine and flesh, not hating them as unlawful, but expecting a reward:—despise not therefore those that eat in respect of the weakness of their body, nor find fault with those that use a little wine for their stomach and frequent infirmities, nor condemn them as sinners, neither hate flesh as unlawful; for the apostle knew some such when he speaks of forbidding to marry, and abstaining from meats." Which being said on this occasion incidentally, he returns again to the former matter, ver. 24. But if both these, *neither partake &c.*, and *keep thyself pure*, be interpreted to be an effect or consequent of his *laying on hands suddenly*, then there is no such occasion of introducing that parenthesis, and therefore sure that is not the meaning of it.

24. [A] *Some men's sins are open before—*] That these two last verses of this chapter belong to the business of church censures and absolution, may appear by the context: ver. 20 there is direction for

* Περὶ βρώματ. p. 93.

the public rebuking of offenders, whether by way of correction, or inflicting the censures, and ver. 21, there is a conjuration against pre-judging on one side, and partiality or favour on the other, and, ver. 22, deliberation and delay, and observation of the penitent's behaviour is required before he be absolved, *Lay hands suddenly on no man*, that is, before the sincerity of his reformation be approved to thee, according as in the primitive canons, they must exercise themselves for some space in good works before they are capable of absolution; and then some words coming between, as proper to bishop Timothy's youth, that he be sure that he fall not himself into those sins which he sees committed by others, and so his office of jurisdiction become a snare to him, (and on occasion of that, the 23rd verse being added by way of parenthesis) it follows very pertinently to that former matter, *Some men's sins are πρόδηλοι, open beforehand*, &c., that is, by not absolving offenders over hastily, by observing and waiting a while, thou wilt be more able to pass a right judgment. For the behaviour of some men under the censures is so ill, that they deserve to be further censured rather than absolved, and in that respect it is not good to be too hasty in absolving. And the good works of some men do approve and demonstrate the sincerity of their repentance, which yet they cannot do, if they be absolved presently before they have so approved themselves. And whether one way or other men's works will manifest what they are, and though for a time they may be concealed, yet if the bishop make not overmuch haste to absolve, they will discover themselves either by their good works to be sincere, or by their ill to be unsincere. And so still this is the rendering of a reason for the point in hand, that the bishop make not overmuch haste to absolution.

CHAP. VI.

2. [a] *let them not despise them*—] It is here somewhat uncertain to whom these words, *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ εἰσι*, because they are brethren, and *οἱ πιστοὶ*, &c., do belong, whether to the servants, that pretended themselves at liberty because they were Christians, or to the masters, whom the servants would not obey, but despise, because those masters were ἀδελφοὶ, brethren, and so but equals, no better men than they. That the latter is it, is made probable by this, that in the beginning of the verse we read *πιστοὺς δεσπότας believing masters*, where the *πιστοὶ*, faithful, or believing, is directly applied to the masters. But there is more reason to adhere to the former, 1. because the probability for the latter is of no force, concluding only that the masters here spoken of are Christians, which is granted also in the former interpretation, and not that the second *πιστοὶ*, &c., is not applicable to the servants; for it is certain that the servants here spoken of are supposed to be Christians also; for otherwise the Apostle's exhortation could not here be given to them, or to Timothy concerning them, neither Paul nor Timothy having jurisdiction over those that were not Christians: 2dly, because the libertine Christians' plea against subjection to their masters cannot be supposed to have been taken from the Christianity of their masters; for it is evident by the first verse that they excepted against subjection, and pleaded exemption from obedience to masters that were not Christians, viz. those which kept them under yoke, (as Christians were not allowed to do to Christians,) that is, heathen masters; but their plea

against all subjection both to heathens, ver. 1. and to πιστοὶ δεσπόται *believing masters*, ver. 2. was the same, only this that they were Christians, and therefore too good to serve heathens, and again Christians, whose title ἀδελφοί, *brethren*, was a style of equality, and so an argument that they were free from serving their fellow-Christians: 3dly, because the direct rendering of the word being that which we have given in the margin, the ἀντιλαμβάνομενοι τῆς εὐεργεσίας, with the particle *οἱ* before it, being in all reason the subject, and πιστοὶ καὶ ἀγαπητοί, *faithful and beloved*, the prædicate in the proposition, the sense will be obvious by applying it to the servants, (but not so by applying it to the masters,) thus, *Let not the Christian servants despise their Christian masters* upon this score, that the servant by Christianity is made a brother, and equal to his master, *but the rather serve them* upon this very score of being Christians, *because they* that help and assist in doing good (as Christian servants of Christian masters do assist their masters in doing good, whereas it cannot fitly be said of the masters, though Christians, that they thus help or aid their servants) *are faithful and beloved*, that is, such as Christians ought to be, exercising fidelity and love to God, and to their masters for God's sake, who hath commanded obedience to them. And for these reasons this notion seems the most probable, by applying all these to the servants in the latter part of the verse, but to those as servants of the πιστοὶ δεσπόται, *Christian masters*, in the former part of it. And if we consider the words in several, and then all of them together, this will be yet more evident. Πιστοὶ and ἀγαπητοὶ are the ordinary titles of Christians, proportionable to the two prime graces of a Christian, *faith* and *love*; and so ἀδελφοί, *brethren*, is a title also signifying the same thing, but withal noting an equality, such as is among brethren. The Gnostics upon this ground taught liberty and manumission of servants from their masters, by their being Christians, and so fellow-brethren, not servants of their fellow-Christians. To which argument of theirs taken from one title of Christians, the Apostle answers, and makes retortion, by mentioning those other titles of Christians also, which may very well be reconcilable with subjection, as πιστοὶ, *faithful*, which is an epithet that belongs ordinarily to servants, noting fidelity, which is the special thing required in them. And so also ἀγαπητοὶ, *beloved*, will be, which, as it is the title of Christians everywhere in the New Testament, so it is also a title of servants too, in that they assist their masters in doing good, which is but the work of a wife to a husband, of one friend or beloved to another. All this is said most clearly in reference to the Gnostics, whose doctrine that was, and the seeds of it were visible in Asia (and affirmed to be so in one church under Timothy's care, that of Smyrna) in Polycarp's time, which caused Ignatius's admonition in his Epistle to him, that "the men or maid servants should not be puffed up, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλεῖον δουλεύωσαν, but to the glory of God let them serve the more," as here, become the better servants for being Christians, and μὴ αἰρέτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινου ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, &c. "Let them not desire," or pretend to, any "common liberty" upon the score of being Christians.

[*b*] *partakers*] Ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι is *to help*, either from one notion of ἀντί, *contra*, *to take up at the other end*, and so to bear part of a burden, as the wife is the man's helper; or as ἀντί signifies *vice*, or *pro*, *to bear any weight in another's stead*, ἀντιλαμβάνόμενος, *βοηθὸς an helper*, saith

Hesychius; and so here ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς εὐεργεσίας, *to assist doing good* (see note on Mat. vi. [m].) But when it is joined with a 'genitive of the person, it signifies somewhat more. See Note on Luke x. [b].

2. [c] *benefit*] The word εὐεργεσία is but once more used in the New Testament, Acts iv. 9. and there it is taken actively, *doing good*, not receiving it, *beneficentia* in the active, not *beneficium* in the passive sense, which, saith Aristotle, is εὐεργέτημα, as it is in the receiver. And thus εὐποιία is *doing*, not *receiving good*, with which this holds analogy directly.

8. [d] *content*] Ἀρκεσθῆσόμεθα τοῖς τοῖς signifies *we shall be satisfied with these*. So the Syriac renders it, *wherefore meat and clothing are sufficient for us*, ܡܪܒܕ (from ܡܪܒܕ or ܡܪܒܘ) both in sense and sound differing little from the Latin *sufficio*, only in the Latin termination.

9. [e] *will be rich*] That the βουλόμενοι πλουτεῖν *they that will be rich*, is part of the character of the Gnostics in this place, and that they were a sort of Christians that made no use of their religion but to their secular advantages, ver. 5, and whensoever it was not reconcilable with thriving in the world, (brought persecution,) made no scruple of renouncing their Christian profession, hath often been said, and may appear from one eminent place of Clemens Alexandrinus, who (opposing τὸν ἀληθῶς γνωστὸν, *the true knower of mysteries*, or searcher into profitable cabalas, the Christian indeed to the Gnostic, or knower of mysteries here falsely so called, ver. 20.) hath these words, οἷδεν αὐτὸς καὶ τῆς ηστείας τὰ ἀνίγματα τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων τῆς τετράδος, καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπιφημίζονται γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ, ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης· αὐτίκα ηστεύει κατὰ τὸν βίον φιλαργυρίας τε ὁμοῦ καὶ φιληδονίας, ἐξ ὧν αἱ πᾶσαι ἐκφύονται κακίαι, "He knows the mysteries of the fast-days, the fourth and sixth day of the week, one is named by the name of Mercury, the other of Venus, and accordingly he fasts or abstains in his conversation, from love of money, and love of pleasures, from which all evil doth spring." Where, as *love of pleasures*, everywhere imputed to the Gnostic heretics, is mentioned as one root of all villany, so is love of money taken notice of as the other (ver. 10.), and both in relation to the Gnostics here, to whom the true Christian is opposed.

12. [f] *Fight the good fight*] This whole verse alludes to the exercises of the Grecians; in which as there were five sorts, running, wrestling, &c., formerly mentioned, so every of them is commonly styled ἀγὼν, *a combat or strife*, and they which contended in each of them said, as here, ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀγῶνα. The rendering of this *fight a good fight* may make it believed to belong peculiarly to that of cuffing, πυγμῇ, whence our Latin, *pugna, fight*, comes. But the word is not here to be so restrained, but set more generally in some common word, as *strife* or *combat*, (as ἀγωνίζεσθαι εἰσελθεῖν, *strive to enter in at the strait gate*, and ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι, Jude 3, *to contend earnestly*.) and then it will by the consequents be applied to that of racing, where the crown was set over the goal, that he that came foremost, and so conquered, might catch it off and carry it away with him; for so ἐπιλαβοῦ, *lay hold*, or *apprehend*, that follows here, and ver. 19, is the word that expresses the catching of the crown from the top of the goal, and eternal life is that crown; and the ἐνῶπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων, *before many witnesses*, denotes the many spectators that were wont to be at those games, called from thence πανηγύρεις, *frequentiae*, and *solemnities*; and so καλεῖν may refer

also to the *κήρυξ*, or *præco*, who proclaimed the laws and the prize or reward of the *ἀγῶνες*, and called the company together to contend for it.

17. [g] to enjoy] *Εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, εἰς τρυφήν*, saith Phavorinus, *a cheerful, comfortable condition*, (agreeable to the πάντα *all things*, and πλουσίως *richly*, preceding:) and thus it is used, not only in an ill, but good sense, ἀπολαύω πλούτου, *enjoying wealth*, for εὐδαιμονῶ, *being happy*, and ἀπολαύω τιμῆς, *enjoying honour*, for εὐτυχῶ, that other kind of happiness.

19. [h] foundation] The word *θεμέλιος* in this place seems to have a peculiar signification (different from that other of *foundation* so ordinary in other places), and coming from *τίθημι*, *to lay up*, as *θησαυρός* doth, it may possibly signify no more than a *treasure*, somewhat *laid up*, and so both ἀποθησαυρίζονται, *laying up*, going before, and εἰς τὸ μέλλον, *for the future, or time to come*, following it, would incline to render it. So Tobit iv. 9. in the same matter of almsgiving, θέμα γὰρ ἀγαθὸν θησαυρίζεις, *for thou layest up for thyself a good treasure, a good laying up, against the day of necessity*. Beyond this, it is the observation of a late critic, Sam. Petit, that the word *θεμέλιος* may signify in the same latitude that the Hebrew עקר (which is answerable to it) doth, that is, not only a *foundation*, but, as the rabbins use the word, a *bill of contract, a bond or obligation*, that he receives that lends out any thing, upon which he may found a confidence of having it returned to him again. To this perhaps it may be applicable that the Hebrew מוסר, which is rendered *θεμέλιος* sometimes, is also rendered συνθήκη, Isa. xxx. 1, a *compact*. And then it will have this weight here, that the almsgiver by his liberality receives and lays up an obligation from God, that this mercy of his shall be rewarded. And to this notion of the word that of Prov. xix. 7. is very agreeable, *He that hath pity on the poor lendeth to the Lord, and that which he hath given he will pay him again*. In this sense, saith he, the word is again found 2 Tim. ii. 19, where God's *θεμέλιος* is said to have a seal affixed to it, which seems to refer to a *bill or bond*: and because those seals had their inscriptions on both sides, agreeing to the conditions of the two persons contracting, accordingly it is there added, first on God's part, *The Lord knoweth them that are his*, that is, God will be faithful and constant in owning those that are his servants; then, 2ndly, on man's part, *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity*. So that *θεμέλιος* there may very well signify his χειρόγραφον, *bill or bond*, (and so here the word may signify also,) which being left with any man as a means to secure him a *depositum*, a παραθήκη, a *pledge* or *ρῶπη*, may well be styled *θεμέλιος*, from *τίθημι*, *pono*, somewhat delivered him as his security.

20. [i] *oppositions of science*] That the γνώσις ψευδώνυμος, *science falsely so called*, is set down to denote the heretical crew of the Gnostics, there can be no question, and is elsewhere largely shewed, note [c] on 2 Pet. i. That the first author of these was Simon Magus, is also evident in Irenæus and others of the ancients. Now it seems there were thus early discourses written by him or some of his, for the opposing the true Christian doctrine, and these are here called ἀντιθέσεις *oppositions or contradictions*: to which agrees that of Dionysius Areopagita περὶ θεοῦ ὀνόμ. c. 6, where mentioning them, he styles them αἱ τῆς

παρανοίᾳ Σίμωνος ἀντιρρητικοὶ λόγοι, *the contradictory discourses of the dotage of Simon*, by the *παράνοια* or *dotage* of Simon meaning the same that is here expressed by the *ψευδῶνυμος γῶσις*, that is, those heretical, proud, but sottish followers of Simon.

[a] THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO TIMOTHY.

That this Epistle was sent to Timothy from Rome there is no question, and that whilst he was in restraint and danger there. But whether this were at that first time of his being there, mentioned in the last of the Acts, an. Chr. 58, or whether immediately before his martyrdom, which was ten years after, about the thirteenth or fourteenth of Nero, there is this reason to demur, because he tells him, c. iv. 6, that he is (as the ordinary English reads) *now ready to be offered, and that the time of his departure is at hand*; which seems, with the subscription of the epistle, to determine it to the latter. On the other side, some passages there are which incline it to the former; as when he saith, c. iv. 16, that in his *first defence*, though *all forsook him, yet the Lord stood with him, that the preaching might be fulfilled, and that all the Gentiles might hear*, &c., which seems to refer it to his first being at Rome, after which time he proclaimed the gospel to the Gentiles in other regions. So saith Clemens in his Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 8. that he came *εἰς τὸ τέμμα τῆς δύσεως, to some remote parts in the west*. So St. Jerome in Catal., that being dismissed by Nero, he preached the gospel of Christ in the western parts. So saith Eusebius, l. 2. c. 21, *Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν Ἀπόστολον, Then having made his defence, the report is, that he did again betake himself to the office, or ministry, of preaching the word*. So when he remembers to Timothy his persecutions at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, c. iii. 11, and what Alexander at Ephesus had done to him, Acts xix. 33, it is not so probable that this should be repeated by him fourteen years after the fact, and just before his death, as at his first being at Rome, which was not above four years after the fact. So when he saith, c. iv. 12, that he had *sent Tychicus to Ephesus*, it is probable that that was at the writing of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which he sent from Rome by Tychicus about this time of his first being there. And for the one argument on the other side, *the approaching of his death*, to that may be opposed what he adds, c. iv. 17, 18, *that he was delivered out of the mouth of the lion*, that is, either from Nero under the title of *the lion*, or from his great danger, adding confidently for the future, that *the Lord shall deliver him*; which was literally true of this first, but cannot in the sense of *delivering him from his danger* (to which the 17th verse belongs) be verified of his last danger, from which he was not delivered. And for the words ver. 6, I suppose they may thus best be rendered, *Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, for I*

~~am~~ already poured out, (see note [e] on Phil. ii.) that is, my danger of death is already so great (so in the eye of man) that *I am as it were wine poured out upon the sacrifice*, to prepare it for offering up. To which he may fitly resemble his being brought out to the bar, to be tried for his life. And when it is added, *καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφίστηκε, and the time of my departure hath been at hand*, that may denote no more than an imminent danger of death, mentioned as now past, without any foretelling that he should now instantly die. And in this sense it will be reconcilable with the *Lord's having delivered him out of the mouth of the lion*, v. 17, viz. this imminent but now past danger. And thus may the seventh verse be interpreted also, *I have fought a good fight* (of afflictions), (see note [b] on 1 Thess. ii.,) run great hazards, and passed Christianly through them, *I have run my race*, (so *τελεῖν* signifies, not to finish, but to perform; see note [a] on Acts xxi.,) *I have kept the faith*, not swerved from it, for all my danger; by *δρόμος*, race, not referring to the whole course of life, but to this one combat of afflictions at Rome, now fresh in his memory, and recited in that chapter, ver. 16, 17. That Timothy which is here appointed to come to him, c. iv. 9, did accordingly come, is generally acknowledged, and that after his coming, the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon were written, as appears by the place, Rome, from whence they are all dated, and the joining of Timothy's name in the front of them. Now of all those epistles it is clear that they were written at his first being at Rome, and not immediately before his martyrdom. For, Philipp. i. 26, and ii. 23, 24, he expresseth his confidence that he shall be delivered, and *again come unto them*, which is not reconcilable with his persuasion of the instant approach of his death at the writing of this, and to Philemon, ver. 22, he sends to make provision for his lodging at Colossæ. As for the subscription of the Epistle, which refers it to the *ἐκ δευτέρου, the second time of his coming before Nero*, that may possibly stand good by this interpretation; that he was twice at his first imprisonment brought out to the bar before the emperor, and freed both times; that the first, being his greatest danger, was most memorable to him by all men's forsaking him, and the interposing of God's protection when all other means failed him. And this is more likely to be recited by him in an epistle written soon after it, than in one of ten years' distance from it. However, we know that the subscriptions of the Epistles are not to be found in all the ancient copies. What the design of this Epistle was, is manifest; to stir him up to caution, diligence, and discharge of his office, on occasion of the creeping heresy of the Gnostics, c. ii. 17, stolen in among them, which had much debauched the Asiatics, c. i. 15, and made use of magic to oppose the truth of the Gospel, c. iii. 8.

CHAP. I.

16. [a] *the house of Onesiphorus*] What *οἶκος Ὀνησιφόρου, the house of Onesiphorus*, here signifies, is thought fit to be examined by some in order to the doctrine of *praying for the dead*. For because the prayer is here for the household, and not for the master of it, Onesiphorus himself, it is by some presently concluded that Onesiphorus was dead at that time. And then that being supposed, it appears, ver. 18, that St. Paul prays for him, *that he may find mercy in that day*. How far it

may be fit to pray for them that are departed this life, needs not to be disputed here. It is certain that some measure of bliss, which shall at the day of judgment be vouchsafed the saints, when their bodies and souls shall be reunited, is not till then enjoyed by them, and therefore may safely and fitly be prayed for them, (in the same manner as Christ prays to his Father *to glorify him with that glory which he had before the world was.*) And this is a very distant thing from that prayer which is now used in the Romish church for deliverance from temporal pains, founded in their doctrine of purgatory, which would no way be concludible from hence, though Onesiphorus, for whom St. Paul here prays for mercy, had been now dead. Nay, it is evident that the *mercy* for which they which are conceived to be in purgatory might be the better, must be bestowed, and consequently prayed for to befall them before the day of doom, at which time all that are there are supposed by them to be released. But neither is there any evidence of Onesiphorus being then dead, nor probability of it here. For of this Onesiphorus these two things may be observed from hence: first, That his family was now at Ephesus, and accordingly he salutes it there, c. iv. 19, and consequently that there was his ordinary place of abode; and agreeably it is here said of him, that he had *relieved* Paul when he was at Ephesus, ver. 18. and that is the reason why in an epistle to Timothy, residing in that city, this mention is made of his family: secondly, That he was at this time (when Paul wrote this) absent from his home, in all probability at Rome, (for *γετόμενος* must be rendered *being*, not *when he was*,) at least but lately departed, and so still on his way from Rome, where Paul was a prisoner, and where Onesiphorus had sought and found him out, ver. 17, and *without fear visited and relieved him*. And this is a fair account why Paul writing to Timothy, where his family was, mentioned them with so much kindness, but joins not him in that remembrance because he was at Rome, from whence, and not at Ephesus, to which he wrote. And so all the force of that argument is vanished.

CHAP. II.

15. [*a*] *rightly dividing*] That *ὀρθοτομεῖν*, *to divide aright*, should refer to the custom in sacrifices, which were to be cut after a certain prescribed manner, and of them some parts given to the priests, &c., may probably be imagined: but another notion of the phrase here, as it is joined with *the word of truth*, may seem more probable. For in the Old Testament the Greek translators' use of the word belongs to a way or path to go in, which was wont to be cut out, that it might be fitter for use; thence the Latin phrase *viam secare*, "to cut a way," that is, to go before, and direct any in their journey. And with the word *ὀρθός*, *right*, joined with it, it is to go before one, and direct him the straight way to such a place. Thus *ὀρθοτομεῖν ὁδόν*, Prov. iii. 6, and xi. 5, is the rendering of *רָשׁ*, which signifies to *set right*, or *rectify*: and so to *cut a way right*, is to put one and keep one in the right way. We render it *direct thy paths* and *way*, in those places of the Proverbs; and then the gospel of Christ, *the word of truth*, being most fitly resembled to a way (much better than to a sacrifice) *ὀρθοτομεῖν λόγον ἀληθείας*, "rightly to cut the word of truth, is to go uprightly and according to the truth before others in Christianity. And that was Timothy's part, as a

doctor or bishop, to lead them both by his example and doctrine the right way that is prescribed by Christ, without falling into any errors or ill practice.

16. [b] *shun* The Hebrew סבב *circumdedit* signifies also *divertit*, turning away or back, as well as *going round*, and is by the Septuagint or Greek translator of the Old Testament rendered not only *κυκλῶ* often, *to encompass*, and *περίσστημι* once, Josh. vi. 3, but also *ἐκκλίνω*, *declino*, *to decline or avoid*, 1 Kings xviii. 11, and twenty times *ἀποστρέφω*, *averto*, *to put from us*, or *fly from*. From hence it is that one of these interpretations being set for the other (according to the frequent manner of these writers) or else by the power of the passive or mean, differing from the active, *περίσστημι* here, and Tit. iii. 9, signifies *to avert*, *decline*, *avoid*, *fly from*, the same with *παραιτοῦ*, *avoid*, ver. 23, for which, and in the same matter, the word *περιτρεπόμενος*, *avoiding*, is used, 1 Tim. vi. 20. Thus doth Origen use the word against Celsus, speaking of "Christ's going aside" when the Pharisees consulted to kill him, Matt. xii. 5. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἀγεννὴς τὸ μετ' οἰκονομίας περιστάμενον τοὺς κινδύνους μὴ ὁμόσῃ αὐτοῖς χωρεῖν, "It is no degenerate or cowardly thing to fly from dangers providently, and not to mix with them:" where it signifies *declining*, and so *avoiding of dangers*. And so Hesychius renders *Περίστασο*, not only *κύκλευσον*, (it should be *κύκλωσον*) *perilēthe*, *encompassing*, but also *περίφενγε*, *ἀνάρτεπε*, *avoid*, *fly from*, and *σκόπησον* *look to*, which is so to look to, to consider, as to *avoid*, Rom. xvi. 17, if there be danger in it. So Josephus of Moses, *περίστατο*, μὴ πολλοὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ μιμηταὶ γένωνται, "he avoided, or took heed, lest many should imitate the impurity of his speeches:" and 1. 2. De Bell. Jud. c. 12, τὸ ὁμνέειν αὐτοῖς *περίσταται*, *swearing is avoided by them*, in a passive sense. Who they are which are here to be avoided and taken heed of, is not obscurely set down in the following words, viz. the Gnostics, that *colluvies* of heretics, consisting of divers branches, differing one from the other, but all agreeing in opposing the truth of the Gospel, and pretending to great perfection of knowledge by the mystical interpretations of Scripture. That these are they may appear first by the *βέβηλοι κενοφωνίαι*, *profane dotages*, or *vanities*, or *empty sounds*, which are imputed to the *ψευδάνυμος γνῶσις*, *science falsely so called*, that is, the Gnostics, 1 Tim. vi. 20. Secondly, by the character set upon them, that they are a growing, spreading heresy, their words *spread as a gangrene doth* when it is gotten into any part of the body, for that is the meaning of *νομὴν ἔξει*. So in St. Chrysostom, t. iii. p. 63 l. 13, *ἔδεδοίκε γὰρ μὴ ἐπιπλέον νεμεθῇ τὸ κακὸν, καὶ ὁδῷ βαδίζον διην καταλάβῃ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, "he feared lest the mischief would spread farther, and going along should seize on the whole church." The word is used of sheep, &c., feeding, and by little and little going over a whole pasture; whence among the ancients the *Νομάδες* a *wandering people*, which had no certain habitation; *vagi et incertis sedibus errantes*, saith Sallust of the Numidæ, and so Seneca calls the Scythians and Getes *vagos*, *wanderers*, that is, *νομάδας*. And it is used of fire also, spreading and devouring as it goes. So in St. Chrysostom, t. iii. p. 712, l. 30, *ὁλόκληρον τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔθνος ταύτης τῆς πλάνης ἐπενέμετο ἢ πυρὰ*, "the flame of this error spread over all the Galatians." And so of many other things,

—'Ἐπίων δὲ πολλὸν νόμος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,

in Hesiod, "words wander here and there unrestrained." And Chrysostom, t. iv. p. 710, l. 1. κύων μετὰ προβάτων νέμεται, *the dog wanders, goes about, with the sheep*, for sure he eats not grass with them. And so Num. xiv. 33, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἔσονται νεμόμενοι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, *your children shall wander in the wilderness*. So in *Dorotheus, νομή ἐστι, *it spreads, it goes farther every day*. And so this heresy coming with those baits to the flesh, security from persecutions, and indulgence to all carnality, debauched many wheresoever it came; and accordingly ch. iv. 3, the Apostle foresees that within a while they will spread so wide, that *sound doctrine from Timothy will not be endured*. Thirdly, by the growing of the heresy in its own dimensions, every day adding some new opinions to it, and those still more impious than the former, which is the meaning of ἐπὶ πλείον προκόψουσιν ἀσεβείας, *they shall proceed, or advance, to more of impiety*, in the end of this verse. And an instance of this follows in Hymenæus and Philetus and some others, who *affirmed the resurrection to be past already*, and so denied any future resurrection: which very thing is by Tertullian imputed to the Valentinians, (*id de se Valentiniani asseverant*,) which though they were not yet risen, yet when they came, were a spawn of these Gnostics, and took up all the heresies which they found among them, and accommodated them εἰς ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα, *to their own manner of expression*, as Irenæus saith.

25. [c] *if God peradventure*] The notion of μήποτε here is not rightly expressed by *if so* be without any negation in it; for that is the notion of εἴποτε, the direct contrary to this. The best understanding of it will be by observing the force of it, Luke iii. 15, προσδοκούντος τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ διαλογιζομένων πάντων περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου, μήποτε αὐτὸς εἴη ὁ Χριστός, *the people being in an expectation, and all disputing in their hearts of John, not if he were, but whether he were not the Christ*. Where, in a matter of expectation or dispute about a thing, which they looked on as possible, but knew it not, the word μήποτε is used, not as if it were to them a matter of fear that it should be so, but plainly the contrary, of hope and joy that it might. And so here the bishop is to proceed in the mildest, and most winning, and not exasperating way, as considering hopefully whether it be not possible that *God may* at length be pleased to *give them repentance*, that is, to bless the bishop's instructions, that they may be a means or instrument to work upon them. As for the phrase δὲ μετάνοιαν, *give repentance*, the grounds of explaining that have been elsewhere laid, by observing the force of some verbs, both active and passive, in these books, to denote the effect or reception of the virtue in the patient, and not only the operation of the agent. Thus, Isa. liii. 1, *God's arm* is said to be *revealed*, when the revelation of it is assented to and obeyed by men, and so it is all one with *believing their report*, in the former part of the verse. And to omit many more, thus is *God's giving them an heart to perceive, and eyes to see*, Deut. xxix. 3, which signifieth their receiving this gift of God, making use of the miracles and signs and wonders, ver. 3, being effectually wrought on, having their hearts affected by them, which they that had not there, it is said of them, that *God had not given them hearts to perceive*, that is, that thus it was in the event or effect, they did not really perceive.

For that any thing should be required on God's part towards their perceiving which had not been performed by him, is unreasonable to imagine, when the catalogue is so punctual and so large, vv. 2, 3, of what *God had done among them*. So *God's giving men to Christ*, John vi., denotes their receiving and embracing of him. And so here *God's giving repentance* is their making use of God's grace and mercy and long-suffering (and the bishop's mildness, as an instrument of working on them,) their being wrought on by that means, and actually repenting, or reforming their lives upon it.

26. [d] *his will*] That τὸ θέλημα, *will*, refers not to the devil, which is the immediate antecedent, but to God, which is the remote, ver. 25, may be conjectured by the word ἐκείνου joined with it; for if it belonged to the devil, the αὐτοῦ, *his*, immediately precedent, would have served the turn, and the addition of this other demonstrative, not *ejus*, but *illius* (though our English hath no diversity or variety of words to express it,) clearly divides it from αὐτοῦ, *him*. The only difficulty will be, whether εἰς τὸ θέλημα ἐκείνου shall be thought to denote the impulsive cause, God's will or pleasure in giving repentance, (and so the words be rendered, *according to his will*,) or the terminus to which their recovering tendeth. To this latter the context seems to incline, by comparing this verse with ver. 25, for there *God's giving repentance εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν*, *to the acknowledgment*, makes εἰς, *to*, a note of the term to which that repentance tended, to wit, *the acknowledgment of the truth*, and then by analogy, ἀναήψωσιν εἰς θέλημα, *recover to the will*, will make θέλημα (*the will of God*) the term again to which (as the snare of the devil was the term out of which) they recover; and accordingly θέλημα Θεοῦ, *the will of God*, is his will to be obeyed, or practised, Ephes. vi. 6, and so our sanctification is said to be *the will of God*. As for a third possible rendering of it, that they should be said to be *taken and caught by the devil*, at or according to the will of God, permitting them so to be, that is made improbable by the punctuation, the commas before and after, ἐζωγρημένοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *taken, or caught, by him*, putting those words as in a parenthesis, and connecting εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα, *to the will of him*, to the verb precedent ἀναήψωσιν, *recover*, thus, *whether they may not recover to his will*, that is, to that state, those practices which God requires. As for the distance betwixt ἐκείνου, *of him* here, and Θεὸς *God*, ver. 25, which may make this interpretation less probable, it is very ordinarily to be observed, and in the very next chapter, vv. 8, 9, we have an example of it, where the ὡς καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων, *as also theirs*, in the end of the ninth verse, is as far distant from Jannes and Jambres in the beginning of the eighth verse, (to which it certainly refers,) as ἐκείνου is distant here from Θεός. Theophylact goes farther yet, and will have the phrase, *caught and taken by him*, refer to God also. But that cannot well be admitted, because in all reason they must be conceived to be caught by him who lays the snare, and that is the devil in the former part of the verse.

CHAP. III.

8. [a] *Jannes and Jambres*] These names of Jannes and Jambres are not to be met with in the story of the Old Testament, but are here taken out of other records of the Jews (as divers other things mentioned in the New Testament; for example, *Moses's being brought up*

in the *Ægyptian learning*, Acts vii. 22, and so likewise his age of *forty years*, ver. 23, when he went to visit his brethren, which is not in Exod. ii, but in Midrash Rabba Bereschith, and so his having beforehand some either instinct or revelation from God that he should be a deliverer of his people, which seems to be referred to Acts vii. 25, but is not in the Old Testament) they are unquestionless the names of the chief magicians who did the miracles before Pharaoh, Exod. vii. Thus in the Babylonish Talmud, tr. Menachoth ch. ix., it is shewed how Johanne and Mamre resisted Moses, saying to him in the words of the proverb, *Affers tu stramen in Afraim?* which is in effect, "Dost thou cast water into the sea?" that is, shew miracles here in Ægypt, which is so full of magicians? So in the Chaldee Paraphrase of Jonathan, Exod. vii. 11. Janis and Jambres are named, and Exod. i. 15, are said to be *princes or chief of the magicians*. In the Talmud they are called Jochanne and Maubre; in the life of Moses, Jane and Mamre; in Zohar upon Num. xxii. 22, *Jones and Jambres*; in Shalshelet, *John and Ambrose*; and in Tanchuma^y *Jonos and Jombros*. Of these and what is said of them in the Hebrew writers, see Buxtorf. Lex. Talmud. Col. ix. 545. And among the heathens, in Pliny (Nat. Hist. l. xxx. c. i.) there is talk of Moses, Jannes and Cabala (or, as other copies read, *Jotape*) which he mentions as Jews that used magic. So in Numenius the philosopher, in Eusebius Præp. Evang. l. ix. c. viii. Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς Αἰγύπτιοι, ἱερογραμματεῖς ἄνδρες, οὐδένος ἥττους μαγεύσαι κριθέντες εἶναι, &c. "Jannes and Jambres skilled in the holy things among the Ægyptians, inferior to none in the art of magic." So ² Artabanus calls them τοὺς ἱερεῖς ὑπὲρ Μίμφιν, "the priests above Memphis." So Origen contra Celsum, l. iv. p. 205, citing out of Celsus τὴν περὶ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰαννοῦ καὶ Ἰαμβροῦ ἱστορίαν, "the story of Moses and Jannes and Jambres;" and Palladius in the life of Macarius, that speaks of a κηνοτάφιον τοῦ Ἰαννοῦ καὶ Ἰαμβροῦ τῶν μάγων ἐπὶ τοῦ Φαραῶ, "a monument in a garden of Jannes and Jambres, magicians in Pharaoh's time:" but this cannot well be, if it be true which is said by an old Midrash, on Exod. xv. 10, that John and Mamre were drowned in the Red sea. And to that a MS. Arabic Catena on the Pentateuch agrees in these words: "These are the names of the magicians which stood up against Moses, *Dejannes, Jambarus, and Sarudas*, and God destroyed them with Pharaoh and his host in the Red sea." And therefore it is reasonable to conjecture, that the κηνοτάφιον or *garden-sepulchre* in Palladius should be *κενοτάφιον*, an empty monument, without either of their bodies enclosed in it, to record their sin, but not to preserve their ashes. To these Apuleius seems to refer, Apol. 2, where among the chief magicians' names he reckons Johannes. And to these St. Paul here very fitly compares the Gnostics, their chief founder Simon (and Menander and others after him) being a known sorcerer, (see note [c] on Rev. ix.) and *resisting the truth by lying wonders*, as those magicians did. And of him we find that fulfilled in the event, which is here foretold, ver. 9, that he should meet with the like fate and discovery that those magicians met with. Simon came to Rome (a second time about the tenth of Nero), grew into a great esteem with him by his sorceries, contended there with Saint Peter, as the ma-

gicians with Moses; see Prosper de dimid. temp. c. 13. *Duo magi Pharaonis, Jamnes et Jambres, resistentes Moisi—et contra Neronem Petrus et Paulus Apostoli, at contrario Simon Magus, qui et se perdidit et Neronem decepit*, “Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh, Jamnes and Jambres, two magicians of Pharaoh, resisted them. Peter and Paul, the apostles, came against Nero, but Simon Magus was on the other side, and both destroyed himself and deceived Nero,” making Simon parallel to these magicians,) and accordingly Suetonius mentions one to fly in the air, in the eleventh of Nero. But then, as the magicians were confuted and discovered, when *Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods*, Exod. vii. 12, and when they acknowledged the miracle of Moses to be *the finger of God*, Exod. viii. 19, and the boil was upon the magicians, Exod. ix. 11; so was the madness of Simon and his sectaries manifested to all men, when he was cast down by the prayer of St. Peter. And of this these words of St. Paul are a direct prophecy in this place. This history of Simon is thus mentioned by Arnobius, l. 2, cont. Gent. speaking of Rome, *In qua cum homines essent Numæ regis artibus atque antiquis superstitionibus occupati, non distulerunt tamen res patrias linquere, et veritati coalescere Christianæ. Viderant enim currum Simonis Magi, et quadrigas igneas Petri ore difflatas, et nominato Christo evanuisse. Viderant fidentem diis falsis, et ab iisdem metuentibus proditum, pondere præcipitatum suo cruribus jacuisse præfractis, post deinde perlatum Brundam, cruciatibus et pudore defessum ex altissimi culminis se rursum præcipitasse fastigio*. “They that had been used to Numa's arts and ancient superstitions (the heathen Romans) forsook all and followed Christ, having seen Simon Magus's chariot and fiery horses dispelled with a Peter's mouth, and vanish at the name of Christ, and seeing him that relied on his false gods betrayed by them and fall headlong on the ground, breaking his legs with the weight; and after that, being brought to Brunda, being tormented and ashamed, he cast himself down again from the top of a high house, and so perished.” So St. Cyrill in his sixth Catechism, Ἐπ'ἀνήσέ τε, &c. “He so deceived the city of Rome, that Claudius set him up a statue, and after his heresy diffusing itself, Peter and Paul, governors of that church, destroyed him, setting himself out, and being by others esteemed and worshipped as a god; for when Simon undertook to fly, and was carried up in the air by a chariot of the devil's, these servants of God falling on their knees cast against him [that dart which Christ directs to, Matt. xviii. 19,] that weapon of agreement of two in prayer, and thereby cast him to the ground.” So Sulpitius Severus, Hist. l. ii.; St. Augustin, Sermon. iii. in Natali SS. Petri et Pauli; and Isidore Pelusiote, Ἐξ ὕψους κατηνέχθη ὁ δειλαὸς πρὸς τὸν πολυθρόλλον θάνατον, &c. “Miserable creature! he was thrown down from aloft to a notorious infamous death.” And that this warning of St. Paul to Timothy belongs to those that then lived, and not to some that were to come toward the end of the world, these latter days of ours, may appear, ver. 5, by the exhortation to him to turn away from such. And upon this consideration Theophylact confesseth that by the last times may be meant those immediately following St. Paul's death, wherein Timothy should survive.

* See note [k] on 2 Thess. ii.

CHAP. IV.

7. [a] *I have fought*—] These two verses are wholly agonistical. 'Αγών is any of the four famous games, Olympic, &c. (and of that, as it signifies *suffering of afflictions*, see note [δ] on 1 Thess. ii.) Δρόμος is one sort of combat in either of those four, that of *racing*. The *ἀγών* is called *καλὸς good*, either as being in a good cause, or as νόμος, ch. ii. 5, according to the laws of the *agones*: and so his *fighting a good fight* is suffering Christianly and valiantly. Τελεῖν is *to perform*, and so τελεῖν δρόμον *to run, or perform the race*, (see note [a] on Acts xxi.) Then τηρεῖν πίστιν not referring to his whole life, but this one combat here insisted on, his danger at Rome. And then τηρεῖν πίστιν, *to keep the faith*, is to observe the gospel rules, and so not to offend against the νόμοι *laws* of the combat, (see note [a] on the title of this Epistle.) Thus in those writings that go under Trismegistus's name, we have (Κλείς. l. iv. p. 2.) ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνα ἡγωνισμένη, *the soul that hath undertaken and performed this strife, or combat, of piety*. Then the στέφανος, *crown*, that is the βραβεῖον, *the reward*, and that is here called στέφανος δικαιοσύνης, *crown of righteousness*, possibly in the notion that the Hebrew קרן (to which δικαιοσύνη, *righteousness*, is answerable) is taken Isa. xlviii. 18, Nehem. ii. 20, Psalm xxxv. 27, that is for *felicity*. As Prov. viii. 18, where *wealth and righteousness* are put together. Abenezra interprets it *felicity, or prosperity*; and so δικαιοσύνη is used Rom. vi. 16, and opposed to *death*, by which it there appears to signify *eternal life*. But it may also signify a *righteous life*, which is thus rewarded and crowned by God. Then δίκαιος κριτής, *the righteous judge*, is the βραβευτής who gives the crown to the conqueror.

13. [δ] *cloke*] The authority which I have for rendering φελόνην *the roll*, is from the ancient glossaries. Thus Phavorinus, φελόνης εἰλητὸν τὸ μάριον βέμβρανον, which without question should be written thus, τομάριον μέμβρανον, and so the explication of φελόνης will be, *a little piece of parchment folded up*, which perhaps may be all one with the μεμβράναι hereafter mentioned, because they being added with a μάλιστα δὲ, *but especially*, seem to denote somewhat which had been formerly mentioned, rather than any new thing. See St. Hierom, Ep. 125, ad Damas. q. 2.

14. [ε] *the Lord reward*] Of this form of speech Ἀποδόφη Κύριος, it is not here amiss to note that the full importance of it is no more than a prophetic denunciation or prediction that should in the just judgment of God befall. Thus some of the best MSS. read ἀποδώσει, *the Lord shall reward*; others of the ancients who read ἀποδόφη, *reward*, yet expound it ἀποδώσει, *shall reward*. So the author of the questions and answers assigned to Justin, making it πρόρρησις, *a prediction*. So Chrysostom and Theophylact ἀποδόφη, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποδώσει, it is *instead of the future, shall render*, adding that "pious men do not rejoice in or desire to hasten the punishments of the wicked," but that they foretell them, the gospel and weak believers having need of such comforts. To this may be added, that it is a vulgar Hebraism for the imperative and future tense to be used promiscuously, the one for the other. יסר Psalm vii. 9, in the future, complebitur or consumetur, "shall be consumed or fulfilled," is yet by the ancient interpreters rendered in the imperative; συνελεσθήτω, say the LXXII, "Let it be accomplished"; and so the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic, and only the vulgar

Latin retains *consumetur*, "shall be consumed." Thus on the other side, Matt. x. 13, *εἰρήνη ὑμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστραφήτω*, *Let your peace return to you*, is sure a promise from Christ, or prediction, that their peace shall return to them; and thus is it innumerable times in the sacred dialect of these books.

17. [d] *the mouth of the lion* Στόμα λέοντος, *the mouth of the lion*, is commonly thought here to signify Nero, so styled because of his cruelty. But as there is no reason to believe that Paul was now admitted to Nero's own hearing, but may more probably be thought to have been heard before some inferior judge at Rome; so it is very reasonable to expound *the mouth of the lion* as a proverbial form, to signify some present, devouring danger, from the gaping of the lion after his prey, and the direfulness of that.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO TITUS.

[a] That Titus, a convert of Paul's, after employed by him, was at length ordained by him the archbishop of the island of Crete, there to *ordain bishops in every city*, is intimated ch. i. 5, and cleared by all ancient writers. So Eusebius, l. 3. c. 4, affirms him τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, "to have been bishop of the churches of Crete." So *Chrysostom, that Titus was without doubt an approved person to whom was "committed δλόκληρος νῆσος, an entire island, καὶ τοσοῦτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσις, and the jurisdiction of so many bishops." So ^bTheodoret, that he was by Paul "ordained bishop τῆς Κρήτης μεγίστης οὔσης, of Crete, being very great, τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους χειροτονήσαι, to ordain bishops under him." So the Scholiast, Ἀπόστολος Τίτον ἐπὶ τὸ καταστήσαι ἐπισκόπους κατέλιπεν, ἐπίσκοπον πρότερον ποιήσας, "The apostle left Titus to ordain bishops, having made him bishop first." And St. Jerome in Catal. *Titus episcopus Cretæ in eadem et in circum-jacentibus insulis prædicavit evangelium Christi*, "Titus was bishop of Crete, and in it and the ambient islands he preached the gospel of Christ;" making him bishop in that island, and extending his charge to other islands also. The time when Paul thus left him at Crete seems to be rightly set by Baronius, when Paul went into Greece from Macedonia, Acts xx. 2, which he conceives he did not by land, but by sea; in which journey, saith he, by the Ægean sea he came to Crete. And this was about an. Chr. 54. Soon after this, an. 55, when he came into Greece, he is said to have written this Epistle to him, to instruct and direct him in the discharge of his office; but whether it were at Nicopolis that he wrote it, or whether it were before the beginning of the winter, which he determined to spend there, is left uncertain, ch. iii. 12.

* In Tit. 1. Hom. 1.

^b In Arg. Ep. ad Tit.

CHAP. I.

2. [b] *before the world began*] Of the word αἰών, that it signifies an age or long space of time, see note [p] on Luke i, by analogy with which αἰώνιος signifies *ancient* or *long ago*, but not always *eternal*; and χρόνοι αἰώνιοι here being spoken not of a decree, but of a promise of God's, and such as cannot be broken without lying, (which must therefore signify such a promise which was made to somebody, and not only his secret unrevealed purpose,) cannot well be interpreted of *eternity*, but of some *long time ago*, under the times of the Old Testament, such as was made to Abraham, Gen. xv. 1. And thus the phrase πρὸ αἰώνων χρόνων is all one with ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων, *from ancient generations*, Acts xv. 21, speaking of Moses's time. And accordingly αἰώνιον is oft used in the Old Testament, either for that *which is likely to last long*, or *whose beginning is long ago*. So Prov. xxii. 28, αἰώνιον for *ancient*, Esa. lviii. 12, and lxi. 4, αἰώνιον, *old*; Ezech. xxxvi. 2, αἰώνια, *ancient*. And so 2 Tim. i. 9, though the scope of the place will allow it to signify *eternity*, God's mercy being decreed to us in Christ before all time, yet the phrase of itself signifies no more than *before ancient times, long while ago*.

12. [c] *prophet of their own*] Of Epimenides the author of this verse, it is known that he took upon him to teach men how the judgments of heaven, when at any time they fell on a city, pestilence, famine, &c., were to be averted. A story of this is notorious in Diogenes Laërtius, and is set down note [g] on Acts xvii. And so saith Theophylact of him, that as he was one of the wisest men among the Grecians, so he was θειασμοῖς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοῖς προσέχων, "one that set himself to find out and teach others what ceremonies were to be used to avert the anger of the gods," (which they that did are called among the heathens *priests* and *diviners*, 1 Sam. vi. 1, 2.) He further saith of him, that he did seem μαντικὴν κατορθοῦν, *to rectify divination*, and accordingly, saith Laërtius, θεοφιλέστατος, *one very much in the favour of the gods*; but this, as it is elsewhere shewn at large, (note [n] on Luke i.) not referring only to prediction of things to come, but directing them in their duty for present actions. This gives an account of the reason why he is here called a *prophet of their own*, one so deemed by them. And as most such were among them, so was he, a poet also. Of him saith Chrysostom and Theophylact, that seeing the Cretians build a sepulchral monument to Jupiter, and worship him as one that was or had been but a man, ζηλώσας, *in zeal and jealousy and rage* for that god of his, he writes these verses to Jupiter, beginning,

Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται,

which Chrysostom makes up into a distich,

καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὧ ἄνα, σείω

Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο, σὺ δ' οὐ θάνας, ἐστὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ.

"The Cretans are always liars, for they have built thee a tomb, but thou hast never died, but shalt continue for ever." But it must here be observed, that these verses are in Callimachus's hymn πρὸς Δία, which that they are the very lines here referred to in Epimenides doth no way appear but by Chrysostom's conjecture; nay, the contrary must be concluded by the κατὰ θηρία that here follows, but not in

Callimachus. It is then most probable that Callimachus borrowed thence the first words, and added the rest of his own, and so applied it to his purpose. And then it remains that this was not the occasion of these words of Epimenides cited by St. Paul, and then all St. Chrysostom's supposed difficulties are at an end, which he raised on supposal that the verse here cited by St. Paul referred to Jupiter, (for it was no lie that Jupiter was mortal and had died.) However this were, Epimenides's words, as far as St. Paul cites them, are true, and the matter notorious, even to a proverb, that the Cretans were *liars*; and accordingly in Cebes' table, *οἱ δὲ κρητικοὶ* is justly deemed to be falsely written for *οἱ δὲ κρητικοὶ* in this notion of *κρητίζειν*, for *ψεύδεσθαι* and *ἀπατᾶν*, *lying* and *deceiving*. See Petiti Miscell. l. 4. c. 4. And so in that more general account, and not in this particular respect, St. Paul here calls them *liars*, for to that the *ἀεὶ ψεύσται*, *always liars*, in Epimenides belonged, and not to one act of theirs. So in like manner doth St. Paul take out of Aratus, and apply to the true God, those words which that heathen applied *ψευδωνύμῳ θεῷ τῷ Διὶ*, *to Jupiter falsely styled a god*, by this means stopping their mouths with testimonies out of their own authors; as to the Jews, he elsewhere argues out of the Prophets of the Old Testament, which were of force with them, and not out of the Gospels.

12. [d] *slow bellies*] What is here meant by *γαστέρες ἀργαὶ* is matter of some question. Pavorinus seems to have read it *γαστέρας ἀργοί*, and renders it *γαστρίμαργοι*, *great eaters*; and so indeed that word, proverbially used for *gluttons*, seems to be made of *γαστήρ*, *belly*, and *ἀργός*, not in the notion of *βραδύς*, *slow* or *idle*, but of *ταχύς*, *swift*, (so saith Hesychius, *ἀργούς*, *ταχείς*, and in Homer *κύνες ἀργοί* are *swift*, *eager dogs*.) and so signifies *greedy devourers*. And to this sense hath Guil. Canterus with full confidence interpreted the phrase, Nov. Lect. l. 1. c. 15. But that which to me seems more facile, is to render *γαστέρες bellies*, as Hesychius doth, *τροφῆς μόνας ἐπιμελούμενοι*, *they that take no care but for food*: and so the word *bellies* will be proverbially taken for gluttonous persons, as in Hesiod's Theogonia, from whence the latter part of this verse seems to be imitated and lightly changed,

Ποιμένες ἀγραυλοὶ, κακ' ἐλέγχεα γαστέρες οἶον.

And then *ἀργαί*, *idle*, annexed to it, will signify all those sins of uncleanness consequent to gluttony, which are also proverbially expressed by *idleness*, as in Sodom, Ezech. xvi. 49, and so seem to signify here among the Gnostic heretics in Crete.

15. [e] *Unto the pure*—] The meaning of this verse will be discerned by considering the doctrine of the Gnostics, (which here, and through this whole Epistle, he arms them against,) that talked much of Christian liberty, and extended it to the partaking of idol feasts, and to all the filthiness of the flesh, calling themselves the *spiritual* and *perfect*, to whom all these things were lawful and indifferent or free. These are they that *pervert the truth*, ver. 14, *teach things which are not lawful*, ver. 11, and are *μεμιασμένοι*, *polluted*, in the latter end of this verse. Now the notion of *lawful* or *indifferent* is here expressed by *pure*, that is, that hath no impurity or turpitude in it, defileth not the conscience. Of which sort of things the apostle here pronounceth that to them that live pure lives, and unspotted from the pollutions of the flesh, these indifferent things may thus freely be used. And this

he thus expresses, *To the pure all things are pure*, that is, they that strictly abstain from unlawful freedoms may with a safe conscience use any lawful liberties; *but to them that are defiled and unfaithful*, that is, to polluted, filthy, apostate Gnostics, *nothing is pure*, there is no place for such pretences as these, that what they do they do with a good conscience, *their mind and conscience is defiled*, they are far from those *faithful and knowers of the truth*, 1 Tim. iv. 3, who have this liberty there allowed them, their mind is polluted with pestilent errors, and their conscience with knowledge and memory of their foul sins, and so Christian liberty belongs nothing to them. That this is the meaning of *καθαροίς*, *to the pure*, and not only *to them that count these indifferent things lawful*, may appear by the latter part of the verse, where *μεμασμένοι*, *the polluted*, are set opposite to the *καθαροί*, *pure*, to whom *nothing is pure or lawful*; that is, the things that are in themselves most indifferent, are by them done in a polluted manner, their *eating things offered to idols* is far from being lawful or indifferent in them, Christian liberty can never excuse them, or be pretended for them.

CHAP. II.

2. [*a*] *aged men*] It is not certain here what is meant by *πρεσβύται*. The word may denote the *ancienter* sort of *men*, and no more: but the context seems to incline it to church officers. For this Epistle being written to Titus a bishop, who was to ordain such, and that which is here said being the enumerating the qualifications of such, it is evident that it refers to some such order, unto which, upon choice and approbation of their qualifications, some were to be received, and not others. Whereas of the *νεώτεροι* or *juniors*, that is, the ordinary Christians assumed to no office, the style is altered no more than this, that he should *admonish them to be sober*, ver. 6. Thus the Commentaries under St. Hierome's name, *Senes aetate et ordine possunt intelligi*, "Those ancient men may be here understood that are such both for age and order." But what order is here noted is uncertain still. The word *πρεσβύτερος* may seem to be that which is turned into the Latin *presbyter*, the *σ* being ordinarily turned into *r*, as *μαρτυρς*, *martyr*, *λιγυρς*, *ligur*, *κελγρς*, *celer*, and the like; and so the Commentaries under St. Hierome's name interpret it, *ecclesia seniores*, "the elders of the church." But it is much more likely that it is the order of deacon; first, because the comparing of the instructions which are here given to Titus for his province with those to Timothy for his, 1 Tim. iii. 1, doth infer this. There the qualifications of a bishop are first set down, that he should *be blameless, the husband of one wife*, &c., and so here, ch. i. 6-9, almost in the same words: both after the example of Jethro's direction to Moses for the choosing of rulers over the Israelites, Exod. xviii. 21. And proportionably as after the bishops the apostle gives Timothy directions for deacons, *the deacons likewise must be grave*, &c., ver. 8; so here the directions are given for *πρεσβύται*, that they *be sober, grave*, &c. By which it may reasonably be concluded, that the *πρεσβύται* here are the *deacons* there. And accordingly they that are here called *πρεσβυτέραις* in the feminine, but to Timothy *γυναῖκες*, *women*, only, are generally in the ancient church called *διακονίσσαι*, *deaconesses*. Secondly, it is formerly cleared, note [*a*] on Phil. i, that at the first in every city the apostles and apostolical men instituted none but a bishop and

deacons, and that there never was any bishop instituted but there were deacons also to attend upon him. To which it is consequent that here being mention of no other style which can belong to deacons, this of *πρεσβύτεροι* should denote them. As for the title of *πρεσβύτεροι*, *senes*, "ancient men," it is not improper to signify these: for as *πρεσβύτεροι*, the *elders*, in the comparative, are the governors of the church, and *νεώτεροι*, the *younger*, the ordinary believers under government, so *πρεσβύτεροι* is the middle betwixt those, the positive to *πρεσβύτεροι*, and so inferior to them, and yet superior to *νεώτεροι*, as the deacons are under the bishop, but over the brethren or ordinary believers.

3. [*b*] in behaviour] *Κατάστημα*, the noun, cometh from the verb *καταστήσαι*, which we find used ch. i. 5, and Acts vi. 3, for ordination or consecration of church-officers, according to that which grammarians have observed; *καταστὰς* (perhaps it should be *κατασταθείς*) *προχειρισθείς*, in Suidas, noting office or function committed to any. And therefore in all reason it must signify the rank of those who are thus constituted officers of the church, in the same manner as from *καταλείγειν*, used for *choosing officers* of the church, the ecclesiastical word *κατάλογος*, the *catalogue*, and *λεπὸς κατάλογος*, the *sacred catalogue*, doth frequently signify the list of ecclesiastical persons. This is that which in aftertimes was called *κανὼν*, when *οἱ ἐν κανόνι*, *they in the rule*, is the style of the officers of the church. Thus it may first appear by the context here. St. Paul giving directions to Titus for the ordaining of bishops, ch. i. 5, passes orderly to the next degree of church-officers, ch. ii. 2, under the name of *πρεσβύτεροι* and then after those succeeds *πρεσβύτερες*, as several sorts of church-officers under one another. Secondly, by the qualifications which are here set down both for the *πρεσβύτεροι* and *πρεσβύτερες*, (in like manner as for the *διάκονοι* and *γυναικες*, that is, saith Theophylact, the deaconesses, 1 Tim. iii,) which sure cannot be applied to them under the notion of *aged men* or *women*, but only as such as Titus was to *ordain in each city*. Whereas the *younger women* are mentioned in another manner, thus, vv. 4, 5, the *πρεσβύτερες* must *σωφρονίζειν τὰς νέας*, *discipline the young women to be sober*, &c., which is again an intimation of a part of the function of the *πρεσβύτερες*, to be as *σωφρονιστῆραι* among the Athenians, (of which see note [c].) Thirdly, by the word *λεποπνεῖς*, compounded of *λεπὸς*, which is the word peculiar for *sacred*, whether persons or things, that is, for those which are set apart to the service of God, (as *λεπομάρτυρες* are peculiarly *the clergy martyrs*; see note [c] on Rev. iii,) and so signifies such as having taken a sacred habit upon them, (*ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξεταζομένης*, Concil. Nic. cap. 19,) behave themselves worthy of it. Fourthly, by the nature of the word, which denotes dignity as well as age, and differs little from the word *presbyteræ*, by which the *deaconesses* are expressed by Baronius, out of some of the ancients. Thus do the Commentaries under S. Ambrose's name understand it, *Anus in statu religione digno*, reading it in the Greek *λεποπνεῖς*, where *religio* signifies those that are in some sacred function. And those under St. Jerome's name, on 1 Tim. iii. 11. *Similiter eas ut diaconos eligi jubet, unde intelligitur quod de his dicat quas adhuc hodie in Oriente diaconissas appellant*, "He commands them to be chosen in like manner as the deacons, from whence it is to be understood that he speaks of those which now in the East they call *deaconesses*." And the words are clear in the eleventh Canon of the Council

of Laodicea, *Μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβύτιδας ἦτοι προκαθημένας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι*, "those that are called ancient women, to wit, those that preside in the church, must not be ordained." Where it is clear that the *πρεσβύτιδες* are said to be *præsidentes*, a note of some function over which they were set in the church, as the addition of *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, in the church, demonstrates, (and not only of age.) And although the Canon there appoints *μὴ δεῖν καθίστασθαι*, that they should not be ordained, yet first that very prohibition is an argument that they were in the church: and to that Epiphanius agrees, Hær. 79, παρατηρήτων δὲ ὅτι ἄχρι διακονισσῶν τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπιδέηθῃ τάγμα, *χήρας τε ὠνόμαζε, καὶ τούτων τὰς ἔτι γραστέρας πρεσβύτιδας*, "It is to be observed that the ecclesiastical order" (τάγμα there and *κατάστημα* here being all one) "wanted deaconesses, and called them widows, and the elder of them *πρεσβύτιδες*" and, secondly, for the prohibition itself, it signifies no more than this, that they should not be ordained by that imposition of hands which belonged to the other superior orders in the church. For there is a double *χειροθεσία* or *imposition of hands*, saith Tharasius, *εὐλογίας* and *χειροτονίας*, or *καθιερώσεως*, of blessing, and of ordination or consecration: these were received by the first, not second way. To the same purpose is the Concil. Epaunense, Can. 21. *Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconas vocant, penitus abrogamus, solum eis penitentiae benedictionem imponendo*, that they were not to be ordained, but only received with a benediction such as is used in the absolution of a penitent. And this was first done against the heresy of the Cataphrygæ, which would have them ordained, and teach or preach in the church, (in favour of Montanus's prophetesses,) as appears by the Commentaries affixed to St. Ambrose on 1 Tim. iii. *Cataphryges erroris occasionem captantes, propter quod diaconas mulieres alloquitur, et ipsas mulieres diaconas ordinari jubere defendunt, &c., sed apostoli verbis contra sensum utuntur apostoli, ut cum ille mulierem in ecclesia in silentio esse debere præcipiat, illi e contra etiam auctoritatem in ecclesia vindicant ministerii*, "The Cataphrygæ taking occasion of their error from St. Paul's speaking to the deaconesses, defend that they are to be ordained, &c., but they use his words against his sense, and when he will not permit a woman to speak in the church, they assert their authority of ministry in the church." By which it appears what was forbidden by those Canons, the deaconesses having authority or power of officiating in the church, of preaching in opposition to St. Paul's precept of their *keeping silence*, of administering the sacrament, saith Epiphanius, (and consequently they received ordination which belonged to such,) not their being constituted officers in the church so as to serve in it: which is all that I suppose here meant by *κατάστημα*. By what hath been said, it will sufficiently appear how perfectly parallel this place is to 1 Tim. iii, where *ἐπίσκοπος, διάκονοι, and γυναῖκες, bishop, deacons, and women*, ver. 11, are just all one with *ἐπίσκοπος, πρεσβύτει, and πρεσβύτιδες ἐν κατστήματι, bishop, ancient men, and ancient women in the list* here.

4. [c] *teach the young women to be sober*—] There were in Athens some chosen persons to whom the education of youth was intrusted, and these are called *σωφρονισταί*: "Ἀρχοντές τινες χειροτονητοὶ (saith Phavorinus) δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐκάστης φυλῆς, ἐπεμελοῦντο δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων

^c Οὐχ ἱερατεύειν οὐδέ τι ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιτρέπει, Hær. 79.

σωφροσύνης, "chosen magistrates, ten in number, of every tribe, whose office it was to take care of the education of the young people:" such were the ἀρμόσυναι to the female sex among the Lacedæmonians, (see note [a] on 2 Cor. xi. 2.) And proportionably with these, it was the office of these deaconesses to instruct and take care of the younger women, and infuse all Christian practices into them.

5. [d] *keepers at home*] Οἰκουρεῖν, to keep at home, is the office of wives. See Artemidorus 'Ονειροκ. l. i. ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἰκουροῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, "wives for the most part keep at home." This Phidias expressed by the tortoise that carries her house about with her, Pausan. Eliac. 2. See Faber's Semestria, p. 29. And therefore Plutarch in his Γαμ. παραγγελμ. saith it was the custom for women among the Egyptians to use no shoes, ὅπως ἐν οἴκῳ διηρεμύσωσι, *that they might live quietly at home*. Thus the dogs being called οἰκουροί, which are used ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ κτημάτων, to keep our goods, do, saith Artemidorus, signify women, in the Oneirocritics, or *the interpreting of dreams*. So in Euripides in Oreste οἰκουρήματα signifies wives,

εἴτ' ἔνδον οἰκουρήμαθ' οἱ λελειμμένοι
φθείρουσιν,

"they that are left within doors corrupt their wives." Under this word οἰκουρεῖν are contained two things, both staying at home and taking care of the family, as in Naumachius,

Σοὶ δ' οἰκωφελίη μελέτω, οἰκόν τε φυλάσσειν,

"Thou art to take care of the profit of the house, and to look to the family." So Hector to Andromache in Homer, Ἰλιάδ. ζ'.

Ἄλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σαυτῆς ἔργα κόμισε,

Ἰστοντ' ἡλακάντην —

"Go home, and fall to thine own works;" — on which saith Eustathius, Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ οἰκίον εἶναι γυναῖξιν τὴν οἰκουρίαν γνωματεύει ὁ ποιητής, "The poet in those words delivers a moral sentence, that it is the proper employment for women to keep home, and follow their domestic affairs." Contrary to these are the περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας, *they that go about to houses*, 1 Tim. v. 13.

14. [e] *peculiar people*] The notion of περιούσιος is set down by the glossaries: περιούσιος λαός, ὁ ἔγκλητος, saith Phavorinus, ὡς τὸ Ἰσραὴλ εἰς περιουσιασμόν ἑαυτῷ, ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς κτῆμα, it signifies "acquired or purchased, as, Israel for an acquisition, that is, a possession to himself." So περιούσιος, περιποίητος, saith Hesychius, a *purchased people*; but especially as that referreth to the richness, plentifulness, excellency of the possession, περιουσία, πορισμός, πλῆθος, it denotes *wealth, plenty*, and περιουσιασμοῦ, πλῆθος, *multitude*, and περιούσιον, πολὺ περισσόν, *abundant*, and περιούσιος, πλούσιος, πολλὸς, *rich, much*, all in Hesychius. The full notion of it must be fetched from the Hebrew כֶּסֶף, from whence כֶּסֶף signifies *peculium, proprium, thesaurus, facultates, res chara*, that which is a man's *own*, his *treasure*, his *estate*, any *thing dear unto him*: and so כֶּסֶף עַם, which is generally rendered λαὸς περιούσιος, Exod. xix. 5, Deut. vii. 6, and xxvi. 18, is xiv. 2, and xxvi. 18, rendered by the Targum דְּלִבִּי, *dilectus*, "beloved," and so in Exodus also; and accordingly here it signifies a *beloved, precious, excellent people*, (for which Symmachus puts ἐξάίρετοι,) as Mal. iii. 17, כֶּסֶף is rendered by us *jewels*, and by Aquila *periúsios*.

d l. 2. p. 95.

CHAP. III.

8. [a] *good works*] That καλὰ ἔργα both here and ver. 14 should signify *honest trades or callings*, there will be small doubt or difficulty, when it is observed how ἐργάζεσθαι, *to labour*, is used 1 Cor. iv. 12, and ix. 6, of St. Paul's working in his calling, and so 1 Thess. ii. 9, and 2 Thess. iii. 8, 10-12, then by comparing Ephes. iv. 28, ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ταῖς χερσὶ, *working with his hands that which is good*, where bodily labour is called *working of good*. Thus a very ancient Greek author, Palæphatus, Περ. Ἀπιστ., speaking of Actæon, that spent all his time upon hunting, he adds, τοῦ δὲ ἀγαθοῦ πράγματος ἡμέλει, *he neglected the good thing*, that is, his business, all men being then, saith he, αὐτουργοί, *having no servants, but doing their own business themselves*, tilling the ground, &c., and he being the richest ὃς ἐγέωργει καὶ ἐργαστικώτατος ὑπῆρχε, *who was most laborious in his husbandry*; whereas this man, saith he, ἡμέλει τῶν οἰκείων, *neglected his domestic, or his own affairs*. Where ἀγαθὸν πρᾶγμα, *the good thing*, and οἰκεῖα, *his own or domestic affairs*, are all one, and signify the business of the calling. Thus Acts ix. 36, Tabitha is said to be *full of good works*, that is, a very laborious work-woman, that wrought or made many garments, ver. 39; and by that means, as it follows, was a very liberal, charitable almsgiver, gave the garments, when she had made them, to *old widows*, &c. Thus in Cicero vitæ actio signifies "a trade, or the whole business of the life," l. 1. De Nat. Deor. De actione vitæ multa dicuntur. So Gen. xlvii. 3. τί τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν; *what is your occupation?* to which they answer that they are shepherds. So in Sophocles's Œdipus, when the question is,

Ἔργον μερμινῶν ποῖον, ἢ βίον τίνα;

"What is your trade or manner of living?" the answer is,

Ποιμαίνω τὰ πλείστα τοῦ βίου ξυνεπόμεν,

"I have spent most of my time in keeping of sheep." So Jonah i. 8. Τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία; *What is thy occupation?* This may further appear by προϊστάσθαι, which is here used with it; for that signifies *to profess or work in any art or calling*. So Synesius Ep. 2. προϊστή τῆς τέχνης λαμπρῶς, "she hath followed her trade bravely." So in Cicero Pro Bomo, Qui sacerdotiis præfuerant, "the priests." In Chrysost. Hom. 31. in Rom. οἱ ἀπὸ χειρῶν ζῶντες, καὶ ἐργαστηρίῳ προεστηκότες, "they live by their hands, and profess, or work, in the shop." And this is enforced by what here follows, "for these things are profitable to men;" answerable to what is added, Eph. iv. 28, *that he may be able to give to him that needeth*, out of the fruits and earnings of his labour: and so here, ver. 14, (where the same exhortation is repeated,) he addeth πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας, *for necessary uses*, (see note [f],) that they be not ἀκαρποὶ, *unfruitful*, that is, that they may give to others, which he calls καρπὸς, *fruit*, Philipp. iv. 27, and *the fruits of righteousness*, ch. i. 11.

10. [b] *heretick*] The literal notation of the word αἰρετικὸς may best be taken from the verb αἰρερίζω, from which it immediately comes, as from δογματίζω δογματικός, and the like. What that is will be seen by these severals in Hesychius: αἰρετιέι με, προτιμωτέραν ἡγήσεται με, "to prefer before others;" αἰρερίζεν, αἰρεῖσθαι, ἀρεσκεσθαι, "to choose, to be pleased;" αἰρετιῶ (it should be αἰρερίζω) προσλαμβάνω, αἰρῶ αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν, "to take or receive others to oneself." All which put together will make up this compound, to take up an opinion upon one's own

choice or judgment, and prefer it before the doctrine established in the church, and to gather and receive disciples or followers to himself, in opposition to or separation and division from the church, according to which the heretic is defined by that learned grammarian, ὁ ἄλλό τι παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αἰρούμενος ἔχειν, "He that chooseth to have some other opinion (or doctrine) besides (or in opposition to, or preferring it before) the truth," (for so παρὰ signifies.) Where, as αἰερίζειν and αἰρεῖσθαι are all one, so αἰρεσις coming from the latter of those, αἰρεσιώτης, that comes from αἰρεσις, and αἰρετικός, that comes from the former αἰερίζω, are all one also; and both denote a leader of a faction, a teacher of some new doctrine, which, that he may get disciples to him, makes a rent or division in the church. Such were those false teachers that crept in among them, and led silly women captives, removed them from that union of the church in which before they were, and (as captives are carried by the conqueror into his own quarters, so) took them off from the society of Christians in which they had been, and led them into separated assemblies or congregations. Not that the name heretic is competent to none but those that are the first in disseminating a false doctrine, but that it belongs to all that endeavour to corrupt others and draw them into the faction with them. Such were all the Gnostics wheresoever they came, and those were principally here meant.

[c] *first and second admonition*] The first and second admonition here refers to the method prescribed by Christ in proceeding against Christian offenders, Matt. xviii. 15, but in some circumstances differs from it. There is mention of a threefold admonition, one by the injured person alone, a second by two or three taken with him, the third by the church: but here only a first and second admonition. The cause of this difference is to be taken from the quality of the person to whom this Epistle is written, Titus a bishop; whereas there the speech was addressed to every private Christian that is injured by any. Here the first admonition of the bishop carries an authority along with it far above that of the private person, and the two or three with him, and so may well supply the place of both those; and then the second here will be parallel to the third there; and so after that is despised or proved uneffectual, it is seasonable to proceed to censures, to excommunicate the contumacious, which is the meaning of the παραιτοῦ here, the avoiding of him. Thus 2 Cor. xiii. 2, immediately after the second admonition delivered by St. Paul, προλέγω τὸ δεύτερον, I foretell you the second time, (characterized, ver. 1, by in the mouth of two or three witnesses,) he tells the offenders, οὐ φείσομαι, I will not spare, but proceed to censures. And ver. 10, he tells them that this admonition is, ἵνα μὴ ἀποτόμως χρῆσθωμαι, that he may not proceed to excision or cutting off, which he there calls καθάρσεις, taking away, the word ordinarily used in the Canons for excommunication.

11. [d] *condemned of himself*] Αὐτοκατάκριτος, self-condemned, signifies not the man's public accusing or condemning his own doctrines or practices; for that self-condemnation, being an effect and part of repentance, would rather be a motive to free any from the censures of the church which were already under them, than aggravate their crime, or bring that punishment upon them. Nor yet, 2dly, can it denote him that offends, and yet still continues to offend against conscience; and

though he know he be in the wrong, yet holds out in opposition to the church. For (besides that there are very few that do so, and those known to none but God, and if that were the character of an heretic, then none but hypocrites could be heretics, and he that through pride and opinion of his own judgment stood out against the doctrine of Christ and his church in the purest times, should not be an heretic) this inconvenience would further be incurred, no heretic could possibly be admonished or censured by the church; for no man would acknowledge of himself that what he did was by him done against his own conscience, nor could any testimony be produced against him before any human tribunal, no man being able to search the heart. It is rather an expression of his separation from and disobedience to the church, and so an evidence of the *ἐξίστραπται καὶ ἀμαρτάνει*, being *perverted and sinning wilfully*, and without excuse. For he that thus disobeys and breaks off from the unity of the church, doth in effect inflict that punishment on himself which the church useth to malefactors, that is *καθαίρεσις*, 2 Cor. xiii. 10, and *ἐξαιρεῖσθαι*, *cutting off* from the church, which he being an heretic (and therein a schismatic also) doth voluntarily, without the judge's sentence: his very *αἵρεσις*, *heresy*, is a spontaneous *καθαίρεσις* or *excision*. So saith St. Hierome, "Whereas fornicators, &c. are turned out of the church, the heretic inflicts this on himself," *suo arbitrio ab ecclesia recedens*, "departing from the church out of his own choice; which departing," saith he, *proprie conscientie videtur esse damnatio*, "seems to be a condemnation of his own conscience." So in the council of Laodicea, Can. 40, after an order that no bishop shall disobey a citation from the council, it is added, *εἰ δὲ καταφρονήσῃ, ἐαυτὸν αἰτιάσεται*, "if he do despise it, he shall be conceived to accuse himself," which is the next degree to *self-condemnation*. So in the African Codex, Can. 22, it is said of a bishop that appears not on citation, *αὐτὸς καὶ ἐαυτὸν τῆς καταδίκης τὴν ψῆφον ἐκπεφωνηκέναι κριθήσεται*, "he shall be judged to have pronounced sentence of condemnation against himself," according to that of Apollonius Tyaneus in Philostratus, l. 7. c. 7. *Ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν τὸ δικάσασθαι, πῶς ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ ἐψηφίσθαι*; "He that declines a judicature, how shall he avoid the being thought to have condemned himself?" So in the Twelve Tables, *Præsenti litem addicito*, he that appears not is always cast: and so most nations have observed it, *ut absens causa caderet, ni sonnia nunciasset*, "that the absent should always lose the cause, unless he gave his just cause of being absent." So Regulæ ab Abbat. Floriac. constitutæ, *Qui non comparuerit, tanquam convictus judicabitur*, "He that appears not shall be judged convict," that is, *αὐτοκατάκριτος*. The like phrase we have on another occasion in Josephus, l. 2. c. 12. de Bell. Jud. "Oaths," saith he, "were wholly avoided, and counted worse than perjury;" *Ἦδη γὰρ καταγνώσθαι φασὶ τὸν ἀπιστοῦμενον δίχα Θεοῦ*, "For he," say they, "that is not believed without swearing is already condemned." His using an oath condemns him of lying. See Marculf. Form. l. 1. c. 37, and Hieron. Bignonius on them, Steph. Forner. Rer. Quotid. l. 6. c. 21. Justell. in the Notes on Cod. Can. Eccl. Univ. p. 38. By all which it appears, that every one which submits not to, but separates from the orthodox church, whose member and subject he is, (and this every heretic and schismatic doth,) is properly said to be *self-condemned*. His receding from the church is an

evidence that his doctrine or practice is contrary to that which the church approves; and that being received from Christ and his apostles, this singular doctrine or practice of his is condemned by the contrariety to that, and himself by his nonsubmission to the governor of the church. And therefore though to such an one, as to any other malefactor, *the first and second admonition*, ver. 10, be due, which in all that are not reformed by those is wont to bring on the sentence of excommunication, yet there is no need to proceed to that, because he, by contumacy and nonsubmission to the church ruler, inflicts this upon himself. The appointment therefore is more agreeable to his case, that men *avoid* him, ver. 10, as one that is already excommunicate by his own, and so needs not the judge's sentence.

14. [e] *ours*] The *ἡμετέροι* here are all one with the *οἱ ἐξ ἡμῶν*, *they that are of us*, 1 John ii. 19, of which he saith, *μεμενήκεισαν μετ' ἡμῶν*, *they remained with us*, contrary to the Gnostics, that broke off and separated from them. Those are described ver. 8; and in respect to them peculiarly he commands the doctrine here spoken of, of following the business of their callings, to be earnestly pressed, because those *πιστευκότες* there, the Gnostics that had been professors of the faith, wanted that lesson so much. But now he extends it to those that are not fallen off to that sect, that they be taught it too, that none *live idly* upon the score of being a Christian, or make that advantage of the liberality of other Christians, but every man *labour to earn his own living*.

[f] *necessary uses*] What *ἀναγκαία χρεία*, *necessary use*, signifies, is manifest by this place of St. Basil in his *Ἀσκητ.* p. 560. edit. Basil. *Ἄνθρωποι ὄντες δίκαιοι καὶ εὐσεβεῖς, πένητες δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ εἴποροι, πόνοις σώματος προσωμιλοῦν διηγεκῶς, τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν ταύτη ἐαυτοῖς συμπορίζοντες*, "Those that were righteous and pious men, but poor, and not furnished with necessities, continually laboured, that they might earn necessary use for themselves." Where it distinctly signifies all those things which are necessary for life, meat, drink, clothes, &c. And so Acts vi. 3, the *deacons* are set *ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης*, *over this use*, that is, the providing for the necessities of life for them that wanted, out of the stock of the church.

[4] THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO PHILEMON.

Philemon, to whom this Epistle was written, is said to have been an eminent person in Colossæ; and so that of Col. iv. 9 inclines to believe, where Onesimus, Philemon's servant, is said to be *one of them*. St. Paul had converted him to the faith, ver. 19, but that not at Colossæ, (for he had not been personally there, Col. ii. 1,) but in some other place, where he had also contracted a friendship with him. Onesimus had been his servant, and had stolen and run away from him, and coming to Rome while Paul was prisoner there, was converted by him, ver. 10, and is now returned to his master with this Epistle of

commendation, to obtain a pardon and reception for him; which consequently was written and sent from Rome, where he now was in prison, an. Chr. 59. And this at the same time that the *Epistle to the Colossians* was sent, as may be conjectured by these characters common to them; 1st, Timothy joined with Paul in the beginning; 2dly, the same salutations in the conclusion, Epaphras, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas and Lucas; and, 3dly, Archippus called upon in both to take care and look to the trust committed to him.

19. [a] *written it with my own hand*] These words are to be explained by the Roman laws: that of Ulpian among their axioms: *Si quis scripserit se fidejussisse, omnia solenniter acta videri*, "If any one write that he hath undertaken a debt, this is a solemn obliging of him;" and that of Justinian, *Ut quodcunque scriptum sit quasi actum, etiam actum fuisse videatur*, "That whatsoever is written as if it were done, seems, and is reputed to have been done." Both to this purpose, that a man is bound as much by his own hand, or confession under it, as if any other testimonies or proofs were against him of a fact or debt, or himself under a solemn obligation. So Anianus, paraphrasing on Paulus, lib. 5. Collect. t. 7. *Si scribat aliquis se quancunque summam redditurum, ita habetur quasi ad interrogata ista, Dabis? Promittis? responderit, Dabo, promitto. Ideoque ad redhibitionem tenetur*, "If any one write that he will pay such a sum, he is as much obliged as if he had answered to the ordinary interrogatories, Wilt thou give? Dost thou promise? I will give, I do promise. And therefore he is bound to make payment." So in the Novells Διαταξ. ρλς'. the distinction is put between those who in contracts γραμματεία καὶ λογοθέσια ποιῶσιν, ἃ ἐν ἀγοραῖς τίθενται, "enter in bands and obligations, which are done in courts," and those who συγγράφουσι τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, "write it under their own hands;" and presently it is added, that he is as much bound who οἰκείᾳ γράψει χειρὶ, "writes with his own hand," (whence are all those three words, ἰδιόγραφον and χειρόγραφον and συγγραφή,) as he who σύμβολον ἀγοραῖον ποιήσει, ἢ υπογράψειεν ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἐτέρων γραφέουσιν, ἢ γραμματείοις, ἢ λογοθεσίοις, "hath entered an obligation in the court, or subscribed bills written by others, or bands and obligations," such as are mentioned in the Gospel, Luke xvi. 6, Δέξαι σου τὸ γράμμα, *Take thy bill*, that is, the obligation, (wherein he was bound to the steward's master, which being in the steward's keeping he restored to him,) and by Chrysostom^e expressed by γραμματεῖον ἐκτελεῖσαι, *to give bond*. And to this kind of obligation, which is not done by any legal contract, but only *per chirographum*, or ἰδιόγραφον, refer these words of St. Paul here, ἐμῇ (that is, ἰδίᾳ) χειρὶ ἔγραψα. See P. Faber Sem. 3. 1.

^e T. iv. p. 422. l. 7.

[4] THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

Whether this Epistle were written by St. Paul hath not only of late but anciently been doubted. And as the title or superscription which is in our copy, pretending not to be a part of the Epistle, is not sufficient to conclude any more than that it was in that time when this title was prefixed believed to be St. Paul's; so there is no doubt but that it went without any superscription or known author more anciently; and so hath left some place to variety of conjectures who the author should be. St. Chrysostom in his proem to the Epistle to the Romans expresseth his opinion of it, that it was by St. Paul written at Rome in his bands; (but that cannot well be imagined, when he tells them, ch. xiii. 23, that *with Timothy, if he come shortly, he will see them*; for that signifies the author to be at liberty when he thus purposed.) Long before him Clemens Alexandrinus (as we see in Eusebius, l. 6. c. 11.) renders reasons why St. Paul prefixed not his name in the front of it, as in all other Epistles of his he had done, *Paul an Apostle, &c.*, which though it be an evidence of that ancient writer's opinion, yet it is also of its being questioned in that time, and is also an acknowledgment that it was not owned by St. Paul at the time of writing it, or then publicly acknowledged to be his. Others were anciently inclinable to father it on Barnabas, others on Clemens Romanus, others on Luke; which is a further argument of the uncertainty of it. And for the last of them, there is a passage, ch. ii. 3, which is conceived to make it more probable to be written by him than by St. Paul: for speaking of the *so great salvation*, whether that be the gospel and doctrine of Christ, or whether the deliverance of the faithful out of their persecutions, (see note [δ] ch. ii.) he saith of it, *ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντες ἐκ ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς βαυβώθη*, it was confirmed to us by them that heard it; whereas it is known of St. Paul, Gal. i. 12, that he professeth *not to have received the gospel by man, nor to have been taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ*; and so likewise of the deliverance of the faithful, of which he so often speaks so confidently, there is no doubt but among the many revelations which he had received, 2 Cor. xii. 7, this was also revealed to him. But to this the answer is easy. First, that ἡμεῖς, *us*, is not to be restrained to the writer only, but so as to comprehend those to whom he writes, as we see it used Tit. iii. 3, and Eph. ii. 5, *we being dead in trespasses, &c.*; for it follows immediately, *by grace ye are saved*; and so *we* is all one with *ye*. And, secondly, it is no new or strange thing for St. Paul to confirm the truth of the gospel by the testimony of others, and tradition from them which saw and heard. See 1 Cor. xv. 3, &c. Other κερήρια are added by the learned Hugo Grotius, from the observation of the style and idiom, which render it probable to be written by St. Luke. But as all which can be said in this matter can amount no higher than to probable or conjectural, so is it not matter of any weight or necessity that it be

defined who the author was, whether St. Paul, or St. Luke, a constant companion of his for many years, the author of two other books of the sacred canon. That which Theophylact conceives in this matter is not improbable, viz. that St. Paul wrote it in Hebrew, as being to the Hebrews, but that St. Luke, or, as some say, Clement, translated it into Greek; and consequently that there is not so much force in the argument taken from the difference of the style, to conclude against its being written originally by St. Paul, as there is in the sublimity of the sense and matter, to conclude that none but St. Paul was the author of it. And as for the author, so for the place from whence it was written, it is uncertain also, the ordinary copies reading in the subscription, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, *from Italy*, but the king's MS. ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, *from Rome*. And the argument which is produced in favour of the former, because, ch. xiii. 24, in the salutations are mentioned οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, which is ordinarily rendered, *they of Italy*, is not of much force; because that may more fitly be rendered, *they from Italy*, that is, those that came from thence to Rome, or to any other place where the author now was at the writing of it. So again, that Timothy was the bearer of this Epistle, (as is affirmed in the subscription,) it is not certain, nor, if we will judge by ch. xiii. 23, probable: for there mentioning Timothy's being *set at liberty*, it is added, *with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you*, which refers to the author's intention to bear Timothy company to them, which is not well reconcilable with Timothy's carrying this Epistle from him. So that in all these circumstances there is very little certainty. As for those to whom it is written, the Hebrews, they are the Jews Christian, which the author had known in Judea and Syria, (which all belonged to Jerusalem as the chief and principal metropolis,) who being persecuted by the unbelieving Jews, were by the infusions of the Gnostics inclined to great caution and compliances, and consequently began to forsake the Christian assemblies, and to fall off from the profession of the faith: which being the occasion of this monitory Epistle, the subject of it consequently is, to confirm them in the truth of the gospel against the Jewish pretensions, to represent the great danger and sin of falling off, and to fortify them with constancy and perseverance by many examples of faith and patience, putting them in mind of the deliverance from their persecutors, which should now very shortly befall them, ch. x. 37. That this Epistle was written in Hebrew is fancied by some, but without any reason; the Hebrews, to whom it was written, understanding and speaking Greek, from whence they are called Hellenists in many places. And accordingly the places of the Old Testament, which are cited in this Epistle, are generally set down in the words of the Septuagint's translation, which was in use with the Hellenist Jews, and read in their synagogues.

CHAP. I.

3. [a] *upholding*] The Hebrew נָשָׂא signifies two things, *fero*, "to bear," and *rego*, "to rule;" and from the latter of them it is that נָשָׂא is the ordinary word for a *prince*. Agreeably to this, φέρων, which is sometimes the rendering of the Hebrew נָשָׂא, as Num. xi. 14, Deut. i. 9, may accordingly signify *to rule, to govern, διοικῶν, to administer*, as a

e In Epist. p. 879.

commander or governor or procurator of a province; and so it is here taken to denote the regal power of Christ, to which he is advanced by his resurrection.

4. [b] *better than the angels*] When we read, Isa. lii. 13, *Behold, my servant shall prosper, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high, the Chaldee reads, my servant the Messiah.* And Abrabanel a Jew confesses, that the ancient wise men of the Jews did interpret that place of the Messiah after this manner, that the Messiah should be exalted above Abraham, above Moses, and that he should be higher than the angels themselves. And agreeably to this known doctrine of theirs it is that the apostle here writing to them thus speaks, signifying Christ to be indeed the Messiah, and so superior to the angels themselves.

12. [c] *fold them up*] That this whole text is cited out of psalm cii. 25–27, it is evident. In that place of the Psalmist, the Septuagint, or Greek translation in the ordinary copies, read, *διξεις, thou shalt fold*; and from that it is still continued here, at least our copies read it so. But there is little doubt but that the reading of the Greek there was not *διξεις, thou shalt fold*, but *ἀλλάξεις, thou shalt change*; for so the *καὶ ἀλλαγίσονται, and they shall be changed*, that follows, doth manifest; and so also the Hebrew *יִשְׁתַּחֲוּ* clearly signifies: for *הִחַו, mutavit*, is thus ordinarily applied to *changing* of garments, 2 Sam. xii. 20, *הִחַו יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, and he changed his clothes*; and Gen. xxxv. 2, *change your garments*, the same word is again used. By which it is clear, that either the copy here is by transcribers corrupted, (as it is easy to suppose, when we remember that the copies of the Greek Psalter reading *διξεις* might very easily occasion their conforming that which here they found to what was before them in the place from whence it was manifestly cited,) or else that the author himself, following the Septuagint, transcribed this testimony *verbatim* as the words then lay in the copies of the Greek Bible, and did not reform it by the original, the sense indeed, though a little changed, being not much disturbed by this other reading; it being the manner, when a man shifts or changes his suits, to fold and lay up that which is put off. If in the time of writing this Epistle the Septuagint were thus corrupted in the copies, then this is likely to be the truth of it, it being ordinary for the apostles to cite scriptures as they were found then in the Greek Bibles, though they varied from the Hebrew, because those Greek Bibles, and not the Hebrew, were in use among those to whom they wrote. But if the corruption in the psalms were of a later date, then it is probable that the transcriber of the Epistle corrupted it from *ἀλλάξεις* to *διξεις*. That one of these is the truth, there will be little ground of doubting, though which it is, it be not certain. Meanwhile the meaning of the place is clear, that the *heavens* shall be *changed*, after the manner of men's changing their clothes, putting off the old and putting on new, that is, that there shall be new heavens, a new sort of world. The heavens having no more service to do to the earth, by enlightening and shining on it, shall be changed into a form which shall be most agreeable to the present employment or use of them.

CHAP. II.

1. [a] *should let them slip*] *Παραρρῶμεν* is a phrase used from the water, which, when it is not kept within limits, falls away, runs about.

Hesychius, *Παραρρῶμεν, ἐξολισθῶμεν*, and Phavorinus, *παρπίσσωμεν*, it signifies *to be lost or fall away*; and so Prov. iii. 21, when *μὴ παραρρῆς*, *fall not away*, is set opposite to *τήρησον δὲ*, *but keep*; and so here to *προσέχειν*, *take heed*, and therefore the Syriac render it, *lest we fall*, and so the Arabic interpreter also. And accordingly Theophylact hath *μὴ ἐκπίσωμεν, μὴ ἀπολώμεθα*, *let us not fall away, let us not perish*; to note, saith he, *τὸ εὐκὸλον δλισθῶν, καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας*, “the easiness of the fall, and heaviness of the ruin.”

3. [*b*] *salvation*] It may here be matter of some question, what is the meaning of the word *σωτηρία*, *salvation* or *deliverance*. Three notions of the verb *σώζεσθαι* have been oft mentioned: one for *escaping out of the vicious customs of the world*, repentance and conversion to Christ, receiving the faith, (see note [*b*] on Luke xiii.) the other for *deliverance out of calamities*, (from whence comes a third notion, for eternal bliss in heaven, as an eternal deliverance from all evil, whether of sin or punishment:) and accordingly *σωτηρία* is oft taken for that eminent *deliverance from persecutions* which was to befall the faithful at the time of the utter destruction of the Jews, (see note [*c*] on Rom. xiii.) If the word be here used in the first notion, then it must signify the preaching of the gospel, the means of converting and bringing men to good life. And so it may possibly be, comparing the gospel here delivered by Christ with the law delivered by angels. The second notion also having two parts, one to signify a signal deliverance here, another to signify eternal salvation, it is not impossible that both here and ch. i. 14, it should belong to the latter of these, especially there where there is mention of *inheriting* it. But yet the former of these two latter notions, that for the signal deliverance of the faithful, long promised, and at the writing of this now *approaching*, and 1 Pet. i. 5, called *the deliverance ready to be revealed in the last season*, may very probably be it that is here meant in both places. In the former, ch. i. 14, where the angels are said to be sent *εἰς διακονίαν, for ministry, διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας, for them that are ready to inherit this deliverance*, that is very agreeable to the manner of expressing it elsewhere, by his *coming with his angels* or *holy myriads* to punish the Jews and rescue the faithful Christians: and accordingly in the seventh of the Revelation the angel is sent to seal the faithful, when the rest are to be destroyed by the four angels. And this deliverance being a fatherly act of mercy in God, made over by promise to all that should persevere, may well be said to be *inherited* by such; and the nearness of it at that time, every where spoken of, may be denoted by the *μέλλοντας*, their readiness to receive it, as in Peter it was *ready to be revealed*. And so for the *τηλικαύτη σωτηρία* here, if we will judge by the context, it must most probably signify this. For first, this will by the consequents appear to be the design of the whole Epistle, (see note [*a*] on the title,) to fortify the believing Jews by the approach of this deliverance: 2dly, the Epistle beginning with *God's speaking in these last times by Christ*, as he had formerly *by ordinary prophets*, ch. i. 1, and the rest of that chapter being spent in the setting out the dignity of this Prophet above all, even angels themselves, he applies it to this very matter, ch. ii. 1, that they *give heed to what hath been thus foretold by Christ, lest they should fall away*, and this enforced by the danger of so falling, vv. 2, 3, and by the greatness of this deliverance, such as was thought fit

to be foretold by Christ and his apostles, who were furnished with power of working miracles to confirm their prophecy. Where, as the *σωνηρία* that *began to be spoken of*, ver. 3, is all one with the *ἀκουσθέντα*, *the things heard*, ver. 1, so both are fitly applicable to this matter, which we know Christ solemnly foretold, Matt. xxiv, and the apostles in their preachings and in their Epistles, (see note [a] on the title of the *Epistle to the Romans*.) And thirdly, the consequents in this chapter agree to this interpretation, where Christ is set out as a king, ver. 5, *all things to be subjected to him*, which being not yet fulfilled, as long as his enemies prosper and prevail against the Christians, that is there used as an argument that some further exercise of this power of his, some deliverance of the faithful, was yet to be expected. So again ver. 9, where he is exalted by way of reward for his sufferings, that by the same way as he passed they might pass also, that is, *through persecutions to deliverance*, vv. 10, 11, and so be as his *brethren*, vv. 12, 13, which in the last verse of the chapter is expressed by his *succouring them that are tempted*, that is, relieving them that are persecuted, (for so *πειρασμός*, *temptation*, signifies :) and so on in the next chapter, where by occasion of the mention of the Israelites *provoking*, and being excluded Canaan, he re-enforceth his exhortation of *not falling off*, that they may *enter into God's rest*, which expects the Christians; which that it belongs to this matter of their deliverance from persecutions, and halcyonian days attending it, see note [c] on ch. iii. So likewise may the phrase *eis σωνηρίαν* be interpreted, ch. ix. 28. Where the mention of Christ's *second appearing or coming*, and that quite contrary to the first, (when he came to die for our sins,) a coming in power to destroy his crucifiers, may very fitly determine it to that deliverance which the persecuted Christians that held out constantly, in expectation of his making good this his promise to all such, should reap by it: but not so in any of these as to exclude, but further to comprehend that eternal deliverance which we ordinarily call *salvation*.

7. [c] *a little lower*] The Hebrew *מַעַל* hath a double notion, in respect of quantity or of time, psalm viii. 5, whence this verse is taken, as the comparison is set betwixt Enoch or Ben Adam, the lowest man on earth, and the heaven and angels; so the words will bear the first sense, that *man is little lower than the angels*: but as those words were a prophecy, and the application of them here an enunciation concerning Christ, so *מַעַל* is an adverb of time, and signifies *a little while*.

14. [d] *destroy*] That *καταργεῖν* signifies *to frustrate, evacuate, invalidate, take away all force or power from any*, hath been formerly said, note [a] on Rom. vii. And so it must be taken here: and *καταργεῖν διάβολον* will be *to evacuate or frustrate the devil's design*, and cancel that deed by which, upon sins coming into the world, men were bound over to death. For by Christ, though death temporal be not quite taken away, yet it is robbed of the sting and victory, or reigning power over man, who by Christ is rescued from death, that is, from the *κράτος* or power of it here, (as of Christ it is said, Acts ii. 24, that *it was not possible κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ θανάτου*, *for him to be held under death*;) and raised to eternal life; and meanwhile, while the body lies in the grave, it is but as in a still quiet sleep, a freedom from the pressures of this life, and so hath nothing of evil or formidable in it. This notion of the phrase doth fitly belong to it here, where it is laid as the founda-

tion of comfort to them that dread persecutions, because they *fear death*, ver. 15, by assuring them that Christ hath taken away the sting of death, and that consequently, if they that are now under pressures for Christ do not outlive them, or enjoy the promised deliverance here, yet death shall be no loss or diminution to them, they shall rise to eternal life.

16. [e] *took not on him*] The notion of ἐπιλαμβάνεται is best expressed by Chrysostom in these words, φεύγουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πόρρω φεύγουσαν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν Χριστὸς καταδιώξας κατέλαβεν, "when mankind fled, fled far from him, Christ pursued and caught hold of it." The word is interpreted by Cicero cont. Pison. by *retinere ad salutem*, i. e. *manu, aut lacinia, prehendere ac retinere eum qui se it perditum*, "to hold one back, by that means to save him, to catch by the hand or garment, and hold him that is about to destroy himself." And this Christ did by fastening on our nature in his incarnation, wherein the angels were not concerned; for he did not so to them, but only to us, according to that of the ancients, that that which was not assumed was not ransomed by him, that the nature of man being only assumed by Christ, and not the nature of angels, man only had the benefit of it; all his coming and preaching designed to bring sinful man to repentance, but not to recall or recover the lapsed angels.

CHAP. III.

3. [a] *builded the house*] Κατασκευάζειν οἶκον, *to build a house*, is here an Hebrew form of speech, in which language, as οἶκος, *house*, signifies not only the material house, but those that inhabit it, *the household or family*, so κατασκευάζειν, *to prepare or build*, is answerable to בנה, which as it signifies *to build*, so it is vulgarly used for *begetting*, so far that Ben בן, which is the ordinary word for a *son*, comes from thence; and so *to build a house* is to beget or raise a family, and κατασκευάσας οἶκον here is a periphrasis of a *paterfamilias*, "the father or master of a family."

6. [b] *rejoicing*] That *glorying* and *rejoicing* are one in the New Testament is sufficiently known, and that there is no difference unless of degrees, the glorying being the higher of the two. And so again that *hope* signifies the hope in God, reliance on him in expectation of the performance of his promise in the most improbable season, even when all things in respect of this world are most improsperous and adverse. And therefore that *hope* being the foundation of all a Christian's rejoicing, especially of that which is in time of affliction, (and accordingly the phrase used Rom. xii. 12, *rejoice in hope*.) this will clearly be the meaning of this phrase; the rejoicing in all that befalls us here, founded in a sure hope of receiving abundantly from God both here and in another world. And this is here joined with *παρησῖαν*, *free confession* of Christ in time of persecution. Thus Rom. v. 2, *καυχώμεθα, we glory or rejoice in hope of the glory of God*; which is there attended with οὐ μόνον δὲ, *and not only so, but we glory in afflictions*, ver. 3, which the apostle really doth, 2 Cor. xi. 23, *boasting* distinctly of his toils and stripes and imprisonments, and 2 Cor. xii. 9, *most gladly will I glory in my weaknesses*, that is, the afflictions that have befallen me. Contrary to which is *sorrowing as they that have no hope*, 1 Thess. iv, and forsaking or falling off through persecution.

11. [c] *my rest* What is meant by *κατάναοις μου*, *God's rest*, in this place is evident, both as it respects Moses's time and David's: one rest there was expected in Moses's time, the coming into Canaan, another in David's, the bringing the ark (to which the public service of God was consequent) to Jerusalem. So saith R. Solomon on psalm xcvi, "The land of Israel, and also Jerusalem, which is called a rest, as it is said, *This is my rest for ever, here will I dwell.*" According to which there must be in that psalm a double rest literally understood: first, that peaceable prosperous possession of the promised land of Canaan, which after all their expectation and endurance they should at last enjoy, (all that obeyed God,) whereas God's *oath* is gone out against the disobedient murmurers, (that revolted from God, and in their hearts returned to Egypt again,) that they *should never enter into that rest*. Secondly, the enjoyment of the privileges of God's presence in the ark, and afterwards in the temple, God's public and solemn *worship*. That the phrase doth certainly belong to both of these may appear by the original of it, which we have Deut. xii. 9. *Ye are not as yet come into the rest, and to the inheritance which the Lord your God giveth you*: where *the rest* is the quiet possession of that inheritance so long promised them by God, (as Ruth iii. 1, *seeking her rest* is getting her a quiet prosperous condition, and belongs there to getting her an husband which was childless, *that it may be well with thee*, as there it followeth,) and it is more fully explained, vv. 10, 11. *When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that you dwell in safety; then there shall be a place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there; thither shall ye bring your burnt offerings, &c.* Where, first, the reason is manifest why it is called God's *rest* here, because *God giveth it them*; it is an eminent act of his power and mercy that they ever come to it: 2dly, it is clear that the *rest* consists in the expulsion of their enemies, their quiet and safety, an immediate consequent of which is their peaceable public assembling to the service of God at Jerusalem. Now as it is the judgment of the learned Jews, David Kimchi, &c., that the state under the Messiah is foretypified by that *rest* of God's, העולם הבא שכולו שבת, *the age to come which shall be all Sabbath*, saith Solomon Jarchi on psalm xcii, so here it appears by this author's application of it. And accordingly we may discern what is the meaning of God's *rest*, which ch. iv. 1 is said to be promised the Christians, even that which is most literally expressed by that description of that *rest* in Deuteronomy, viz. a quiet and safety from the persecutors, prosperous, peaceable days for the public worship and service of God, which should now shortly befall the Christians by the destruction of their persecutors, the unbelieving Jews, who, as the Canaanites, when they had filled up the measure of their iniquities, should shortly be rooted out. The only thing further to be observed (and wherein the parallel was to hold most remarkably, and which is the special thing that is pressed in this place) is the fate of the disobedient murmuring Israelites, which were so impatient of the hardships that befell them in their passage toward this *rest*, that they frequently and foully fell off from God, and returned to the sins and idolatries and villanies of heathen Egypt, from whence they were rescued by God; all these were excluded from this *rest* of God's giving, their *carcasses*

fell in the wilderness, and of that whole generation only Caleb and Joshua, which were not of the number of these provokers, attained to that *rest*, were allowed entrance into Canaan. And just so the Gnostic Christians, those that in time of persecution forsook Christ, and returned to the heathenish horrid villanies from which Christianity was designed to rescue them, were never to *enter into this rest* of God's, were certainly to be destroyed with the Jews, with whom they struck in and complied, and desiring to *save their lives should lose them*, using their own ways to attain their *rest* or *quiet* should miscarry, and never have part in God's *rest*: whereas all that *have believed*, ch. iv. 3, that is, that have or shall adhere and cleave fast to Christ in the present persecutions, and never murmur nor provoke, do certainly *enter into this rest*, (as many as survive these persecutions,) happy, halcyonian days of a peaceable prosperous profession of Christianity were very shortly to attend them. And this is a sufficient means of explaining and understanding that whole fourth chapter of the *κατάναυσις* and *σαββατισμός*, the *rest* and the *sabbatism*, (as that is distinctly severed from the *seventh day's sabbath*, ver. 4,) which *ἀπολείπεται*, *remaineth* (and is now shortly to be had) *to the people of God*, the faithful, sincere, constant Christians, the *true Israelites*, ver. 9; and so vv. 10, 11, where also the parallel is observed betwixt this *rest* of God's *giving*, and that *sabbatic rest*, which God is said to have *rested on the seventh day*. For as that was a *cessation from all the works* of the six days' creation, ver. 10, so is this *rest* that is now to befall the Christians a remarkable, discernible cessation from all the toils and labours that their persecutions under the Jewish unbelievers had brought upon them, and is accordingly styled *ἀνεσις θλιβομένων*, *rest or release to the persecuted*, 2 Thess. i. 7, and *ἡμέραι ἀναψύξεως*, *days of refreshment or breathing from these toils*. See note [a] on Acts iii. According as it fell out in Vespasian's time, immediately after the destruction of the Jews. See note [d] on Rev. i. And thus when death is mentioned as the release of the confessors from their sufferings, Rev. xiv. 13, it is expressed by *ἀναπαύσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν*, their *resting from their toils or labours*. See note [e] on Rev. xiv. And it is further observable to this purpose, that the institution of the sabbath among the Jews, though it be in Exodus xx transcribed as a copy of God's seventh day's rest, yet Deut. v, where that commandment is again repeated, it is set parallel to and commemorative of the deliverance out of Egypt: *Remember thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence with a mighty hand and stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day*, ver. 15. By which it appears how fitly and with what analogy to scripture-style this deliverance from persecutions, and days of peaceable serving of God, are here styled *a rest*, that had long been promised, and now approached the Christians. For as the Jewish sabbath in some things resembled the rest after the creation, (in being a cessation from works of weight and difficulty with which formerly the person was exercised, and so also in respect of the time of observing it, the seventh day,) but in other things is the representation and commemoration of the deliverance out of Egypt, in respect of the tasks and stripes from which they were freed, and of the plentiful condition to which they were brought; so may the word *rest*, prophesied of by the

Psalmist, both as it concerned the Jews in David's time, as still future, both after the creation, and after the entering into Canaan so many years, and as it yet further respected the times of Christ, be fitly interpreted *rest* from persecutions, and have one eminent completion in this, the Christians' peaceable enjoying of Christian assemblies, which was now through the conduct of God approaching them.

CHAP. IV.

2. [*a*] *not being mixed*] If *συγκεκραμένους* be the right reading, then questionless that being joined with λόγος, the English rendering is proper, *being not mixed with faith*——. But it is certain that St. Chrysostom read it *συγκεκραμένους* in the accusative case plural, so as to be joined with *ἐκείνους*, *them*, who are said *not* to have been *profited*. This is clear by that passage in him, *ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ συγκερασθῆναι οὐκ ὤφελθῆσαν*, “for by not being mixed they were not profited,” which supposes the *not mixing* and *not profiting* to belong to the same persons. And so Theophylact expressly reads it, *μὴ συγκεκραμένους*, and upon that reading proceeds all his interpretation. If therefore this be the right reading, as not improbably it is, then the rendering is evidently this; “But the word that was heard did not profit those who were not by faith joined or united to them which heard.” Thus Theophylact interprets *μὴ συγκεκραμένους*, *τούτέστι μὴ ἐνωθέντας μηδὲ συμφρονησάντας διὰ τῆς πίστεως τοῖς ἀκούσασιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπορραγέντας αὐτῶν*, “not mixed, that is, not united or agreeing by faith with them that heard,” (that is, saith he, “that believed,” *οὗτοι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἀκούσαντες ἂν λέγοντο*, “for these are said to be hearers indeed,) but breaking off from them.” To this St. Chrysostom accords in these words, “Ὁ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν——. “This is that which he saith, They heard,” saith he, “as we hear, but they received no profit: do not you therefore think that by the hearing the word preached ye shall be profited, seeing they also heard but were profited nothing, because they believed not.” What there follows in St. Chrysostom of those that were with Caleb and Joshua, that *ἐπειδὴ μὴ συνεκράσθησαν τοῖς ἀπιστήσασιν, διέφυγον τὴν κατ’ ἐκείνων ἐξενεχθεῖσαν τιμωρίαν*, “seeing they were not joined with the unbelievers, that is, agreed not with them, they escaped the punishment which went out against them.” Theophylact professeth not to understand; “This,” saith he, “Chrysostom saith according to his great and deep wisdom,” *ἐμοὶ γοῦν τῷ ἀναξίῳ οὐκ ἔδωκε νοῆσαι πῶς αὐτὸ εἶπεν*, “but he hath not given me, unworthy man, to understand how he said it.” Where yet I suppose the riddle not so inextricable, viz. that that passage of St. Chrysostom was rather delivered *ex abundanti*, “over and above” what was necessary to the interpreting of the words, than designed to set down who were the *συγκεκραμένοι*. That he had set down clearly before, viz. that the disobedient or unbelieving Jews were they: which being said, he further adds, on the other side, that Caleb and Joshua, and those that were with them, associated not with the unbelievers, &c., which certainly was true also; for as the unbelievers joined not with them, so neither they with the unbelievers. Having thus expatiated, he retires again, and observes somewhat from the critical notation of the word; he saith not (saith he) *οὐ συνεφώνησαν*, *they consented not*, but *οὐ συνεκράσθησαν*, *they mixed not, joined not with them*; in which words he speaks not of Caleb and Joshua, as in the last period he had

done, but of those of whom St. Paul spake, that is, of unbelievers : and so I doubt not but that which follows, *τουτέστιν ἀτασιασάτους διέστησαν* is corrupt, and should be read *τουτέστι στασιαστικῶς διέστησαν*, that is, *they seditiously differed or departed from them*, who (as he adds) were all of one and the same mind ; which he observes on purpose to make the parallel more complete betwixt those provoking Israelites then, and the Gnostic heretics, referred to in that Epistle, who brake union, divided schismatically and seditiously from their bishops, as those from their leaders Caleb and Joshua. That this was his meaning, appears by his conclusion, *ἐνταῦθά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ στάσιν αὐνίττεσθαι*, *In this word he seems to me to intimate a sedition* ; which I suppose a competent evidence that *στασιαστικῶς* was the right reading. The corrupting of which word was it (as appears) which made St. Chrysostom's meaning so unintelligible to Theophylact, it being indeed by this means wholly mistaken by him. Meanwhile it is not easy to divine what caused the author of the Annotations on that place of St. Chrysostom to express his wonder whence that father took that phrase *οὐ συνεκράσθησαν*, adding that it was neither in St. Paul, nor in the place of Numbers, where *μη συγκραμένους* the participle was visible before him in that place, Heb. iv. 2.

12. [b] *the word of God*] That *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *the word of God*, should signify Christ, the eternal Word, is not impossible, it being among the Jews the known title of the Messiah, (see note [b] on Luke i,) and to that the mention of *eyes*, ver. 13, doth somewhat incline it. But this phrase being not elsewhere found in this sense in the New Testament, save only in St. John's writings, who is therefore called *θεολόγος*, it is more reasonable here to take it for *the word of God*, that is, that which had been delivered by Christ, and particularly that severe sanction and denunciation of judgment against all that hold not fast to him in time of temptation, those that openly or clancularly deny him by their words or actions. For it must be observed, that this Epistle being accommodated to the present condition of the Christians in Judæa, who were now daily solicited by the Gnostics, and drawn off from their constancy and purity, doth labour by all arguments to fortify them. And in this chapter doth it by two arguments, one depending on the other : first, from the advantages which they shall reap by a constant adhering to Christ ; not only eternal rest in heaven, an ample reward for all their persecutions whatever they are, but even in this life more peaceable days of professing and worshipping Christ, when the unbelieving Jews the persecutors should be destroyed, and that time was now *at hand*, ch. x. 37. And this hath formerly been explained to be meant by the *ἀνάπαυσις*, *rest*, that is here spoken of, a *rest* from the *labours*, that is, wearisome persecutions and pressures that lay upon them. This he resembles to the Israelites' Canaan, as in the refreshment that it yielded the people of God after a sad travail in the wilderness, so in the propriety that the faithful servants of God had in it, none but they admitted to it ; when they that had been brought out of Egypt, and received the law from God's mouth at Sinai, and so were highly favoured and dignified by him, yet upon their murmuring and falling back toward Egypt in their hearts, through impatience of hardships and the like, (herein directly parallel to the Gnostics, and those that were seduced by them, who either secretly or openly forsook Christ in time of persecutions,) were cut off

and destroyed in the wilderness, and not a man of them entered into Canaan. And accordingly the second argument is here taken from the severity of Christ's denunciations against these (every where in the gospel) which shall thus fall off from him, *the seed on the stony ground*, and they that are *scandalized in him*, and they that *seek to save their lives*, &c., which denunciation, saith the author here, shall like a divine vengeance ("sharper," saith Theophylact, "than war or sword was to the rebellious Israelites") certainly find out every one that is obnoxious to it, how secretly soever he have contrived it. This is here rhetorically and figuratively expressed by the resemblance of a priest's knife cutting up the sacrifice, proceeding and entering into the least and the most secret parts of it, the nerves the least, and the marrow the inmost parts. And all this meant but to assure them that they which thus fall off shall never be concealed. This vengeance foretold will find them out if they be not careful to make good their constancy, and so to be of the number of those to whom the *rest* is promised: which is the meaning of that exhortation, ver. 11, which this is set to back, as the reason of it, *Zōn γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, for the word of God is living*, &c. Upon which it follows, ver. 14, that we should therefore *hold fast our profession*, or avowed confession and acknowledgment of Christ, considering what he hath suffered before us, by which we may be sure that he will assist and relieve us if we stick fast to him.

13. [c] *opened*] The notion of *τραχηλίζεσθαι* here hath been much doubted of. I conceive it is most clearly that which Phavorinus thus expresses, *Τραχηλίζειν, διχοτομεῖν λέγεται, ἡγουν τὰ διὰ τῆς ῥάχews σχίζειν*, it signifies "to cut in two, to divide down the spina dorsi," (*τράχηλος* signifying, saith he, *τοὺς σπονδύλους τῶν κογχυλίων*, "the spondyls of the back-bones;") and so it belongs clearly to the custom of the priests in examining the sacrifices whether they were entire and without blemish or no. This is called *δοκιμάζειν* and *ἐξετάζειν ἱερεῖα*, "to try and search the sacrifices," (as in Lucian *Περὶ Θυσ.* *Οἱ θύοντες στεφανώσαντες τὸ ζῶον, καὶ πολὺ γὰρ πρότερον ἐξετάσαντες εἰ ἐντελὲς εἴη*, &c. *προσάγουσι τῷ βωμῷ*, "The priests put a crown on the beast's head, and having first searched it a great while, if it be perfect they bring it to the altar,") and among the fathers *μωμοσκοπεῖν*, *to look as a momus or censor*, and consider whether there were in the sacrifice any *μοῖρα* or *blemish*, whether all were *ἄμωμα καὶ ἁσινῇ*, *immaculate and unhurt*. They that did this were the *μωμοσκόποι*, who to that end used to flay the body first, and then cut it down the neck or back-bone called *τράχηλος*, and being so cut to lay it upon the altar, that the priest might search and look into the inwards, and, as Philo saith, *ὅσα ἐνὶ γαστρὶ καὶ μηροῖς ἀνακέρυπται*, "whatsoever is hid in the belly," &c. To which refers that of Solomon, Prov. xx. 27. *The spirit of the man is the candle of the Lord, searching the hidden parts of the belly*. As therefore the entrails of the sacrifice and the most secret parts are conspicuous to the priest by the help of the *μωμοσκόπος*, and by cutting the sacrifice thus down the *τράχηλος*, *neck or back-bone*, so are all before *the word of God*, the most secret things, discerned and seen into: and that is the meaning of *γυμνά* and *τετραχλησμένα*, *naked*, in reference to flaying, taking off the skin with which the flesh was clothed and covered, and cut down the back also. Thus saith Isidore Pelusiote, Ep. l. 1. 94, that the phrase here used is *ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἱερείων τῶν εἰς θυσίαν προσαγομένων*, "by a

metaphor of consecrated beasts brought to sacrifice ;" ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείναι τῶν δορῶν ἀφαιρούμενα πάσης τῆς φαινομένης ἀπογυμνοῦνται περιβολῆς, καὶ τῶν κεκρυμμένων ἐνδοθεν ἐπιδείκνυται διάθεσιν, καὶ τραχηλίζεται εἰς ἔρυναν παντὸς ὀστίου καὶ μέλους, πρὸς τὸ πάντα ἐκκαθαρθῆναι, οὕτω, &c. "For as they being flayed are made naked and divested of all the visible covering, and shew the placing of those things which were hid within, and are cut down the back-bone, to the end that he may search and look into every bone and part, that all may be cleansed (or found to be pure) before they are sacrificed ; so" &c. Hence is that of Hesychius, Τετραχλισμένα, πεφανερωμένα, and Phavorinus, ἀνακαλυμμένα· the word signifies *discovered* and *made manifest*.

16. [d] *[throne of grace]* The Jews mention a double throne of God's, כִּסֵּא רַחֲמִים, *the throne of pity or mercy*, and כִּסֵּא דִּינִי, *the throne of judgment* : and they add that, when sitting in *the throne of judgment* he sees the multitude too great of those that deserve punishment, he then removes to *the throne of mercy or pity*, that is, of pardon.

CHAP. V.

7. [a] *heard*] Εἰσακούειν, *to hear*, is used by the Greek translators of the Old Testament to express עָשָׂה, *to preserve or deliver* ; so psalm lv. 18, (to which the Greek σώζειν, which we ordinarily render *to save*, is directly answerable, and so is here joined with εἰσακούειν in the same sense :) and it is also used in other places for עָנָה, *respondit*, "answered," which is in effect the same, the *answering a prayer for deliverance* being all one with *delivering* ; so psalm xxii. 22. *Thou hast heard or answered me from the horns of the unicorn*, that is, delivered me from that great danger.

[b] *in that he feared*] Εὐλάβεια noting ordinarily a *pious fear*, doth in St. Luke (whom some think to be the author of this Epistle) denote any other kind of *fear* also : so Acts xxiii. 10, where in the commotion the commander is said to be εὐλαβηθεὶς, *afraid* that Paul would be *torn in pieces*. So מורא, φόβος, *fear*, from מָרַע, *timuit*, is rendered εὐλαβεῖσθαι Exod. iii. 6. And being here taken also in the same sense, it is yet with some difference, being here used (as many other words which denote the affections) to signify not the affection, but the object or thing itself which is feared. So 1 Pet. iii. 14. τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε, *fear not their fear*, that is, the punishments which they threaten ; and so Isa. viii. 12 (from whence the place is taken) the Hebrew, which is rendered φόβον αὐτοῦ, *his fear*, is מורא, which signifies *the terrible thing*, the object of fear, not fear itself, which is יראָה, and therefore it follows in that very place, Κύριος ἔσται φόβος, *The Lord shall be thy fear*, that is surely, the object of it, he shall be feared by thee. And so the Hebrew is in other places rendered by ὁράματα, Deut. xxvi. 8, *terrible sights or appearances* ; and ch. xxxiv. 12, θαυμάσια τὰ μεγάλα, *the great wonders or terrible things* that were done before them. So יָפֶה, *fear*, is sometimes rendered πόλεμος, *war*, Job xxii. 10, sometimes ἀλεθρος, *destruction*, Prov. i. 26 ; so Jude, ver. 23, οὓς ἐν φόβῳ σώσετε, *whom save in fear*, that is, in time of danger, as it follows, *snatching out of the fire* : so πτόησις, *terror*, is used for the thing that is feared, Prov. iii. 25, πτόησις ἐπελθούσα, *the fear approaching*, explained by ὁρμαὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐπερχόμεναι, *the assaults or violences of the wicked that come upon them*. Of these and the like words see note [g]

on Luke i. And thus εὐλάβεια will be answerable to θάνατος, *death*, preceding, as εἰσακουσθεῖς, *heard*, to σώζεσθαι, *being saved*. As for the other interpretation of the ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, taken from the notion of ἀπὸ in that place, where it is said they could *not speak ἀπὸ χαρᾶς, for joy*, or in that they were so full of joy, by analogy with which some would render this, that he *was heard in that he was so much afraid*, there will be little reason for that, even according to that analogy; his joy being the cause (and that noted by ἀπὸ) of what they did or abstained from doing, but his fear being not in like manner the cause of what another did or of what he suffered, but the pleasure or mercy of him that did hear him, that is, of God, of which this *hearing* was the effect, and not of his fear.

9. [c] *made perfect*] Τελειοῦσθαι in the agonistical notion we have formerly explained, note [d] on Phil. iii. Another notion there is of it not far distant from thence, usual among the Greek translators of the Old Testament to signify the consecration of a priest, who was to perform and pass through some ceremonies, and those being done, and he actually consecrated, he was said τελειοῦσθαι, *to be consummate*. The Hebrew word to which this is answerable is מִלֵּוּ, from מָלַח, *implevit*, to which τελειώσις is not unfitly accommodated, because τελειοῦσθαι and πληροῦσθαι, *to be perfected and filled*, are so near synonyma. The applying of this word to the consecration of a priest was perhaps from that custom of *filling the hands* of him that was consecrated with *flesh and bread*, Exod. xxix. 24. Hence the ram that was offered at the consecration of the priest is called מִלֵּוּ, *of impletions*, and the flesh again, *the flesh of impletions or fillings*, but in Greek θυσία τῆς τελειώσεως, *the sacrifice of consecration*, in the Septuagint, Exod. xxix. 34. That it is taken here in that notion may appear by the προσαγορευεῖς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς that follows as an explication of it, ver. 10, *pronounced or proclaimed or declared high priest*, which belongs to Christ after his resurrection, and not before, that being the time wherein *all power* was given unto him, viz. that power of blessing wherein the Melchisedec priesthood consists. As for the sacrifice on the cross, that was the ceremony of his consecration, answerable to that which was prescribed Exod. xxix. 11; after which he was assumed solemnly to this office of priesthood, according to that of Menander in Artemidorus Oneirocrit. l. 4, who dreamed in Greece that he was crucified ἔμπροσθεν ἱεροῦ Διὸς πόλεως, “before the temple of Diospolis or the city of Jupiter,” upon which, saith he, ἱερεὺς ἀποδεχθεὶς ἐκείνου τοῦ θεοῦ, λαμπρότερος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐπαρώτερος, “he was appointed or constituted priest of that god, and so became more splendid and wealthy than he was.”

14. [d] *strong meat*] What στερεὰ τροφή, *solid food*, literally signifies, hath no doubt or difficulty in it; it is that which is agreeable to healthy men's stomachs, and tends most to the nourishing of such, but is too hard and heavy for children or weak sickly persons, and doth rather destroy than advantage such. What it is here figuratively applied to is clear also, viz. the explication of figures or types in the Old Testament, so as to discover evangelical truths in them. As for example, the comparing of the priests under the Old Testament, whether Aaron or Melchisedec, with that which the gospel teaches us of Christ, and shewing what those typically or mystically, or in a spiritual sense signify. That these are here meant by *solid food*, appears by the discourse

which this author had now in hand, though he tell them that they are scarce *fit to receive* it. And on that occasion, by way of parenthesis, that which is here said, and at the beginning of the next chapter, comes in, after which he returns to this kind of discourse again, at the end of ch. vi, and beginning of ch. vii. *This Melchisedec, &c.* The only difficulty here to be explained is, why or how the author here falls off into this long digression, inserting this strange parenthesis in the midst of his discourse about Christ's Melchisedechian priesthood, on which he was entered here in this ch. v. ver. 10, and returns not perfectly to it again till the beginning of ch. vii. To this the solution is, that on occasion of this mystical explication of some passages in the Old Testament, he began to think of the Gnostic leaven among them, which consisted much in giving figurative mystical interpretations of the Old Testament, which being called *γνῶσις*, *knowledge*, they assumed that title of Gnostics or *knowing* men to themselves, upon this ground of their dealing so much in these interpretations, and gathering and confirming all the branches of their heresy from places of scripture perverted by that means. Upon this occasion he therefore thinks fit to tell them first, that as the interpreting scripture after this manner is a difficult task, and if it be undertaken by unskilful raw teachers it may do a great deal of hurt, so if the auditors be ignorant, and not well and habitually settled in the truth of Christianity, and somewhat conversant in the scriptures, so as to be able to judge between true and false, Christian and heretical doctrine, this way may do them a great deal of hurt, may seduce and corrupt and destroy them, as strong meat doth weak stomachs. Secondly, that this is the case of many of these Hebrews, even those that have been Christians long enough to be better proficient and judges of true and false doctrine, meaning no doubt those that had received some of these Gnostic heretical infusions, and either were already fallen off into their abominable practices, or else were very much in danger of doing thus. And of these he resolves that (though he doth not now mean to do it, ch. vi. 1, but may perhaps at some other opportunity, ver. 3, yet) it were most proper to begin with them, as with new converts or children, not yet sufficiently catechised in the principles, and to instruct them in the nature of *faith* and *repentance* from wicked abominable works, of *baptism* and the vow of it, (to forsake all carnal sins, and to stick close to Christ in despite of all temptations,) of *imposition of hands* in the absolution of those that were lapsed (as many either were already or were likely to be,) and in like manner of *the resurrection of the dead and everlasting judgment*, (which these heretics began to doubt of; see 2 Tim. ii. 18, and 1 Cor. xv. 12,) upon which he further thinks fit to warn them of the danger of such apostasy from the Christian faith, ch. vi. 4; and that enlargeth the parenthesis. And that having resolved them thus unfit to have this *solid food* allowed them, he yet proceeds, ch. vii, to give it them, entering there into this mystical divinity concerning Melchisedec's priesthood, the reason is clear; first, because this touch here given might be sufficient to avert the danger; and, secondly, because of the generality of them he was *persuaded better things*, ch. vi. 9, though of some he had reason to pass this severer censure.

CHAP. VI.

6. [a] *fall away*] What *παρὰπισόντας*, *falling away*, here notes, may best be collected from the context: and that first from the antecedents, the *illumination*, and *tasting the heavenly gift*, and *partaking of the Holy Ghost*, and *tasting the good word of God*, and *the powers of the future age*; and, secondly, by the consequents, *crucifying again*, and *putting to an open shame the Son of God*. The former shews from whence it is that they are said to *fall*, and the latter how deep the fall is that is here spoken of. The former consists of several degrees; first, *φωτισθέντας*, those that have been *enlightened*. That certainly signifies *baptism*, which among the ancients was generally called *φωτισμός*, *illumination*. And this contained under it not only the *acknowledgment of the truth*, ch. x. 26, but further also the vow of baptism, that of *forsaking all wicked ways*, and *adhering constantly to Christ to their lives' end*. Now all that were thus baptized, and thereby entered into the church, were received to absolution of all their sins past, admitted to be members of the church, and to enjoy the privileges of Christians, the mercies afforded men there, called *the gift of God*, John iv. 10. And they that have enjoyed the benefit and comfort of this for some time, may here fitly be expressed by *γευσάμενοι τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου*, *that have tasted the heavenly gift*: and that phrase being annexed to the *φωτισθέντες*, *illuminate*, with the conjunction *καὶ*, *and*, may fitly be resolved to belong to the same matter, as a fuller expression of the *φωτισθέντες*, *enlightened*, those that by being baptized have been admitted to these privileges of Christians, and have *tasted*, enjoyed them for some time. But then, as beside these of baptism and pardon of sin, there were other *χαρίσματα*, *extraordinary powers and gifts* in the church; so here, beside the mention of being *enlightened*, and *tasting the heavenly gift*, are added these other phrases, that seem to be set on purpose to denote those higher endowments: first, *Μέτοχοι γενεθέντες Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*, *made partakers of the Holy Ghost*, those which have the *Holy Ghost*, which descended on the apostles, Acts ii, communicated to them, for so had many believers at that time in the church of Judæa, (see note [d] on Acts ii, and note [c] on Acts vi:) and, secondly, *καλὸν γευσάμενοι Θεοῦ ῥῆμα, δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*, *having tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the future age*; where, first, *μέλλον αἰὼν*, *the future age*, is the very phrase used in the Septuagint, Isa. ix. 6, for the state of Christianity, where Christ is called *πατὴρ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*, *the father of the future age*, there being in the Jews' account two ages, the one before, the other after the coming of the Messiah, and the second in respect of the former called *μέλλον*, *future*, (and so *οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα*, *the future world*, ch. ii. 5, that after the coming of the Messiah,) and *מִיָּמֵינוּ*, *the after or later days*, *ἐσχάται ἡμέραι*, often mentioned in the New Testament; secondly, *δυνάμεις*, *powers*, is the ordinary word to denote *miracles*, and so *δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος* will be either those miraculous powers, extraordinary gifts, which were bestowed on believers by the coming of the Holy Ghost upon them, for the confirming themselves, and converting of others, (and so were generally the consequents and effects as of the *Holy Ghost descending on the apostles*, so of their *imposing hands* on others, and their *receiving the Holy Ghost*; for of such we oft read, that they *spoke with tongues*,

&c, which were these *δυνάμεις*, *powers*, miraculous gifts here spoken of,) or else more simply, and so as to agree with the *good word of God*, (whereby the evangelical promises are denoted,) the miraculous transcendent mercies enjoyed under the gospel. And then that will be the importance of these several sorts of phrases here put together, those that are not only baptized Christians, but furnished with extraordinary gifts and graces, and such as have had experience of the wonderful mercies and performances of Christ to Christians under the gospel. And such as were so will be the subject of this proposition. Then for the consequents, they express the degree of the fall here spoken of; they that are here supposed to have *fallen* from this state, are said *ἀνασταυρῶν*, to crucify Christ a second time, and *παράδειγμαριζειν*, that is, to inflict open punishment upon him, (see note [h] on Matt. i.) That must needs include renouncing and denying of Christ, the looking on him as such as the Jews pretended him to be when they crucified him, that is, as an impostor; and accordingly the Hebrew נָפַל, answerable to *παραινέειν*, falling away, signifies with them *apostasy*, and so מָעַל, which is oft rendered *παραινέειν*, to fall away, doth denote also, 2 Chron. xxix. 19, and elsewhere, and so the Gnostic heretics (which are in the apostle's eye) are supposed by St. John to deny Christ, and thereupon are called *ἀντιχριστοί*, *antichrists*. And both these put together seem to make up the full importance of this place, that they that being baptized illuminate Christians, endowed with extraordinary gifts, and having continued so for some time, (and so *for their time ought to be doctors*, ch. v. 12,) fall off, after all this, not only to some wasting sin, but to denying of Christ, renouncing of him, apostatizing from him, could not possibly be *again renewed to repentance*; and what that signifies will be seen note [b].

6. [b] *renew them again unto repentance*] What *ἀνακαινίζειν* signifies, may, I suppose, be best concluded by the notion of *ἐγκαίνισεν*, to dedicate, from whence we have *ἐγκαίνια*, the feast of the dedication of the altar, in the book of the Maccabees, mentioned in the Gospel. Agreeably when men, which by their creation after God's image were dedicated to his service, had fallen away from him into idolatry or sin, the receiving them to baptism upon vow of new life was the *ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν*, dedicating them anew to repentance or new life. And accordingly to prepare them for baptism they used to confess their sins, and the catechist to lay hands on them, and pray for absolution; as it is said of Constantine, *Ἐξομολογούμενος τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν ἤξιοῦτο*, "He confessed and obtained the prayers by imposition of hands," Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. 4. Consequently *πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν*, again to renew to repentance, is to use some new course of dedicating and consecrating them anew, after some foul fall or wasting sin after baptism, and that was wont to be by penance and absolution. For *μετάνοια*, *repentance*, is sometimes taken for *admission to pardon*, or the whole proceeding of the church with the penitent in order to his absolution from the censures. So *μετάνοιαν αἰτεῖν*, to ask repentance, is to demand or beg admission to that course which should prepare them for absolution, Conc. Neocæs. Can. 52, and elsewhere frequently. And so in our sixteenth Article, the *grant of repentance* is put to explain that which had been before, in king Edward's Articles, the *place for penitents*, and in the Augustan confession, *absolutionem*

impertire, "to afford absolution," art. 12, and this according to scripture-style, where to *preach repentance* is to proclaim admission to pardon upon repentance. And therefore when it is here said that it is *ἀδύνατον*, *impossible* (not to be hoped for or attained) *again to re-dedicate such an one to repentance*, the meaning will be, that such as are here spoken of, apostate Gnostics, that from so high a state of Christians, so long continued in, shall *fall off* and join with the Jews in denying of Christ and persecuting Christians, are never to hope to be received to the peace of the church again, to have the benefit of their public prayers, as ch. x. 26, it is said of such, that *there remains no more sacrifice for sin*. For although for other foul acts of sin, sacrificing to idols, &c., the ancient church, especially of the Roman communion, allowed place for reconciliation and absolution after a first offence, (some denying it to a second, *amplius nunquam*, saith Tertulian de pœn.) yet to apostates, and those which turned open obstinate enemies, after *the acknowledgment of the truth*, this was not allowed. (And accordingly we read of Julian the Apostate, that instead of praying for him, they prayed against him.) And this or the like understanding of these words seems to be the reason that the Roman church, which at first received not this Epistle, thinking it to oppose admission to the peace of the church for any act of known and gross sin after baptism, did after receive it into the canon, observing some other interpretation (reconcilable with their doctrine) of which the words were capable. And if this be not thought to come home to the force of the word *ἀδύνατον*, *impossible*, because though the church will not receive such, yet it is still possible they may; that is easily answered by observing, that that word is used sometimes to signify that which by law may not be done, though naturally it may. So Josephus against Apion, l. 2, speaking of great offenders saith, *Ἀδύνατος ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις*, "it is impossible to obtain remission of the punishment," that is, the law permits it not. One other notion there is that this place may be capable of, by applying it yet more peculiarly to the Gnostics at that time; that they that so foully fell off from Christianity through the Jewish persecutions, should in the issue never be capable of repentance, the *destruction* that, *as a thief in the night*, should come so unexpectedly on the Jews, should also involve them and sweep them suddenly away. And to this belongs that which is added ver. 8, that they were *near a curse, whose end was to be burnt*: and to that the place Heb. x. 26 very well accordeth. But the words here have generally been conceived by the ancient church to belong to the censures, and admission to penance and absolution; and to that the phrase *ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν*, *renewing to repentance*, hath a propriety, and that other may be the interpretation of ver. 8, and presuppose, and fitly be superadded to this, and not be exclusive of it.

7. [c] *blessing*] What *εὐλογία*, *blessing*, here signifies is somewhat uncertain, the word being capable of several acceptions. That which is most commodious to the matter in hand, and contrary to *κατάρα*, *cursing*, which follows, is, that it signify *praise* or *approbation*, by way of reward, the *well done good and faithful servant*, and the bliss attending it. And then, as any that doth his duty is said to be approved, and any that brings in fruit to be commended by God, (especially when it is considered that the similitude of the earth is here used to signify

men, who are capable of such payments by way of reward from God if the earth be not,) and because the similitude is not here applied, the *ἀνθρώποις* being left out, it was therefore more reasonable to use this phrase, (which belongs more properly to the man than the earth,) more signally to note that what is said of the earth is meant of the man. It is here further observable of this earth, that the thing for which it is rewarded (and for want of which the *reprobate earth is cursed*) is the *bearing fruit meet for them*, δι' οὗς γεωργεῖται, *for whom it is ploughed*, not for God that sends it the rain; which notes the persons which are meant under the representation of *the earth* to be those which had gifts given them by God for the use of others, and so signally denotes those that had *received the Holy Ghost*, and the extraordinary graces thereof, (parallel to the rain from heaven,) in order to the instructing and profiting of others: to which end they that make use of those gifts as they ought bring a great blessing on others, convert many to righteousness, and withal themselves reap the fruit of it, shine like stars: see James v. 20. And so this is a further evidence that it is not the fall of an ordinary Christian, but the apostasy of one that had been partaker of extraordinary gifts, which is spoken of in the former verses. And that may be matter of admonition to the most perfect, *not to be high-minded, but fear*, lest he thus fall after all this.

9. [d] *accompany salvation*] That ἐχόμενος signifies *adjoining*, and that proportionably to the Septuagint, who render אַחֲרָיו, *next after*, by ἐχόμενα, hath been said note [b] on Mark i; and then so it must signify here, things that *join near upon deliverance or salvation*. The only difficulty will be, what notion belongs to σωτηρία, *deliverance or salvation* in this place. And that will most probably be the temporal deliverance here, preparative to the eternal rest hereafter, this being the interpretation of the promises, ver. 12, which by faith and endurance are possessed; whereas they that now for persecutions fall off, lose both their present and future reward, are destroyed here with the Jews the persecutors, and are lost eternally.

20. [e] *after the order*] Κατὰ τάξιν, *after the order*, may here signify no more than *sicut* or *quemadmodum*, "even as" or "after the manner of:" for the words in the Psalmist are, עַל דְּבָרָיו, which Aben Ezra explains by *after the manner*, or *like as*. Not that τάξις should signify here as it would do being spoken of the Aaronical priest, for there it should signify a *natural succession in that line from Aaron*, observed among all the Levitical high priests; but only a *similitude or agreement*, in so many particulars nominated, with Melchisedek (see Cunaus De Rep. Heb.) particularly that of being a king and a priest together, which was so solemnly presignified of Christ by the prophets, and perhaps from thence taken into the heathen oracles, that about that time among the Romans the dignity of the pontificate was joined with the imperial, first by Augustus, and afterwards by the rest of the emperors. See Sueton. in August., and in Galba, c. 8, and in Claud. c. 22. And thereupon saith Tacitus An. l. 3. *Nunc deum munere summum pontificem summum hominem esse*, "Now by the gift of the gods the chief priest is the supreme man or emperor."

CHAP. VII.

4. [*a*] *spoils*] The true notion of ἀκροθίνια will be best discerned by considering the parts of it, θίνες and ἄκρα: θίνες signifies properly *swaroí*, *heaps*, whether of sand or corn, or any other goods. And Phavorinus observes that in the feminine gender it signifies (from that of heaps of sand) αἰγιαλὸς *the sea-shore*, but in the masculine it is taken for χρημάτων καὶ λίθων, *an heap of goods or stones*, and the like: so again saith he, p. 110, θίνες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ σωροὶ τῶν πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν, the word signifies *heaps of wheat or barley*; where, by the way, the ἡ πᾶσα ἀπαρχή that follows in the author, must not be taken as an interpretation of θίνες, but subjoined to ἀπαρχή τῶν θινῶν before, and accordingly the punctuation must be altered from what it is in the printed copy, thus, Ἐκ τῶν θινῶν (θίνες δὲ εἰσιν οἱ σωροὶ τῶν πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν ἡ πᾶσα ἀπαρχή.) Then for the word ἄκρα, it signifies *the top*, or *prime*, or *choice part* of any thing (as ἀκρόθρυα are the *prime part of the trees*, viz. the fruits upon them, οἱ καρποὶ δένδρικοί.) And then these two put together in composition are the *prime*, or *chief part* of whatsoever it is that is meant by θίνες: and what that is particularly in any place, the matter spoken of must determine. Thus when the notion of θίνες is that of *corn* or *fruits*, &c., then ἀκροθίνια are in the Grammarians αἱ ἀπαρχαὶ τῶν καρπῶν, *the prime, or choice, of the fruits, or first-fruits*, such as among all men were wont to be consecrated to the gods (not in order of time the first that are gathered, but) for quality the fairest or best of the heap. So when the notion of θίνες is the *heaps of goods taken in war*, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων, be it gold or other pillage, χρυσία or σκύλα, then the ἀκροθίνια are the *prime and choice* of those, ἀπαρχαὶ λαφύρων *the prime part of the prey*, which generally was dedicated and presented to God (such as is mentioned 1 Sam. xv. 21, under the title of the *chief things of the spoil, sheep and oxen, &c. to sacrifice unto the Lord in Gilgal*.) And this is by Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Euripides called ἀκροθίνια. And there is a memorable place in Arrian's *Κυνηγετ.*: Χρῆ, saith he, ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἄρχεσθαι ἀπὸ θεῶν, &c., καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀλισκομένων ἀνατιθέναι, οὐ μείον ἢ ἐν τῇ νίκῃ πολέμου ἀκροθίνια, "Men ought in hunting to begin from the gods, and to present to them the first-fruits of what they have taken, no less than in a victory in war the chief of the spoils." So when θιν signifies the *sea-shore*, then ἀκροθίνια are the *prime of those rarities as ἀνατιθέασιν οἱ ἐξ ἐμπορίας, which the merchants*, when they return from a voyage, offer up as ἀναθήματα to the gods. From these so many notations of the word, it comes not only to signify any or each of these, but in general, πᾶσα ἀπαρχή, *all the prime, or choice, of any kind*; but this καταχρηστικῶς, saith he, *by way of abuse*, not in the first propriety. Agreeably hereunto, δεκάτη τῶν ἀκροθινίων will here signify a *tithe or tenth* given to Melchisedek, as to the priest of God (not of the ἀκροθίνια, a tenth part only of them, for that were δεκάτη ἀκροθινίων, but) *tenth of all*, Gen. xiv. 20, and that tenth paid ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων, *out of the choice, or prime, or best of the store*, for that was wont to be picked out and dedicated to God. The whole difficulty then remaining will be, not whether he paid a full tithe of all the spoils, for that is already cleared by Genesis, *he gave him tithes of all*, and by this chapter, ver. 2, δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων, *a tithe from all*, to which ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων is added, not to deny what was before said, but to specify that this *tithe of all* was

chosen out of the best and choicest; but, I say, the only remaining difficulty will be, whether this tithe then paid by Abraham were of all his own possessions, and so that the notion of ἀπὸ πάντων, ver. 2, and *paid tithes of all*, Gen. xiv. 20, or whether it were only of the tithes of the spoils taken in that war against the four kings, and so that the notion of ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων here. To which I answer, first, That there is little doubt but that ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων here, and ἀπὸ πάντων, ver. 2, refer to the same thing exactly, to wit, that which, Gen. xiv. 20, is called the *tithe of all*; and if that be the *tithe of the spoils* only, then πάντα must be interpreted (with this restraint from the matter in hand) not *all his own goods*, but all that he had there with him, all that he had then acquired, all the spoils. Or if ἀκροθίνια should signify his other store, his corn and fruits at home, (as, according to the notion of the word, it is clear it may do,) then πάντα shall signify all his tithable possessions of any kind. But then, secondly, it must be considered that Abraham was not now at his own home, but in his return from the conquest over the kings, ver. 1, and that, if it should be doubted of, farther appears, because Melchisedek, king of Salem, *came out to meet him*, as a stranger in his passage, which signifies that he was then passing through Melchisedek's dominions. And he, that is, Melchisedek, *brought him forth bread and wine*, Gen. xiv. 18, not *offered bread and wine* to God, as some would have it, but, saith ^fCyril of Alexandria, ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ, *brought it out to Abraham*. And ^gPhilo Judæus mentions this act of Melchisedek as an act of bounty and hospitality, opposite to what Amalek after did to Israel: "Amalek," saith he, "met not Israel with bread and water, but Melchisedek met Abraham with bread and wine, and presented it to him, and blessed him." And ⁱJosephus Ἐχορήγησεν ὁ Μελχισέδεκς τῷ Ἀβραάμῳ στρατῷ ξένια, καὶ πολλὰν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρέσχη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτὸν τε ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ὑποχειρίους αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐχθρούς, "He brought forth gifts, and abundance of victuals to Abraham's army, and at the feast began to commend Abraham, and bless God that had subdued his enemies." All agreeing to make this "bringing forth bread and wine" to Abraham an act of regal liberality in that king of Salem toward that stranger or passenger, as his *blessing* him was of his priestly office. And therefore, thirdly, it cannot be imagined that Abraham had all his possessions there with him at that time, but only the spoils which his conquest had afforded him, and nothing else, unless there were some small remainders left of provision which he had carried out for his march. Nay, fourthly, the manner of paying tithes being not ordinarily thus, that a man should give the tenth of all his possessions, but only the tenth of his increase, much less that he should give a tenth of that all, whensoever, or as oft soever as he meets a priest, but only at the time of harvest, or whensoever he receives from God's hand any kind of increase; it will not appear reasonable that Abraham should at this time pay to Melchisedek a tithe of all his possessions, nor indeed of any thing but what he had now reaped by way of harvest, that is, of the increase that God's prospering hand had given him in the victory over those kings. And of that it is that it is here said, he presented the tithe to Melchisedek, and having done that, and allowed a

^f l. 1. Glaph. tit. de Abr. et Melchi.

^g l. 2. Sacr. legis Alleg. p. 106.

^h Antiq. l. 1. c. 18.

portion to them that went with him, Gen. xiv. 24, he restored all the rest (but what was eaten in the war, ver. 24,) to the king of Sodom, from whom it had formerly been taken : and so the truth is, of the whole tithe which Abraham gave Melchisedek, no part was of his own possessions, but only of the king of Sodom's goods, which Abraham had taken as lawful reprisal from the four kings, on whom he avenged the cause of his nephew Lot and the king of Sodom, formerly conquered by them. All which notwithstanding, it still stands good, in the fifth place, that Abraham did pay full tithe, and that of the choicest of this increase of his, that is, of the spoils taken in that war ; and that will be a sufficient example and testimony of the custom in Abraham's time of paying tithes to the priest of all our increase, of what kind soever it is. Though that this was paid to a priest of another country, ver. 6, was a peculiar dignity and honour to Melchisedek, as it is there intimated, the due being only to receive tithes of their own countrymen, ver. 5.

5. [b] *people according to the law*] Τὸν λαὸν here signifies the Jews, that people called oft τὸ ἔθνος, the nation, and ὁ λαὸς, the people, as when Caiaphas prophesies that it was expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not, and many the like ; and so here, with an addition, τὸν λαὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, the people that were under the Mosaical law, that is, punctually the Jews. And this is more probable than that κατὰ τὸν νόμον should belong to ἀποδεκατοῦν, tithe, according to the law, for that had been said before in ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν, they have commandment, and needed not again be so suddenly repeated ; and secondly, the τινέσσι, that is, that follows, seems to set τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν, their brethren, as an interpretation of what went immediately before, which cannot be of the κατὰ νόμον ἀποδεκατοῦν, tithe according to law, but will very readily be so of the τὸν λαὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, the people according to the law, in this notion of it, that people to which the law was given, the legal people, the people of the Jews.

19. [c] *draw nigh*] What is the importance of ἐγγίσειν here, will appear by the Hebrew נָדַב, which signifies promiscuously to draw nigh, and to offer. From it comes the ordinary word *Corban*, which the evangelists render a gift, viz., that which is presented and consecrated to God in the temple, and the place where the offerings were laid up was also called by that name, and τὰ δῶρα, gifts, Luke xxi. 4. So נָדַב signifies also both to draw nigh, and to offer. From the first notion of it the word ἐγγύς, near, seems to be derived, the consonants or radicals in both being the same, and accordingly it is fitly rendered by ἐγγίζω, to draw near. So Exod. xix. 22. Οἱ ἐγγίζοντες ἱερεῖς Κυρίῳ, the priests that draw nigh unto the Lord ; and Lev. xxi. 21. Οὐκ ἐγγίει τοῦ προσενεγκύν θυσίας, He shall not draw nigh to offer sacrifices. And this and the other signification of the Hebrew words are here both contained under the word ἐγγίζω to draw nigh, which is here answerable to either of those Hebrew : for that is the meaning of it here, that we by our high-priest Christ are made a kind of priests ourselves, enabled to draw nigh to God, and offer up ourselves to him, to present our bodies to him a living sacrifice, Rom. xii. 1, to lift up pure hands, 1 Tim. ii. 8, that is, to do as the priests were wont to do. This the vulgar Latin seems to have considered, when he renders ἐγγίσειν here offerre, to offer ; not as Lucas Brugensis conjectures, as if he had read προσενέγκαι, but out of the exact critical notation of the word and προσεγγίσειν among these writers and the translators of the Old Testament.

24. [d] *unchangeable*] That ἀπαράβατος here signifies *that which doth not pass from father to son*, from one successor to another, is from the nature of the word παρβαίνειν, *transire, to pass*; and so they are the words of Athanasius concerning Christ, ἀπαράβατον καὶ ἀδιάδεκτον ἔχων τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, “He hath a pontificate, or priesthood, that passeth not away, or doth not go by succession to others.”

CHAP. VIII.

9. [a] *I regarded them not*] The whole place being by this writer cited out of Jeremy, ch. xxxi. 32, some difficulty there will be to accord this part of the citation, ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, *I regarded them not*, with that which we now find in the Hebrew there. For the words בַּעֲלֹתִי בָם, as our Hebrew copies now read, ordinarily signify ἐκυρίευσα αὐτῶν, *I ruled over them*, which is very far distant both from the designed sense of that place, if we will judge by the context, and from the words, *I regarded them not*, as they are here recited. The unfitness of that rendering in that place in the prophet is visible to any reader that observes the words immediately precedent, *which my covenant they brake*, to which these other cannot connect (but rather the contrary) *and I ruled over them*, or, *I was their Lord*. Here our English have put *husband* for *Lord*, and *although* for *and*, and yet farther altered it in the margent, *Should I have continued an husband unto them?* by way of interrogation; which, as it makes the sense directly contrary to what it would be without the interrogation, so it is a confession, that that contrary sense is (in the truth) which alone is agreeable to the place. It is therefore far more reasonable to consider, that the words which are here recited in this author, and are exactly agreeable to the context in the prophet, (which is designed to set down the Israelites' breaking of covenant, and God's dealing with them by way of punishment,) are the very words by which the Greek translator had rendered that place in the prophet, which makes it necessary to conclude, that either the Hebrew copy now is in this particular varied from what it was when they translated it, or that בַּעֲלֹתִי hath some other signification than that which is ordinarily taken notice of. That all copies transcribed from hand to hand should be subject to some light changes, is nothing strange; nay, it is evident, by comparing 2 Kings xx. 12, with Esay xxxix. 1, that such mistakes have been committed: for there in a story, which in both those places is exactly the same, we now read בִּרְמַדָּךְ *Berodach* in the former place, and מֶרְדַּךְ *Merodach* in the latter, which must needs be imputed to the hand of the scribe, and not to any other original. So in the same story, in the very next verse, 2 Kings xx. 13, we read וַיִּשְׁמַע, *And Hezekiah heard*, or *hearkened*, but Isa. xxxix. 2, it is וַיִּשְׂמַח, *And Hezekiah was glad of them*; where the light change of ח into ע is visibly the error of the scribe. And so the eighteenth psalm, which was certainly delivered by David in one fixed, certain form, is yet varied in many particulars, 2 Sam. xxii., which cannot be imputed to any cause but that of the transcribers; and the Masorites' pains, coming long after these changes were come in, can give no security or fence against them. And then it is not impossible but that thus it hath happened in that place of Jeremy which is here cited. Accordingly the annotations under the name of Hugo Grotius conceive, that the Septuagint read it בחלתי, not בעלתי, and accordingly ren-

dered it ἡμέλησα, *I forsook them, regarded them not*, continued not my defence unto them, but permitted them to be often worsted by their enemies: but Mr. Mede from Capellus supposeth it to have been נעלה (which is as light an alteration, only נ for ל, as in the other נ for ח) which is also ἡμέλησα, ἀφίστηκα, ἐβδελυξα, *I neglected them, departed from them, detested or abominated*, and accordingly forsook them. Other examples of this nature we have in the New Testament, which may here fitly be taken notice of. Matt. xv. 9, we have these words, Καὶ μάτην σέβονται με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων, *In vain they worship me, teaching doctrines the ordinances of men*. This verse is taken out of Isa. xxix. 13, where yet the Hebrew reading now, וְתָהִי יִרְאָתָם אֵתִי מִצִּוּת אֲנָשִׁים מְלִמְדָה, hath nothing that can be duly rendered καὶ μάτην, *and in vain*. But by the Septuagint there, (and the Evangelist here,) it is to be believed that it was otherwise read when they so rendered it; and if for וְתָהִי in the beginning of the verse we read וְתָהוּ, and only change the points of the last word, without change of any letter, and read מְלִמְדָה, *docens, teaching*, instead of מְלִמְדָה, *taught*, it will then be exactly as the Septuagint render, and the Evangelist cites it from them: for that תָהוּ signifies μάτην, *in vain*, appears by the use of it in that sense, Isa. xlv. 18 and 19, ch. xlix. 4, and from thence it is that the idols are oft in this prophet called תָהוּ *vanity*. So Matt. xxvii. 9, 10, we have these words cited out of Jeremy the prophet, Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν τοῦ κεραμῆως, καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι Κύριος. Wherein there are many difficulties. As first, how these words come to be cited out of Jeremy, which are found in Zachary only. But that may be salved, either by saying that this was first in Jeremy's prophecy (somewhat of his not now extant, but by tradition delivered down to have been originally his) and afterward in Zachary's, according to a saying of the Jews, that *the spirit of Jeremy rested on Zachary*; or else by affirming that those latter (the x. xi. xii.) chapters of Zachary were really the prophecies of Jeremy, though, as other men's psalms are annexed to David's and Agur's proverbs to Solomon's, so these chapters of Jeremy's prophecy (perhaps not coming to light till after the captivity) are affixed to the former chapters of Zachary. A second difficulty there is, how ἔλαβον and ἔδωκαν, *they received and gave*, can here connect with συνέταξέ μοι, *the Lord commanded me*. And that may be answered also by observing that ἔλαβον, being answerable to וָאָקַח in the Hebrew, must necessarily be rendered in the first person singular, *I received*, not in the third plural, *they*, and consequently that the ν in ἔδωκαν is to be looked on as a mistake of the scribe, (conceiving that ἔλαβον had been the third person plural, and so according this unto it,) whereas both the Syriac in Matthew reads it *I gave*, and the Hebrew in Zachary וָאָשַׁלְיָא *I gave or sent*. And that this must be so read, appears by the μοι retained in all, *as the Lord commanded (not them, but) me*. But then there is a third difficulty, which can no way be salved, but by making use of the observation which we are now upon. For instead of those words in Matthew, καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι Κύριος, *according as the Lord appointed me*, the Hebrew reads in Zachary בֵּית יְהוָה, *the house of the Lord*, and the Septuagint agrees, with a little change (the addition of *eis into*) εἰς τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου, *into the house of the Lord*, rendering וָאָשַׁלְיָא, *I gave or sent*, (which belongs to laying down the price

in the purchase of the field) καὶ ἐνέβαλον, and *I cast*, as if it referred to the casting it down in the temple. For salving of which, it must first be observed that the thing to which this prophecy is applied in Matthew, is the *high-priest's buying the potter's field*, ver. 7, with that money which Judas returned to them, ver. 3, casting it down in the temple, ver. 5, which accordingly they take up, λαβόντες, ver. 6, which is an evidence that the testimony applied to that matter must be interpreted of those high-priests represented prophetically in the first person singular, ἔλαβον, *I received*, וָאֵלָמָה, καὶ ἔδωκα, and *I gave*, or parted with them, אֶל הַיּוֹצֵר, eis τὸ χωνευτήριον in the Septuagint, and eis τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμείου, for the potter's field. Secondly, the phrase בית יהוה seems to be a mistake for somewhat else, and that Mr. Mede hath very probably conjectured to be (by an easy change of כ for ב, and ד for י) בְּדֵת יְהוָה, according to the word of the Lord, as the phrase is used Esth. i. 8, 15, and often in that book, and so that will be exactly rendered by the καθὰ συνέταξι μοι Κύριος, according as the Lord appointed. And unless some such change be imagined, there will be no sense in the Hebrew: first, because בית יהוה, without any preposition before it, is to be rendered the house, not into the house, of the Lord; and secondly, because the place belonging to the high-priest's buying the field hath nothing to do with Judas's casting down the money in the temple, or house of the Lord, which act of his was precedent to the high-priest's ἔλαβον, and ἔδωκα, taking, and giving that money for that purchase. Thus again Acts xv. 17, where we read Ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατὰλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Κύριον, that the residue of men may seek the Lord, &c., the words are evidently taken out of Amos ix. 12. And yet there the Hebrew words, as now we read them, are somewhat distant, לְמַעַן יִירָשׁוּ אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי אֶדְוֹם that they may possess the remainder of Edom. And therefore both by the Septuagint's translation, and the citation in the Acts, learned men have adventured to resolve, that the Hebrew was then distant from what now we find in the copies, most probably thus, לְמַעַן יִרְשׁוּ אֶל שְׂאֵרֵי אֶדְוֹם, that the residue of men may seek the Lord, and all this by light changes of י for ד, ת for ל, and אֶדְוֹם Edom, for אָדָם, man or men, the singular number collective being oft put for the plural. So when Hos. xiv. 2, we find in the Hebrew copy which we now use, פְּרִים שְׁפָתֵינוּ, the calves of our lips, but in the Greek translator, and from thence Heb. xiii. 15, καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν, the fruit of our lips, it is possible and easy to conjecture that the ancients and true reading was פְּרִי (not פְּרִים) which signifies καρπός, fruit. These examples according in this matter (and many more discernible in the Old Testament, by comparing the Hebrew, as now we have it, with the Greek) make it not unreasonable to receive this account which hath here been given of ἡμέλησα, on occasion of which these others have been here mentioned, because omitted in their proper places. But Mr. Pocock hath given me some reason to depart from these conjectures, and adhering to the ordinary reading, to take notice of another notion of the word בעל, where it is in construction with ב. In most other places the word is used either with an accusative case after it, or with the preposition ל, and then constantly it signifies dominari, but in this place of Isaiah, and Jer. iii. 1, it is used in a peculiar different manner with ב; and then it is Kimchi's observation, as his son tells us, that wheresoever בעל is used with ב, it is taken in an ill sense; and

accordingly he interprets it in Jeremy קצתי בך, *I have loathed you*: and so Rabbi Tanchumi. It signifies, saith he, *to scorn or reject*, in the same sense as the word בורל is used, which is but a light change from ע to ה. And thus in the Arabic, which is but a dialect of the Hebrew, the word בעל signifies not only *dominari*, and *maritum esse*, but *perturbari*, *sepurari*, *fastidire*, *nauseare*, and in that sense is used in conjunction with ב, as here it is, and with *alla*. So Ebn Jannahius, whom David Kimchi commonly follows, and cites by the name of R. Jonah. And so this is a fair account of this place. The like also hath he given of that other last mentioned, Heb. xiii. 15, making καρπὸς, *fruit*, to be there taken in the notion of κάρπωμα, which the Septuagint use for an *holocaust*, which being ordinarily of bullocks, the Hebrew פרים, *calves*, may well be rendered by it. Of this see note [e] on Heb. xiii.

CHAP. IX.

1. [a] *first covenant*] That it must be read ἡ πρώτη, *the first*, without σκηνή, *tabernacle*, will appear by the authority of ancient MSS. (as, besides others taken notice of by other men, in an ancient one in Magd. Coll. library in Oxon) and of the Syriac and old Latin translation, and of St. Chrysostom, and the Greek fathers, who read it not: and then there is little doubt but the substantive to it must be διαθήκη *covenant*, mentioned in the former chapter, and called τὴν πρώτην, *the first*, in the verse immediately preceding this, ch. viii. 15, which anciently was conjoined with this, before the division into chapters. Besides, the addition of σκηνή, *tabernacle*, will not be very congruous; for then the tabernacle must be said to have in it τὸ ἅγιον κοσμικόν, *the worldly holy*, that is, the tabernacle, as appears, ver. 3, where σκηνή, *tabernacle*, is called ἅγια ἁγίων, *the holy of holies*. As for δικαιώματα, *ordinances*, see note [d] on Rom. viii., and λατρείας is in any reason to be taken, not in the genitive, but the accusative plural, and so will note sacrifices and other institutions for God's worship, which belonged to that Mosaical covenant.

4. [b] *golden pot*] It is a matter of some difficulty to determine, whether it were the ark, in which the pot of manna and the rod are here said to be kept, or more generally the holy of holies, wherein, as in a common place, both they and the ark were. For first, the phrase ἐν ᾧ, *in which*, may equally refer to σκηνή λεγομένη τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, *the tabernacle called the holy of holies*, and to κιβωτός, *the ark*: and secondly, it is positively affirmed, 1 Kings viii. 9, that *there was nothing in the ark but the tables of stone*. But then on the other side it is apparent that those tables of the law were in the ark, and therefore the mention of those being immediately subjoined to the mention of the pot and the rod, and connected distinctly with a καὶ, *the pot and the rod and the tables*, in all reason they must be thought affirmed to be in the ark, where it is certain the tables were; and, 2, it is as manifest that the ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς, *over it*, ver. 5, denotes the ark, on the covering of which, and not of the holy of holies, the cherubim were. To this difficulty that which Theophylact hath affirmed is most satisfactory, that though at that time which is referred to 1 Kings viii. 9, that is, in Solomon's time, there was nothing in the ark but the tables, yet in after-times the pot and the rod were put there, viz., in Jeremiah's time, when the ark was to be hid by him: and all this, saith he, St. Paul may be supposed

by tradition to have had from Gamaliel his master, a Pharisee; and accordingly, saith he, καὶ νῦν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τῶν Ἑβραίων συντίθενται τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, *the Hebrews, or Jews, of his time, which were of the Pharisees' sect, affirmed it to be so.*

5. [c] *glory*] Δόξα, *glory*, is here set to signify the *Schechina*, or *appearing of God*, which was wont to be by angels, of which these cherubims were the representations. See note [π] on Matt. xvi., and [a] on Mark i.

[d] *mercyseat*] The word δαστήριον is answerable to the Hebrew כַּפֶּרֶת. Now the word כַּפֶּר signifies two things, first, *to cover*, (and indeed the English word *cover* seems to come from it,) and that either simply *to cover*, or *to cover with pitch*, &c.; and, secondly, in Piel, *to cleanse*, *expiate*, and *to be propitious*. Hence it is rendered sometimes ἀσφαλτῶσαι, *to plaster*, or *cover, with bitumen or pitch*, and sometimes, most ordinarily, δάσκαμαι, ἐξιδάσκαμαι, καθарίζω, *to propitiate or cleanse*. And accordingly כַּפֶּרֶת is rendered sometimes καταπέτασμα, *a covering*, Exod. xxvi. 36, sometimes δαστήριον, *propitiatory*; and δαστήριον, *propitiatory*, when the sense is καταπέτασμα, *covering*. See note [h] on Rom. iii. And so in this place, where it notes a part of the ark, it must be taken in the notion of the Hebrew, and rendered in that sense of καταπέτασμα, *covering*, as it is Exod. xxvi. 34, and xxx. 6, or as the Hebrew, כַּפֶּרֶת, if it had been here retained, would have imported.

7. [e] *errors*] The word ἀγνοεῖν, though it signifies peculiarly *ignorance*, yet is taken among the Greek writers in the Old Testament for *sinning* indifferently. So Tob. iii. 3, Judith v. 20, Eccclus. li. 26, 1 Macc. xiii. 39, 2 Macc. xiii. 37, Eccclus. xxiii. 2, and 3 Macc. σύστημα μηδὲν ἡγνοηκόσ, *a company that had not sinned* against the king, according to the notion of the Hebrew שָׁגָה, which as it signifies *ignoravit*, *erravit*, *ignorance*, *error*, so also it signifies *defecit*, *recessit*, *falling off*, *failing*; and so here it signifies all those sins for which there was allowed expiation and sacrifice under the law, that is, all sins but those of presumption, or will.

13. [f] *sanctifieth*] Ἀγιάζειν, *to sanctify*, in this place signifies *to purify*, in the notion that belongs to the Hebrew שָׁוָה, which is sometimes rendered καθάρος, *pure*, sometimes ἅγιος, *holy*; and accordingly ἀκάθαρτα and ἅγια, *impure* and *holy*, are set opposite 1 Cor. vii. 14. So also the Hebrew קָרַח, which is vulgarly ἀγιάζειν, *to sanctify*, is used for *washing* among the Jews. See note [d] on 1 Cor. vii. Thus it appears to be used here, not only by the κεκοινωμένους, *unclean*, or *polluted*, immediately precedent, and the καθάρωτα, *cleansing*, or *purity*, following; but by the evidence of the matter here spoken of. For that was the design of the legal sacrifice, blood and ashes, to cleanse them that were legally polluted, which is the meaning of πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθάρωτα, *for the cleansing of the flesh*, that is, to make them legally clean, such as might come into the congregation again. But this still in a metaphorical signification, as *cleansing* signifies *expiation*, or obtaining pardon of sin, freeing from the inconveniences or censures that belonged to it. In this same sense the word is used ch. x. 10. *Through which will we are sanctified*, ἡγιασμένοι ἔσμεν, that is, *our sins are expiated*, *through the offering of the body of Christ once for all*, which, ver. 26, is expressed by another phrase, that *he hath now once appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself*.

16. [*g*] *be the death*—] What the word *φέρεσθαι* signifies here, will be best guessed by the context, which looks to the validity of wills and testaments, and to the pleading of them in law, to receive benefit from them. This is expressed, ver. 17, by *βεβαία* and *λοχύει*, and of this it is sufficiently known in all laws, what is here said, that *as long as the testator lives* there is no validity in his will, no pleading any thing from it, because *voluntas est ambulatoria*, say the lawyers, a man as long as he lives may change his will. In this sense may this sixteenth verse be thus interpreted, *ὅπου διαθήκη*, *Where there is a testament*, that is, where a testament is produced or pleaded, or, where a testament is a testament, or, to the confirming of a testament to the proving of a will, *ἀνάγκη*, *it is necessary*, *φέρεσθαι θάνατον τοῦ διατιθεμένου*, *that the death of the testator be brought, produced, alleged*, brought into the court, testimony brought of it; for otherwise the will will not be *βεβαία*, *firm*, nor *λοχύει*, of force, *ὅτε ζῇ*, &c., *as long as the testator is alive*, or as long as there is no *constat* of his death. Thus is the word *φέρειν* and *φέρεσθαι* used sometimes in the New Testament in a forensical sense, as *κατηγορίαν φέρειν*, *to bring an accusation*, 1 John xviii. 29, *αἰτιάματα φέρειν*, Acts xxv. 7, *to bring accusations or charges against any*, and *φέρειν κρίσιν*, *to bring or enter a suit against one*.

26. [*h*] *to put away*] *Ἀθετεῖν* properly signifies *to frustrate*, as *ἀθετεῖν βουλὴν Θεοῦ*, *to frustrate God's counsel*, that is, deprive it of (evacuate) the end of it; and so here Christ's death is *ἀθέτης αἰτίας*, *depriving sin of its end or design*, which was first to get us into its power, to reign in our mortal bodies, and then maliciously to bind us over to punishment eternal; from both which Christ's death was designed to redeem us, from living in sin, and from being punished for it, according to the two benefits of Christ's death, signified in the sacraments, grace and pardon.

CHAP. X.

25. [*a*] *day approaching*] The notion of *ἡμέρα Χριστοῦ*, *the day of Christ*, and *ἡμέρα*, *day*, and *παρουσία Χριστοῦ*, *coming of Christ*, and *βασιλεία Θεοῦ*, *kingdom of God*, and many the like, signifying that famous destruction of the Jews, hath been often mentioned. The other phrases have been gathered together from their dispersions through this book, note [*c*] on Matt. iii., and notes [*b*] [*c*] on Matt. xxiv., &c. Now for this of *ἡμέρα*, *day*, or *ἡμέρα Χριστοῦ*, *day of Christ*, although somewhat hath been said, note [*d*] on Rom. xiii., yet now more fully it must be explained. The force of the phrase may appear Zach. xiv. 1. *Behold the day of the Lord cometh, and I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken*, &c., and so in many places of the Old Testament: and accordingly in the New, Luke xvii. 24, *the Son of man, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ, in his day*, that is, when he comes to destroy Jerusalem; so Matt. xxiv. 36, *περὶ δὲ ἡμέρας ταύτης, of that day and hour*, that is, the punctual time of this destruction (not of the day of the last judgment, but of somewhat that was to come in *that age*, ver. 34,) *knows no man*. So Luke xvii. 30, *ἡμέρα, the day wherein the Son of man shall be revealed*; and ver. 31, *ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ, in that day*; and ch. xix. 40, *ἡμέραι, the days shall come in which thy enemies shall cast a trench*. So Acts ii. 20, *ἡμέρα Κυρίου μεγάλη καὶ ἐπιφανής, the great and conspicuous day of the Lord*, from which none of the Jews should escape, but only the believers: in which place, as it is cited out of Joel,

it is observable that there is first mention of *the last days*, ver. 17, (which as the Jews render *the days of the Messias*, so Peter interprets the time after the resurrection of Christ, in which the Spirit was poured out) then of this *great day*, ver. 20, which is as it were *ἐσχάτη ἐσχάτη*, *the last of the last*, forty years after his resurrection, in which Judæa was to be laid waste. So 1 Cor. i. 8, *the day of the Lord Jesus*, agreeable to the ἀποκάλυψις Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, *revelation of the Lord Jesus*, ver. 12, both of them denoting this time of judgment on unbelievers, and deliverance of the faithful. See also ch. iii. 13. So 1 Thess. v. as χρόνοι and καιροί, *times and seasons*, ver. 1, refer to this matter, (as, *the time is come*, Ezech. ii. 7;) so ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου, *the day of the Lord cometh as a thief* (the same that is said of it 2 Pet. iii. 10), belongs to this matter also. So 2 Thess. i. 10, *in that day*. So here ἐγγίζουσα ἡ ἡμέρα, *the day approaching*, as Luke xxi. 8, ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικε, *the season approacheth*, or as Joel ii. 1, ὅτι πάρεστιν ἡμέρα Κυρίου, ὅτι ἐγγύς, *the day of the Lord is come, it is nigh at hand*. So the ἡμέρα διανύζουσα, *day dawning*, is that day of judgment to the Jews, and deliverance to the believers among them, 2 Pet. i. 19; see note [g]. And that this phrase should thus signify will not be strange, when it is considered that in all languages and idioms, the word *day* signifies judgment here on earth. So ἡμέρα, 1 Cor. iii. 13, *the day shall declare*, that is, the judgment, or trial; and ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα, *man's day*, 1 Cor. iv. 3, that is, the judgment of men: so *dies* in Latin, *diem dicere*, *to implead*, and in English *a daysman*, an umpire or judge (see note [c] on Matt. iii., and note [b] on Matt. xxiv.) That this is the meaning of this place will appear by the scope of the place, which is, to comfort them which were ready to fall off from Christianity upon the continued persecutions of the Christians by the Jews, among whom these Hebrew Christians lived, as will appear in the story, Acts xi. 19, and 1 Thess. ii. 14, the approach of whose destruction must consequently be matter of comfort to them that had suffered long, and so of keeping them from falling away (see note [c] on Rom. xiii.) And, secondly, it will appear by the plain words that follow to this very purpose, to sustain their patience, ver. 37, *Yet a little while, and he that cometh*, ὁ ἐρχόμενος, that is, *Christ*, which hath promised to come to their punishment and your relief, *will come*, (and that notes this particular, the destruction of the Jews, which is called his coming, Matt. xxiv.) καὶ οὐ χρονιά, *and he will not tarry*, that notes the ἐγγίζουσαν, *the approach* of that day. And to this purpose to confirm men in patient expectation of this, without all disheartening by the delay, follow all those examples of faith, ch. xi., in which it appears that many depended by faith on performances of promises to their posterity, which were never performed to themselves personally, and so might very well fortify the Hebrews for an expectation of a far shorter time, it being now very *near at hand*. The same is expressed, when it *draws nigher at hand*, by ἐσχάτη ὥρα, 1 John ii. 18, *the last hour*.

26. [b] *For if we sin wilfully—* What is meant by this phrase, Ἐκουσίως ἁμαρτάνοντες μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, *sinning wilfully after receiving the acknowledgment of the truth*, must be collected by a brief survey of every part of the phrase. First, ἁμαρτάνειν, *to sin*, as it signifies in general any kind or sort of sin, not only deliberate, but of ignorance, or passion, or surprise, and again, not only an act, but habit or course of sin, (and is to be determined to either by the context

in any place,) so in many places it appears to signify the great sin of apostasy; so ch. iii. 17; and is applied to the apostate angels 2 Pet. ii. 4. And so here sure it must signify the sin here spoken of, ver. 23, and 25, being the *not retaining*, that is, forsaking, *the profession of their hope*, that is, the Christian profession, and ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἱερῶν, *forsaking the assemblies of public worship*, &c., which though done upon the motive of fear, to avoid persecution, yet was an apostatizing from the Christian course, and that no sudden, passionate, but weighed, deliberate act and course, and is therefore defined, ver. 38, to be an ὑποστολή εἰς ἀπώλειαν, *a drawing back to perdition*, an apostasy from the Christian profession, a preferring the advantages of the world, the preserving their own present safety, before the service and worship of God and privileges belonging to it; and accordingly this sin of these forsakers is elsewhere ordinarily expressed by *loving the world, and the things of the world*, in opposition to, and exclusion of, *the love of the Father, loving of pleasures more than of God, serving of the belly*, &c., and it is known of these Gnostics, that as they renounced the Christian profession, so they joined with the enemies (called here ὑπενάντιοι, *adversaries*, ver. 27,) against the Christians, and to save themselves calumniated and persecuted others. Now this sin thus considered is here farther expressed to be so by the mention of their former *acknowledgment of the truth*, and by their continuing in this course ἰκονίσως, *willfully after the acknowledgment of the truth*. That may be taken in a double notion: first, to signify the commission of this sin after the acknowledgment of Christianity in general, after having received the faith, and obeyed it, (which must necessarily deprive them of all excuse of ignorance or involuntariness,) as, 2 Pet. ii. 21, ἐπεγνώκειναι τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, *having acknowledged the way of righteousness*, and then ἐπιστρέψαι, *to turn*, clearly signifies. And this it is certain is contained here: for they that thus forsook the assemblies, and drew back, were the δίκαιοι, *the just*, ver. 38. But, I suppose, there is yet a farther notion of it, which must be added to this, the doing this contemptuously against the apostle's doctrine and admonition, concerning the infusions of the Gnostic heretics, and consequently a casting off the authority of the apostles and governors of the church, who acted in power of the Holy Ghost; and they that thus disobeyed were looked on and dealt with as *heathens and publicans*, desperate and incorrigible, Matt. xviii. 17. Thus saith Photius, Πολλὴ ἡ διαφορά τῶν ἐξ ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτημάτων πρὸς τὰς ἐν γνώσει καὶ μετὰ καταφρονήσεως προϊούσης ἀθεμίτους πράξεις, "There is great difference between sins committed out of ignorance, and wicked practices committed in knowledge and with contempt," Epist. p. 386. And that this was it, appears, not only by the exhortations and admonitions of the apostle through this whole Epistle, *Take heed, brethren, that there be not in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing, or apostatizing, from the living God*, ch. iii. 12, and by his laying before them the examples of the murmuring and provoking apostatizing Israelites, which lost their Canaan, and by foretelling the like vengeance that would suddenly fall on them if they did thus *depart*; but also by one end or consequent of their forsaking their church-meetings, contemning and rejecting the exhortations and admonitions of their governors, for which, among other things, these meetings were ordained. And this seems to be here noted by mention of

the ἀλλὰ παρακαλοῦντες, *but exhorting*, which was especially the governor's office, and which they that forsook the assemblies did forsake also, and did not submit themselves to it. And then they that thus *sinned* ἰκουσίως, *wilfully*, after the having received this *acknowledgment of the truth*, were they that did contemptuously forsake and cast off the Christian yoke, which they had once submitted to, and that is the character of apostates. Add to this the consideration of ver. 28, where, parallel to the state of the person here, is set ἀθετήσας τις τὸν νόμον Μωσέως, *any one that despiseth, or setteth at nought, Moses's law, the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken to the priest, or to the judge*, Deut. xvii. 12, such an one, as when his fact is competently proved against him, *he must die without mercy*: and that is also the meaning of the οὐκ ἔτι ἀπολείπεται θυσία, *there remains no longer any sacrifice for sin*. It is such a sin for which the high priest among the Jews was not allowed to offer sacrifice for expiation. Ἀδύνατος ἡ κολάσεως παραίτησις, saith Josephus, l. 2, contr. Apion. "there was no deprecating, no possibility of averting the punishment of death" which belonged to such. Accordingly we see the practice in Maimonides (in the title of *dressing oblations*, cap. 3, num. 3, 5.) that "no sacrifice should be made for apostates, though for ethnics there might." So again appears, ver. 29, by ὁ καταπατήσας τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *trampling on the Son of God*, that is, contemptuously using him, as these apostatizing deserters did, *counting the blood of the covenant an unholy thing*, (as Ezek. xxii. 26, to the priests' ἀθετεῖν, *violating God's law*, is added their *profaning God's holy things*,) contemning the covenant sealed by the blood of Christ, by which they have obliged themselves to adhere to him, and *contumeliously using the Spirit of grace*, that is again despising and throwing away those precious advantages of the Spirit of God which had been bestowed upon them, but now are repelled and rejected by them, as in the canons of the councils, they that have undertaken the office of church-widows, and after marry, are said to *do despite to the grace of God*: (see Conc. Wormac. ch. 45.) for which St. Paul hath *casting off their first faith*, 1 Tim. v. 12. By all which appears what the nature and aggravations of this sin was, a forsaking the Christian orthodox, and going over to the heretical Gnostic way, which was a downright apostasy from Christ to Antichrist. And for such an one the punishment is figuratively expressed by, *there remains no farther, or no longer, sacrifice for sins*: that is, either *the blood of Christ trampled on* by him, ver. 29, will not prove beneficial to him, and so, because *there is no other sacrifice*, he is capable of no mercy; or else the prayers and oblations of the church, which are used for those that they have any hopes of, belong not to him. See note [b] on ch. vi., and note [c] on 1 John v.

38. [c] *draw back*] What is here meant by ὑποστellaσθαι we have two ways of discerning; first, by considering the word in the few other places of the New Testament: Acts xx. 20, οὐδὲν ὑπεστειλάμην τῶν συμφερόντων τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῖν, *I did not withdraw, or hold back, from declaring to you any of those things that were profitable for you*, and almost in the same words and sense, ver. 27, οὐ γὰρ ὑπεστειλάμην τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι, &c. *I did not withdraw, or withhold, myself from declaring to you the whole counsel of God*. So in Phavorinus, ὑποστellaμένος, ὑποκρυψάμενος, *hiding himself, getting out of the way*, and ὑπεστειλάμην, *parh-*

τησάμην, the word used ch. xii. 25, for *detractare*, to get off from any employment, to be unwilling to enter upon it, to hang back, to refuse; so *ἐπίστειλεν ἑαυτὸν*, Gal. ii. 12, *he slunk away, withdrew himself*, got out of their company, and that as an effect of fear, *φοβούμενος*, &c., *fearing the Jewish Christians*. So Phavorinus again, *ὑποστειλάμενος, φοβηθεῖς*, and *ὑποστέλλεται φεύγει*, *fearing, running away*. And so here the matter of the discourse being exhortation and encouragement to constancy in the Christian profession, in despite of all the terrors and assaults that lay on them from the Jews at that time, and that upon constant expectation of receiving a rich reward, deliverance here within a while, if they live and continue constant, and eternal bliss in another world, for all that they could suffer here, (which is the meaning of the *παρηγορία*, confidence, &c., ver. 35.) it will be most agreeable that the *just man's living by faith* in the beginning of ver. 38, should be his patient, cheerful, constant continuance in the Christian profession, merely upon the strength of the promises that are made to courage and constancy, the promised deliverance in this, ver. 36 and 37, and eternity in another world: and contrary to that, the *ὑποστέλλεσθαι*, *drawing back*, here, and *ὑποστολή*, ver. 39, must needs be a fainting in the course, a pusillanimous falling off, a detractation or failing in point of perseverance, caused by fear or pusillanimity. And this will likewise appear by a second medium, by looking into the prophet Habakkuk, ch. ii. 4, from whence it is clear those words immediately precedent are cited, *ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται*, *the just shall live by faith*. If that place of Habakkuk be observed carefully in the Septuagint and the Hebrew, it will not be improbable which some have surmised, that the Septuagint read the Hebrew words a little otherwise than now we read them; not *עָלָה*, *arrogans fuit, was lifted up*, as we read in the beginning of the verse, nor *נַפְשׁוֹ*, *his soul*, but *עַלְפֹּה* for the former, and *נַפְשִׁי*, *my soul*, for the latter. Now the word *עָלָה*, which they are surmised to have read there, is perfectly answerable to the *ὑποστέλλεται* here, (as the *נַפְשִׁי*, *my soul*, is rendered here *ψυχὴ μου*, *my soul*, otherwise than the Hebrew there will regularly bear it,) for the Hebrew signifies primarily *textit, covered*, (and so *ὑποστέλλεσθαι* was rendered by *ὑποκρύπτεσθαι*, *being hidden*, out of Phavorinus,) and then also it signifies *turbatus fuit, was frightened*, or *troubled*, (which they that are, slink, or hide themselves out of the way.) So Isa. li. 20, *Thy children* *עָלְפוּ*, the Chaldee reads, *were troubled*, the Septuagint, *ἀπορούμενοι*, *were in distress*, or *great fear*; and Jonah iv. 8, it is rendered *ὠλιγοψύχησε*, *was ready to faint*; and so Amos viii. 13, the Targum explain it by *יִתְלַחְשׁוּ*, *they shall be weary*, or *faint*, and so in other places, the Septuagint render it by *ἐκλείπειν*, *fainting* or *failing*: and so the Septuagint, if they read as is surmised, will seem to have taken it in Habakkuk, He that *falls off*, or *faints*, the cowardly or fearful, *my soul doth not like him*. But others that have considered that place in Habakkuk, conceive the ordinary Hebrew reading may be well retained, the word *עָלָה* being of the same signification with *עָלָה*, Jonah iv. 8, *עָלָה* &c., *defecit*, and so Isa. li. 20. *בָּנֶיךָ עָלְפוּ*, *thy sons have fainted*. Thus Rabbi Tanchum renders it by *withdrawing himself*, being far removed, and that is all one with our notion of *ὑποστέλλεσθαι*. And the Arabic word which is answerable to it signifies *negligere, alio animum avertere, to neglect, to turn away his mind*; and so that is agreeable also. Thus *יָשָׁר*, which in the latter part of the verse ordinarily signifies *right*, is frequently

rendered ἀρίσκειν, *pleased*, and so is all one with εὐδοκεῖ and then ψυχῇ, *his soul*, may be retained also, meaning God's soul, from whom he averts, which therefore the Septuagint thought fit to express by ψυχῇ μου, *my*, that is, God's *soul*, in like manner as they have done psalm v. 9, where the Hebrew hath, *his strength*, and they read τὸ κράτος μου, *my strength*. See Mr. Pocock, Miscell. p. 45. And all this sets down the true notion of the word in this place thus: But if he that should *live by his faith* shall cowardly withdraw himself from the public worship of Christ, ver. 25, (as Ignatius saith they did which had received the infusions of the Gnostics, Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, Ep. ad Smyrn. "they abstain from the eucharist, and from prayer," that is, public assemblies, and exhorts them to mend that fault, πικρότερον συναγωγὰς γενέσθωσαν, ad Polyc. "Let there be more frequent assemblies," and so again ad Ephes.) if they withdraw from the ἀθλήσις παθημάτων, *the patient, magnanimous encounter of afflictions*, ver. 32, from the παρηγορία, or *confident profession of the truth*, ver. 35, (in expectation of the future reward) from the ὑπομονή, *patience*, and *doing the will of God*, ver. 36, and from the *faith*, ver. 38, whereby we depend securely on the promises of Christ, with confidence that they shall be performed to us. If, saith the author, the just, the Christian prove thus pusillanimous, hang back from this performance of his duty, if by afflictions he be disheartened and terrified, *God's soul hath no pleasure in him*, he is utterly rejected and disliked by God. And thus, ver. 39, ὑποστολή, *cowardice*, is directly set opposite to πίστις, *faith*, as περιποίησις ψυχῆς, *saving the soul*, or *life*, to the ἀπώλεια, *destruction or losing of it*.

39. [d] *saving of the soul*] The word περιποίησις signifies *acquiring, purchasing, getting, possessing*. So περιποίησις δόξης, *purchasing of glory*, 2 Thess. ii. 14, περιποίησις σωτηρίας, *purchasing, or acquiring, of salvation*, 1 Thess. v. 9. But Phavorinus, who hath that notion of it, gives us also περιποιήσαντες ἀντὶ διασώσαντες, *saving, delivering*; and so being here set opposite to ἀπώλεια, *destruction*, and joined with ψυχῆς, *of the soul*, or *life*, it seems most probably to signify as κτᾶσθαι ψυχὴν, *to possess the soul*, Luke xxi. 19, (which is the same with περιποίησις ψυχῆς, *saving the soul* here; so saith Phavorinus, Κτήσις, περιποίησις, *possessing is purchasing*) is σώζειν ψυχὴν, *to save, or preserve the life*, Mark viii. 35, Luke ix. 24. See note [d] on Eph. ii., and note [c] on 1 Pet. ii.

CHAP. XI.

1. [a] *substance*] The use of this word ὑπόστασις, both here and in the other places of the New Testament, will appear by observing the Greek rendering of the Hebrew יָחַל and תְּוַחֵל from it. The word signifies *to hope*, and in Piel *to expect with some confidence*, and so to stay and wait for any thing, generally rendered by the Targum וְאִוִּיךְ, *and he expected*, Gen. viii. 10 and 12, but sometimes by מְחַצְּפִין, *ausi sunt*, Ezek. xiii. 6, *they took confidence*. Now this word, Mic. v. 7, is by the Greek translators rendered ὑποστῇ, where the Hebrew יִיחַל לִבְנֵי אָדָם, *he shall hope in the sons of men*, is by the Targum rendered מְכַתֵּר, *he shall expect*, we render it, *wait for them*. The sense beareth depending on them for aid, and so *subsisting* in them, and that is the literal notation of the ὑποστῇ. Thus likewise the noun תְּוַחֵל, ἔλπις, *hope*, Lam. iii. 18, *expectation, waiting*, is rendered ὑπόστασις, ps. xxxix. 8, and so in the books of Esdras, 2 Esdr. viii. *They who have not ὑπόστασιν καλῶν ἔργων, the hope, or confidence, of good works* (that μέγας

παρησίας θησαυρός in Plutarch) that *great treasure of confidence* that ariseth from well doing. Agreeable to this notion of the word is the acception of it in every place of the New Testament, (save only that Heb. i. 3, where speaking of Christ he is called χαρακτήρ ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, *the character of his subsistence*.) Thus 2 Cor. ix. 4, μὴ κατασχυνθῶμεν ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει ταύτῃ τῆς καυχήσεως, *that we be not put to shame in this confidence of boasting*, that is, in having had that confidence of their liberality and readiness, as to boast of them in that behalf. For to that belongs that *great shame*, in case his confidence should miscarry, as that *hope* which is rightly grounded upon firm promises οὐ κατασχύνει, *doth not put to shame*, saith the apostle, Rom. v. 5, and to the same purpose ch. ix. 33. To the same sense is that in the same words, ch. xi. 17, which is explained after by ἐάν τις τολμῇ, τολμῶ κἀγὼ, *If any have confidence, I also have confidence*, according to that mentioned from the Targum, Ezek. xiii., where the Hebrew answerable to ὑπόστασις is rendered *daring*; and so Polybius seems to have used the word ὑπόστασις for *courage* and *valour* or *good assurance*. So oft in ¹Diodorus Siculus, Ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ταύτην ὄνειρος, *a dream raised him to this confidence*, giving him a vision of great advancement and glory, and παρώξυνε τηρεῖν τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Φιλομήλου, “he incited them to keep the constancy or courage of Philomelus.” So in ¹Josephus, ἀμετάλλακτον αὐτῶν ὑποστάσεως, *their immutable courage or constancy*. Thus Cicero defineth faith, *Fides est dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas*, “It is a constancy and truth of all that hath been said and agreed.” And so the Hebrew and Chaldee word for faith יָדַם, and יָדַמָא, and so also the Arabic يَدَامَا, signifies *firmness, constancy, stability*. So Heb. iii. that which is ver. 6, ἐάν περ τὴν παρησίαν καὶ τὸ καύχημα τῆς ἐλπίδος μέχρι τέλους βεβαίαν κατάσχωμεν, *if we hold fast the confidence and the boasting of hope firm until the end* (as the condition of being Christians, or the household of Christ,) is expressed ver. 14, in this other phrase, little differing from it, ἐάν περ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως μέχρι τέλους βεβαίαν κατάσχωμεν, *If we hold fast the beginning of confidence*, that is, that confidence exemplified to us by Christ, which we had from the beginning, *firm unto the end*. And so here, *faith* is ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις, *the expectation* (or *dependence*, or *confidence*, or the *confident expectation*) of things hoped for by us, (and this opposed to the ὑποστολή, *falling off*, or *cowardly behaviour*, mentioned in the conclusion of the former chapter;) the promise of Christ being the object as of our hope so of our faith also, and differing very little in that particular, but that *faith* seems to be the greater adherence, to have the less of doubting, the more of confidence in it.

3. [b] *not made of things which do appear*] Μὴ φαινόμενα, *things that appear* not seems to denote the earth, Gen. i. 2, in that state when it is said to be *tohu vabohu, without form and void*, or, as the Septuagint render it, ἀόρατος, *invisible, not to be seen*.

13. [c] *and were persuaded*] The words καὶ πεισθέντες, *and being persuaded*, which are added in some copies between ἰδόντες *seeing*, and καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι, *and embracing*, are wanting in the ancient MSS. of the greatest reputation, and, besides others mentioned by other men, in a very ancient one of Magd. Coll. in Oxford.

¹ l. 16.

¹ De Bell, Jud. l. 2, c. 12.

20. [d] *By faith Isaac blessed Jacob*] Some difficulty here is, where it is said of Isaac that *by faith concerning things to come he blessed Jacob and Esau*, to what part of the story in Genesis it shall belong. In ch. xxvii. he *blesseth Jacob*, ver. 28, 29. *God give thee of the dew of heaven—Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee: be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee*—But it will, first, be hard to affirm, that he here *blessed Jacob by faith*, when it is evident he knew not that it was Jacob whom he thus *blessed*; and secondly, Isaac thinking verily that it was Esau whom he thus *blessed*, it could not be an act of faith in him, or reconcilable with that which God had revealed to Rebecca, ch. xxv. 23, (*that the elder should serve the younger*,) thus to pronounce or foretell of Esau, that he should *be lord over his brethren*. For these two reasons it will not be fit to refer this of the apostle to that part of the story wherein blind Isaac, contrary to his intention, thus blessed Jacob. The next passage in the story will, I suppose, be much more commodious for the turn, when upon Esau's coming with his venison Isaac finds himself to have been abused, and *trembling very exceedingly*, tells him that Jacob had brought him venison already, and he had eaten and *blessed him, yea and he shall be blessed*, ver. 33, and again, ver. 37, that he *had made Jacob his lord, and given him all his brethren for his servants*. Where Isaac discerning what he had done, though by mistake, remembers the oracle that God had delivered before their birth, and considering how punctually the blessing thus given to Jacob by him did agree to that, he doth now *by faith* resolve, that so it should certainly be, that what his affection had designed to Esau, was by God promised to Jacob, and consequently should irreversibly belong to him, and thereupon he confirms it anew to Jacob, *Yea and he shall be blessed, and I have made him thy lord*. And so this was the blessing wherewith *by faith Isaac blessed Jacob*. Then for his blessing of Esau, that visibly follows, ver. 39, *thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth*—(and in the body of it again inserted a farther confirmation of Jacob's blessing, by telling Esau, *thou shalt serve thy brother*, ver. 40,) *and it shall come to pass that when thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck*. Where it must farther be supposed, that Isaac, beyond that prediction *before their birth*, that *the elder should serve the younger*, had received from God another oracle concerning his two sons, that as the posterity of Jacob, the Jews, should have the preeminence and dominion for some time over the Idumæans, the posterity of Esau, so in process of time the Jews should be *brought down*, and so the Idumæans be quitted of that yoke; and accordingly Isaac foretelling this is here as truly said to have *by faith blessed Esau*. And this perhaps was it upon which Isaac before had pronounced that blessing upon him which he took to be Esau, *be lord over thy brethren*—which though in respect of the times next ensuing it were true of Jacob, (and accordingly was in God's providence thus directed to him,) yet in respect of the latter times, when the Jews should be *brought low*, was to be truly applicable to Esau, and so might *by faith* be designed by Isaac to him.

21. [e] *top of his staff*] The Hebrew מטה signifies both *a bed and a staff*, perhaps anciently the very same word for both, though now grammarians have pointed it diversely, and made a difference of sound also betwixt them. The Jerusalem Targum reads it, *Laudes Dei cecinit*

super spondam suam, "He sang the praises of God upon his bedstead." The Greek here follows the Septuagint's translation, and there is no question of the truth of it: and indeed it may well be that both notions of the Hebrew may here stand, and the truth be, that arising out of his bed, he sat on it, and leaned, as sick persons do, upon his staff; for we after read, that *he gathered up, or returned again, his feet into the bed*, Gen. xlix. 33, which is a sign that he was before risen out of it, and sat on the side with his feet on the ground, which was very fit for this posture of *leaning on his staff*.

29. [f] *passed through* Διαβαίνειν doth not here signify to go from one side to the other, quite through, or across the sea, (for the Israelites' journeying makes it appear that they did not so,) but to go in into part of the channel, Exod. xiv. 22, and pass on there a good way in the midst, v. 29, and then to come out again on the same side; for so the Israelites did, as appears by the story. This is expressed psalm cxxxvi. 14, by *God's dividing the Red sea, and leading them* בתוכו, διὰ μέσου αὐτῆς, *by, or through, the midst of it*, agreeably to what is now said.

[g] *the Red sea* That sea through part of which the Israelites passed (and in which the Egyptians were drowned) is in the Hebrew styled מַרְסִי־יָם, *mare algosum, the sea that was so full of weeds*, &c. (See ps. cvi. 7, and cxxxvi. 13.) By the side or shore of this sea did the posterity of Esau or Edom dwell. Now Edom is by the Septuagint called Ἐρυθρὸς, *red*, because as that comes from the Hebrew מֶדֶם, *red*, with a very little change of one letter inserted מֶדֶם, so from ἐρυθρὸς, *red*, doth the word Ἐρυθρὸς also vary as little. From hence also (and not from Erythræus, a king drowned there, as Diodorus Siculus saith) it is that this sea is by them rendered ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, in those places of the psalmist (and elsewhere) where the Hebrew only have מַרְסִי־יָם, *the weedy sea*, and accordingly it is here retained ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, meaning that *Edumæan sea* which by analogy would rather be styled Ἐρυθραία than Ἐρυθρὰ, *the Erythræan or Edumæan*, than *the Red sea*.

35. [h] *tortured* What is here meant by τυμπανίζεσθαι, I shall propose by way of conjecture, by these steps and degrees. That this punishment was that inflicted by Antiochus on the Maccabees there is little question, the many circumstances here agreeing with those there do make it manifest: as, first, the word τυμπανίζεσθαι here and there; secondly, their *not accepting deliverance* here, set down there distinctly, 2 Macc. vi. 30; then, thirdly, the mention of a *better resurrection* here, compared with that their *comfort* there, ch. vii. 9; and, fourthly, the ἐμπαιγμοί, *contumelious usages* here, ver. 36, and there 2 Macc. vii. 7, such as are mentioned 1 Sam. xxxi. 4, and are defined by Sophocles in Antigona, Τὸν θανόντ' ἐπικταίνειν, καὶ ἐνάλλεσθαι τῷ κειμένῳ καὶ ἐφυβρίσειν, "to kill and insult on the dead, and use him contumeliously;" so, fifthly, μάστιγες, *stripes*, here and there, ver. 30, &c.; sixthly, the πείρα ἐμπαιγμῶν, *trial of contumelies*, here, and there the narration how those ἐμπαιγμοί were to try whether they would persist or no; seventhly, the word, whether ἐπειράσθησαν, *tried*, or ἐπυράσθησαν, *scorched*, here ver. 37. If it be the former, then it refers to πείρα, *trial*, forementioned; if the latter, then to the *burning them alive*, and *frying them in a pan*, τηγανισμός, 2 Macc. vii. 5. This being premised for the general explanation of this word and those that follow, it is in the next place observable that Aristophanes hath this passage, ὦ τύπανα καὶ κύφωνες,

where the scholiast hath observed two significations of the word *τύμπανον*, which Phavorinus hath borrowed from him; first, for *ξύλον ἐφ' ᾧ ἐτυμπάνιζον*, "an engine of wood upon which they punished men in this manner," *ἐχρῶντο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ*, "for this was a kind of punishment," that is, *τυμπανισμός* was so; secondly, *ξύλα οἷς τύπονται ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οἱ τιμωρούμενοι*, "cudgels with which they were beaten in their judicatories," or, as Hesychius and Suidas add, *ισχυρῶς πλῆττονται*, "are stricken very strongly." Thirdly, it may be observed, that here *κύφωνες* is joined by Aristophanes with *τύμπανα*, and that *κύφωνες* are in that scholiast *wooden yokes* or clogs (for so *κλοιὸς* is turned into English by the change but of *i* into *g*, which is an ordinary transmutation, and easy for the sound, *i* and *g* having the same sound in many words) *hanged to the neck*, and mentioned Jer. xxviii. 14, where it signifies such a *yoke of iron* with such a wooden clog fastened to it, which both bound in the neck close, and bowed the head down, and made it *κύφειν* (from whence it is named); and it is mentioned also by Aristotle, Pol. 5. *δεθῆναι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν κύφῳ*, "to be bound in the marketplace with this yoke." This being also observed, it is fourthly to be considered, that in ^kLucian *κύφωνες καὶ τροχοὶ* are put together, as in Aristophanes *τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνες* and therefore probably that *τύμπανα* in the former acception, for *ξύλα ἐφ' οἷς*, "the wooden instruments on which they were punished," are the same that *τροχοὶ*, *wheels*, in Lucian. To which purpose we find in ancient authors, that *tympanum* is *machina ad aquam, lapides, &c. in altum subvehenda parata*, "an engine to lift up water, stones, &c." mentioned oft by Vitruvius in this sense, and Nic. Perottus Cornucop. p. 34. by which it appears, that it was a wheel with teeth, like that upper great wheel in a mill, which causes the going about of the millstone." After this form, with no great difference, it is most probable was the *τύμπανον* on which men were punished, viz. a wheel on which the man was tied, and so fetched up on high; and therefore Suidas adds *κρεμάται*, *he is hanged*, and Hesychius, *ἔτυμπανίσθησαν, ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ἐσφαίρισθησαν*, "they were hanged, they were carried about in a sphere." This wheel was a kind of engine on which any were tormented, and no question that which is mentioned 2 Macc. vi. 28, *ἐπὶ τὸ τύμπανον εὐθέως ἦλθε*, "he came presently to the torment," and ver. 19. *αὐθαιρέτως ἐπὶ τὸ τύμπανον προσῆγε*, "he came voluntarily to the torment." From this custom of hanging malefactors upon the *tympanum* it is that Celsus in Origen, p. 81, speaking of Christ, calls him *ἄνδρα ἀτιμώτατον, καὶ ἐντυμπανισθέντα*, "a most infamous person, put to death upon the tympanum," thinking his hanging on the cross to be that upon the *tympanum*. When the malefactors were thus hanged or fastened to the tympanum, it is observable in the fifth place, that other punishments followed: first, *slaying*, whereupon in Hesychius *ἐκδέρεται, is slayed*, is set to the explication of it; and so 2 Macc. vii. 7, *τὸ τῆς καταδέρμεως σὺν ταῖς θριξὶ περισύραντες*, "they pulled off the skin with the hairs" (and so in Agathias, t. 4. p. 128, where he discourseth of the antiquity of that punishment, and fetcheth it from Sapore king of Persia): then secondly, upon examination of the person, and not yielding, but still holding out against the torment, they proceeded either to *ἀκρωτηριασμός*, *cutting off the extreme parts*, hands and feet and tongue,

or to βάσανος, *rack*, ch. vii. 8, which was by blows inflicted with a cudgel or *tyrpanum*, ch. vi. 30, (and therefore 1 Sam. xxi. where the Septuagint read προσποιεῖτο καὶ ἐτυμπάνειν, Aquila reads προσέκρουεν, *beat him*) and these blows were to death, as in the Maccabees it is clear, μέλλων δὲ ταῖς πληγαῖς τελευτᾶν, *being ready to die with the blows*, and again when he saith, ὑποφέρω κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἀλγηδύνας μαστιγούμενος, *I am grievously pained with those blows*, it follows presently μετήλλαξεν, *he died*, ver. 31. From this use of the cudgel in this punishment of τυμπανισμός it is that Polybius for τυμπανίζειν sets ξυλοκοπεῖν, *to beat with cudgels*, in respect of this one part of that punishment, not but that it had much more in it beside, as beside βάσανος, *rack*, and ἀκρωτηριασμός, *cutting off the extreme parts*, formerly mentioned, (it seems by the story of the Maccabees) τηγανισμός, *frying or broiling*. By what hath been said it appears that this punishment was, first, very painful; secondly, contumelious; thirdly, capital. First, very painful; so Aristot. Rhet. ii. c. 5, mentions τοὺς ἤδη τυμπανιζομένους, *men that are under that punishment*, as those that think themselves δεινὰ πάντα πεπονθέναι, *to have suffered all the sad measure imaginable*, and ἀνευγυμένοι εἰς τὸ μέλλον, *made soulless and senseless for what is behind*. Secondly, most contumelious; for so l. 3. Macc. αἰσχίστοις βασάνοις ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται, *that punishment was a most shameful torment*. Thirdly, capital; bringing death finally, though slowly, and therefore is named by Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 5, among those things which have no ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, *hope of escaping*, and he reckons Antiphon the poet for one, ch. 6, who ἀποτυμπανιζόμενος, *being thus punished by Dionysius*, asked one of his companions jestingly, who of the spectators should see them to-morrow: so in Maccabees, ταῖς πληγαῖς τελευτᾶσι μαστιγούμενοι, ch. vi. *they die with it*; and so the king of Babylon, the third after Nebuchadnezzar, as 1 Eusebius cites it out of Polyhistor, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη, *was so used by his friends*, and then it presently follows ἀπολούμενου δέ, *and dying*, &c., which is repeated in like manner by Berosus l. 3. Καλδαικῶν in the Fragments set out by Jos. Scaliger, where yet for Χαβαεσσαράχος in Eusebius, we find Λοβοροσσαρχός, who, saith Scaliger, was certainly Belshazzar, of whom saith Justin Martyr from Dan. v. ἀπετυμπανίσθη τὸ θηρίον, *the beast was put to that death*, for which we now read in the Greek copy ἀνιρέθη, *he was killed*, and no more. Megasthenes out of Abydenus calls him λαβασσοαρσός, and saith he died βίαιᾳ ῥόφῃ, *by a violent death*, and adds no more. See Scaliger in those Fragments in the end of the book De Emend. Temp. p. 4. By all this it appears that this was a punishment used among the Grecians and Babylonians; and, it seems, by the Romans too: for so in Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 5, c. 1, s. 42, we find, Ἐπιστελλαντος γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, &c., of the emperor's commanding the Christians to be put to this torment; and if they renounced Christiunity, they were to be loosed.

37. [i] *were tempted*] Some copies read ἐπυρώθησαν, others have ἐπυράσθησαν. The truth is, ἐπειράσθησαν, which is the ordinary reading, seems not to be agreeable, after πείραν ἔλαβον, *they received trial*, &c., and neither the Syriac nor Chrysostom (and they that follow him) have this word, or any thing for it; so that it is likely it came out of the margin into the text, and then it will be doubtful, but not much material, which reading is to be preferred.

40. [k] *made perfect*] What is the meaning of this κρείττον τι, *somewhat better*, which this author saith was by God foreseen, and reserved for the faithful, constant Christians, will best be understood by the former verse 39. *These all μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ πίστεως, being commended, or having received testimony, or perhaps being martyred, by their faith, οὐκ ἐκομίσατο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, received not the promise.* Where first it must be observed who οὗτοι πάντες, *all these*, were: most distinctly the Maccabees, mentioned immediately before, ver. 36—38; but not so as to exclude, or not to comprehend those others which were set down as examples of faith before them, for they also must be contained in the οὗτοι πάντες, *all these*. For the Maccabees, next before mentioned, these are in the Jews' stories commended for their constancy in adhering to God's commands, or the Jewish laws, in spite of the cruelest persecutors and tormentors, and were really martyred, or put to death, lost their lives, διὰ πίστεως, *by their faith or constancy*; and of these it is said, *they received not the promise, God having foreseen, or reserved, somewhat better for us*, that is, God having reserved for the Christian church some performance of promise which he had not afforded those former. By this it is already apparent that eternal bliss in another world was not the matter of this promise, both because this was not it that they could be evidenced to have missed by their being tormented and put to death, but that which it was more sure they received, because they were so ill-used here; and, secondly, because if it were supposed to be true (as some vainly conceive), that those that died before Christ did not attain their bliss till after Christ's resurrection, yet it will be acknowledged by all that they then received it, and then it will follow that the ἡμεῖς, the Christians, had not κρείττον τι, *any advantage* of them that lived before, in that respect, those obtaining the bliss as soon or sooner than they, and no torment or temporary pains being supposable for such martyrs between the day of their sufferings and their attaining to bliss, wherein these latter can by any be thought to exceed them. It follows then, that as *the promise* which they by suffering received not, was some promise of this life, so the κρείττον τι, *the somewhat better*, was somewhat which the Christians should enjoy in this life. In the next place, then, we may have another way of finding out what this *promise* was wherein the Christians were to have the advantage of the former, by looking on ver. 13, where of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, it is said in like manner that *they died receiving not the promise*. That *promise* was clearly the promised land, that Canaan, the type of the Christians' rest, or deliverance from their enemies, (see note [c] on Heb. iii.) which they received not in their lifetime; and though their posterity afterward did receive it, yet some promises there were made unto Abraham and his seed, which even they that attained the promised land did not receive. And what were they? Among the promises made to Abraham (not personally to him, but to his seed) this is one, Gen. xxii. 17. *that his seed should possess the gates of his enemies*. This it seems was looked upon by all the Jews as a special part of the promise to Abraham, repeated by all the prophets, Luke i. 70, *that they should be saved from their enemies, and from the hands of all that hate them*, ver. 71, and this distinctly there mentioned by Zechariah, as a special part of the covenant and oath made to Abraham, ver. 72, 73, *that he would grant them, that being delivered without fear from the hands of their enemies, they might serve God in holiness, &c.*, ver. 74, 75.

And this was it which, being not fully attained by Abraham's posterity in Canaan, was still by them expected to be performed by the Messias, and was the *κρείττον τι*, the *somewhat better*, that was reserved for these times of the Messiah. For of the rest of the faithful, named after Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, even those that were possessors of Canaan, who did *subdue enemies by their faith*, ver. 32, 33, and so are said to have *obtained promises* there, yet this was not for a continuance, such as might be called *the possessing the gates of their enemies*, and *deliverance from the hands of all that hated them*, but (as by the consequences, especially by the story of the Maccabees, it is manifest) this church or nation of the Jews fell under heavy persecutions and oppressions, and was wasted and brought low by these means, and at last was delivered up to be finally destroyed by their enemies, their city, their temple, and their whole service and way of worship. Whereas the Christian faith and profession and church was to endure and hold out, and both flourish the more for persecutions, and finally get victory over all, and never be destroyed by the enemies thereof: which was the meaning of Christ's prediction, that the *gates of ᾧδης*, that is, the power of destroyers, *should not prevail against it*; which being all one in effect with the promise to Abraham, that *his seed* (spiritual seed, the Christian church) *should possess the gates of their enemies*, (for to possess the gates of their enemies is directly equivalent with *the gates of their enemies not prevailing against them*;) it follows most properly here, that *they without us should not be perfected*, that is, that they should not have the promise to Abraham made good to them in the utmost extent, but that they were to want the highest part of the completion of the literal sense of that promise, till it were accomplished in the Christian church, which should in this have the preeminence, a very considerable advantage above the Jews, that, however it were persecuted, it should never be destroyed. And this notion and interpretation of this place, as it agrees very well with the purport of the whole Epistle, (designed on purpose to fortify the Christian Hebrews against the dread of persecutions, upon this one ground, because Christ was able and *willing* to deliver them, c. iv. 15. yea and would now speedily come unto their rescue, c. x. 37, and though some *resisted to blood*, died in the cause, yet a signal deliverance they should speedily have by the destruction of their enemies the Jews, and in fine the Christian church should not fail, but flourish the more for persecutions,) so it seems to be taken notice of by Procopius on Isaiah (p. 683), who interprets the place, *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἰουδαίους θεοφιλῶν τὴν παρουσίαν Χριστοῦ περιμενόντων*, of the pious Jews that expected the coming of Christ; and again, p. 701, when he speaks of Christ's coming, he saith of it, *καθ' ὃν τοῖς πιστεύουσι τὰς ἐν ἑλπίσι ἐπαγγελίας ἀπέδωκεν*, by which God gave believers those promises which they hoped for so long. As for the word *τελειωθῶσι*, *be perfected*, that signifies to receive a reward or crown, to have the full of their hope or expectation bestowed upon them: and accordingly Christ is said to be *τελειωτής τῆς πίστεως*, the *perfecter of their faith*, c. xii. 3, in giving them the full completion of the promises, the object of their faith, which was not done to the Jews (before Christ) *χωρὶς ἡμῶν*, *without us*, but had the full completion in the Christian church. According to which it is said of these promises, that *the fathers of old saw them*, and *saluted them afar off*, as those that salute their friends at a

distance, being not able to come near them, *μὴ λαβόντες*, but received them not, ver. 13, that felicity being reserved peculiar to the Christian church, which was now to enter on these promises.

CHAP. XII.

1. [a] *lay aside every* —] This verse is wholly agonistical, (as appears by the *ἀγών*, *combat* or *race*, mentioned in the close of it,) and must be explained in every part by proportion with the *ἀγῶνες*, or *games*, among the Grecians. These *agones* were sacred and solemnly kept, and in them there was a kind of *assizes* or *court of judicature*. He that proposed the combat (to which refers *προκείμενος ἀγών*, the *proposed race* in the end of the verse) that set the laws of the *agones*, and adjudged the crown to the conqueror, was called *βραβευτής* or *κριτής*, the *judge*; and to him Christ is here compared, who as he is the *ἀρχηγός*, *leader*, that goes foremost, and shews us the way in our Christian race, so he is *τελειωτής*, ver. 2, the rewarder and crowner of them that conquer. So again, he that proclaimed the laws of the combat was called *κήρυξ*, the *præco* or *cryer*, 1 Cor. ix. 27, and they that were set at the goal to discern and pronounce who came first thither (and so was conqueror) were *μάρτυρες*, *witnesses*, and as they brought in evidence, so the crown was awarded by the judge; and not only they, but all that stood about as spectators, to behold and commend the courage and constancy of the *athletæ*, were *μάρτυρες*, *witnesses*, also. And of them there was always good store, a great concourse of people, from whence they were called *πανηγύρεις*, *frequentiæ*, *populous meetings*, to behold the games, to see who were conquerors in them. To these last are here compared those great examples of faith and patience, which had been mentioned in the former chapter, who being now at their journey's end, their goal, their rest, are supposed to look on the present Christian racers, both to give evidence whether they run well or no, and with their commendations to hearten and encourage them in their combats, that they faint not or give over. And there being so many here mentioned in the former chapter, they are fitly called *νέφος*, a *cloud*, as any great number or troop of men is rhetorically called a *cloud*, and that very frequently among authors. And because the spectators in those games stood on either side of the race or *stadium*, or otherwise round about, at the other games of wrestling, &c., or at a theatre; it is therefore styled *περικείμενον νέφος*, an *encompassing cloud of witnesses*, or such as is placed round about us, to look and testify how men behave themselves in their race. It is farther sufficiently known, that they that were to perform any of those exercises, used all care to fit and prepare themselves for it by diet before, so as it might fit them to perform their course, and at the time, by having nothing on that might hinder or foreshow them. To this purpose they did carefully rid themselves of all weight, made themselves as light as they could, and lest their very garments might hang in their way, incumber them in their course, they generally put them off, and ran naked, *γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀχίτωνες*, saith ^m Porphyry, *naked and without their garments*, from whence they were also called *γυμνασταί*, referring to their *naked running*. To this way of preparing themselves to the race the author

^m *περὶ ἀποχ.* l. i.

here refers; to that of weight distinctly, by ἀποθέμενοι ὄγκον πάντα, *laying aside, or putting off, all weight*, meaning thereby most probably the love and care of the world, which is apt to press down the soul, and was a very considerable temptation in those times of persecution, where the *love of the world* was such *enmity with God*, and made so many inclinable to the Gnostics, in hope of preserving their worldly wealth. To the latter, the stripping themselves, putting off their garments, our *ordinary translation* refers the latter words, ἀποθέμενοι τὴν εὐ-περίστατον ἀμαρτίαν, *laying aside that sin which doth so easily beset us*, taking the word εὐπερίστατος in an active sense, for *entangling*, (as a light garment is wont to do,) and so hindering their course, not by its weight or pressing down, as the ὄγκος or *weight* before, but by some other way of encumbering or disturbing, as light garments, which by the wind or motion of the air become troubles and hinderances to the racer. And answerable to that we might imagine the fears that come across men in their Christian course, and much hinder their speed, and interrupt their constancy. And that cowardly humour, those treacherous fears, that, like the light garment, entangle them at every step, must be laid aside, or else they will never run δι' ὑπομονῆς, *with endurance or perseverance, the race that is set before them*. But of that word εὐπερίστατος it must be observed, that as it is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, only this once used in the whole Bible, so it will be matter of some difficulty to determine what is the exact importance of it. First, then, it is not reasonable, or according to any analogy, to render it, as it is ordinarily rendered, in an active sense, περίστατος, of which it is compounded, and ἀπερίστατος, which is the contrary to it, being certainly passives; and so St. Chrysostom here inclines most to a passive signification. Secondly, then supposing it a passive, one notion of the word presently offers itself (from the apostle's use of περίστασις, 2 Tim. ii. 16, and Tit. iii. 12, *to decline or avoid*) *that which may easily be declined*. So Josephus, speaking of the Esseni, τὸ δὲ ὁμνῶν αὐτοῖς περιίσταται, *swearing is avoided by them*: and Lucian, οὕτως ἐκτραπήσομαι καὶ περιστήσομαι ὥσπερ τοὺς λυτῶντας τῶν κυνῶν, *I will avoid and decline them as I would mad dogs*. But this cannot here be thought the apostle's scope, to diminish the force of this sin here, as a thing easily to be avoided by our care, but rather to note it as very noxious, and apt to seduce and mischief, if it be not carefully warded. If therefore this notion of περιίστασθαι be here taken, then certainly the meaning of the word must be, not that which may very easily be avoided, but is very fit to be declined or taken heed of, that which there is all reason to part with, and so ἀπορίθασθαι, *to put off*, as being so useless and so dangerous and hurtful in our course. But a third notion, I suppose, of this word may be thus fetched out. Περιστάσεις literally signifies *circumstances*, as when we read in rhetoricians θέσις ὑπερίστατος, *a bare naked position*: so in Georgius Alexandrinus in the "Life of Chrysostom, a poor, helpless, distressed woman is called ξένη καὶ ἀπερίστατος" and ζήτημα ἀπερίστατον; *a question generally proposed, without the circumstances of time, place, person, intention, occasion*: see Hermogenes l. 3, περὶ ἐπιχείρημα. According to this it is that Hesychius explains ἀπερίστατον by μωρὸν, ἀφορμὰς μὴ ἔχον, which I suppose is thus to be rendered, *stolidum*,

nullas habens hypotheses, nulla argumenta, foolish, and that which hath no reasons, arguments, or consequently pretences for it. And if this be the notion of the privative, then *εὐπερίστατος* will be that *which hath such fair arguments and pretences for it*, the sin which is set forth with such goodly circumstances to ingratiate and recommend it to us; as when he that denies Christ doth it (as the Gnostics said of themselves) only with the mouth, not with the heart, and again with an innocent intention, and only to avoid persecution and utter undoing in the world. Agreeable hereunto it is, that St. Chrysostom useth *περιστάσεις*, applied to sin, to denote *temptations*, tom. iii. p. 555, l. 19. Διὸ καὶ ἐπάγει λέγων, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀμαρτήματος διαβολικοῦ καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, τοὺς πειρασμοὺς δηλῶν καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας· where as he explains all diabolical sin by *ἀμαρτίας*, *sins*, so he evidently interprets *περιστάσεις* by *πειρασμοὺς*, *temptations*. And of these *περιστάσεις* in this notion he there understands the phrase *εὐπερίστατος ἀμαρτία*, for so he adds in that place, l. 21, *Εὐπερίστατον γὰρ ἡ ἀμαρτία, πάντοθεν ἱσταμένη, ἔμπροσθεν, ὀπίσθεν, καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς καταβάλλουσα*, *for sin is provided with temptations, being encompassed* (where we see the passive use of the word) *on all sides, before, and behind, and so shoots at us, or strikes us.* So tom. 4, p. 698, l. 30. Σατανικὴ περιστάσις, *temptation of Satan.* So Hesychius Presb. Centur. 2. 85. Εἰ δὲ ἐκ περιστάσεως τιμὸς χαννοβίντες, *but if by any temptation we become more remiss.* Thus Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Zeno, that it is the part of a wise man γένεσθαι ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν κατὰ περιστάσιν, *to eat man's flesh in case of extremity, or when he is by such forcing motives invited to it.* And this sense, as it agrees best with the critical importance of the word, so it accords exactly with the context and scope of the author; who here exhorts to venture all the hazards, persecutions, death itself, rather than, upon any pretence, to forsake the assemblies, to *deny Christ*, ch. x. 11, and here in this chapter he sets Christ's example before them, a pattern of constancy and perseverance even to death. And so this is the most probable notion of the word that I can think of.

3. [*b*] *wearied*] Κάμνειν is also an agonistical word, literally signifying *to be tired*, belonging to them that are worsted in any of those exercises (Νικόντων γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι κάμνειν, saith Plutarch, *it cannot be affirmed of the victors*) *to go out of the field like a wounded, or wearied, or worsted person.* So when Coriolanus being wounded was admonished by his friends to retire, and cure his wounds, he answered, οὐ δεῖ νικῶντα κάμνειν, *A conqueror ought not to retire, or subduce himself out of the field.* And thus generally it signifies *to give over fighting*, ἀπεῖναι and ἀπαγορεύειν in Phavorinus, *to give over, to despair*, and again ὀκνησαί, *to play the coward or run away.*

[*c*] *faint in your minds*] Ψυχαῖς ἐκλύεσθαι, and ἐκλύεσθαι simply, ver. 4, signifies in the same sense that κάμνειν, *to turn coward or pusillanimous*, such as whose souls within them fall away like water, dissolve; and it is spoken of those who give over the attempt as hopeless, fly disheartened, crest-fallen, out of the field, (ἀναπίπτοντες and ἀθυμοῦντες in Thucydides,) expressed again, ver. 12, by παραιμένας χεῖρας, *the hands that hang down*, which note the *prælii detractatio*, *giving over the business*, yielding, flying out of the field, confessing themselves conquered. So Ecclus. ii. 12, after the *woe* against them that *trust not in the Lord*, δειλαὶ καρδίαι, *cowardly hearts*, and χεῖρες παραιμέναί, *the hands*

hanging down, are put together, for which the Greek of Jer. xxxv. 3, read ἀνεμίνας χεῖρας, *extended hands*, as in Plutarch, ἀνατείνειν χεῖρας, *to hold up*, and in Cicero, manus tollere, in Virgil, tendere palmas, *to hold up*, or *stretch out the hands*; the *holding out* and *hanging down* of the *hands* being both equally contrary to the using them, or *holding them up*, (the *exerere lacertos*, *stretching the arms* in a manlike manner against all opposers,) and both signs of a conquered person, that yields himself so, which the Greek express by ἀπανδᾶν.

4. [*d*] *resisted unto blood*] Of the *umbratilis pugna*, or σκιμαχία, *beating the air*, or προπυγμή, we have formerly spoken, on 1 Cor. ix. 26, the first lighter skirmishes before the *stata pugna*, or *set combat*, the beginning of the bloody fight. To this the apostle here refers, when he saith, *ye have not yet resisted μέχρις αἵματος, as far as blood*, that is, as far as the old *athletæ* were wont, who after the προπυγμή, or *brandishing of their arms* or *weapons*, at last fell to downright blows with their *cæstus* in their hands, which ordinarily brought the blood with them. This the apostle applies to their spiritual *agones*, (τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνισάμενοι, *the Olympics of the soul*, in Porphyry's style, and here, πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνταγωνισάμενοι, *combating against sin*,) that they had no reason to be disheartened with Christ's permitting them to be afflicted and persecuted, as they were; for there are far greater and bloodier combats against sin, such as bring blood and death; and against those must be provided, in comparison of which theirs yet are but σκιμαχίαι or *skirmishes*.

11. [*e*] *peaceable fruit*] Agreeably to the former agonistical expressions in the beginning of the chapter is here added γυμνασμένοι, *exercised* in these *gymnasia* of afflictions, and the receiving of their βραβίον, or *reward*, styled here καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης, *the fruit of righteousness*, that fruit which belongs to all righteous men now under the gospel, (or else according to a singular notion of δικαιοσύνη, *righteousness*, for felicity, mentioned in the note on 2 Tim. iv. [a],) and emphatically ἐλθνικὸς καρπὸς, referring, as the learned P. Faber hath conceived, to the *corona oleagina*, "the olive crown," (that tree being an emblem and symbolum of peace,) of which the Olympian crowns for their victors were ordinarily made. But of that see more, James iii. note [g].

16. [*f*] *profane person, as Esau*] Why Esau, in selling his birth-right, is here called *profane*, will appear by that known observation among the Jews, that as long as God was served within private walls, before the erecting of the tabernacle and temple, and institution of priesthood, the right of priesthood in every family was annexed to the primogeniture; the firstborn was still the priest. Thus, Exod. xxiv. 5, when it is said that Moses sent the *young men* of the children of Israel to offer burnt offerings and peace offerings unto the Lord, the Chaldee paraphrase renders them בְּכֹרֵי, *the firstborn*; and Uzielides adds this scholion, "because as yet the Aaronical priests were not instituted." This, say the Jews, (and it is reasonable to believe them,) was it that made Jacob so ambitious of the πρωτοτόκια, or *privileges of the primogeniture*: and if Baal Haturim, on Gen. xxviii. out of Beresith Rabba, may be heeded, this was it which Jacob desired to have confirmed to him by God in those words, Gen. xxviii. 20, *If God will be*

with me. And therefore for Esau to sell this sacred privilege for one *mess of pottage*, to undervalue this prerogative of offering to God so vilely, out of a little present impatience, (and proportionably for the Hebrew Christians, for a poor secular end, viz. to rid themselves of a little persecution or affliction for the gospel, to quit the public service of God, as it appears some did at this time, chap. x, nay to forsake Christianity itself, to apostatize utterly, (to which that was but a *preludium*,) and so to part with that privilege of priests which belongs to all Christians, so far as the prerogative of offering up prayers to God,) this will easily be acknowledged an act of great profaneness. To which may be accommodated that which the Jerusalem Targum, Gen. xxv. 34, saith of Esau, "he contemned his primogeniture, and set at naught his part in the world to come, and denied the resurrection of the dead," viz. because in contemning his privileges of primogeniture, and in that of the priesthood, he is interpreted to have done all this.

[g] *general assembly*] The word *πανάγωγος* signifies properly *θέατρον, συνάθροισις, a theatre, a multitude of people come together*, as in the Grecian games, to behold their *agones* and their *sacra*. Hence doth it signify also any *frequentia populi*, but especially a promiscuous mixed multitude from all parts, and, in a sacred sense, an assembly of worshippers of all sorts and countries; which is a particular notation of the Christian church, the net which gathers up good and bad, (that is, Jews, which were called the only people of God before, and Gentiles, which were proverbially called *ἁμαρτωλοὶ, sinners*,) is made up of a company of all nations, nay takes in the angels themselves named immediately before, and who are said to sing, and join with us in our public assemblies.

[h] *firstborn*] The firstborn had not only the privilege of the priesthood before the law, but always since, the *פִּרְשֹׁן*, the *double portion*, *διπλῇ τιμῇ*, the portion not only of possessions but of dignity and honour above the rest of the brethren. And proportionably the apostles, which were either simply the first converted to the faith of Christ, or else preferred before others, as Judah to the primogeniture of dignity, and Levi in respect of the priesthood, are called here the *firstborn*; and the church first founded in them, and planted by them, is here called *ἐκκλησία πρωτότοκων, the church of the firstborn*, the apostolical church.

[i] *written in heaven*] *Ἀπογράφεσθαι* signifies *to be enrolled*, (see note [i] on Luke ii.) and this belonged either to *all the congregation of Israel*, Num. i. 18, or in a special manner to the firstborn of every family who had that dignity before others, and in time came (as families grew into tribes) to be *princes of the tribes of their fathers*, Num. i. 16, or to some choice renowned men, who were to be *captains or heads of thousands in Israel*, or finally to all soldiers listed or enrolled. And to this manner of enrolling doth this phrase *ἀπογεγραμμένοι ἐν οὐρανοῖς, written, or enrolled, in heaven*, refer, to denote those that are registered by God, matriculated in heaven, that is, beside the apostles, all other holy men, renowned in the book of God: and so this phrase is fit to be joined to the *πρωτότοκοι* foregoing in the forementioned notion.

[k] *made perfect*] *Τετελειωμένοι* are those that have received their crown, their reward, in the agonistical notion so often mentioned, that is, that have attained the end of their race, are triumphant in heaven.

And the use of this very phrase among the Jews is ordinary, קרְוֹשִׁים כְּלִלִים, ἄγιοι τετελειωμένοι, those that are advanced to be, as they are wont to say, under the throne of glory.

24. [1] *that of Abel*] The meaning of this passage, παρὰ τὸν Ἀβὲλ, or, as Theophylact and others read, παρὰ τὸ Ἀβὲλ, is not easily resolved on. If it be τὸν, it may then agree with Abel as the accusative case, and then it must be rendered *then Abel*, meaning, *then Abel spake*; or else referring the τὸν to πάντισμὸν going before, and reading Ἀβὲλ in the genitive case, it will then be rendered, *then that (sprinkling) of Abel*, noting the *sprinkling of blood* which in that sacrificing of his *firstlings*, Gen. iv. 4, he is supposable to have used. If it be τὸ, then as it is certain it must refer to αἷμα, *blood*, precedent, and so denote the *blood of Abel*, so it is uncertain what blood is meant, whether the *blood of Abel* shed by Cain, or the *blood of Abel's firstlings* in his sacrifice. So that all these four possible notions of the words are in effect but two: the first and the third referring to that of Abel and his own blood shed by Cain, and the second and fourth to the blood of the cattle in his sacrifice. And which of these is now to be preferred is the only difficulty. That the first should be it, the authority of the Greek commentators and others would incline, and the manner of the scripture style in many places (using words and phrases which must be supposed to signify much more than their natural importance affords, see note [e] on Matt. xii.) may help to persuade it. For thus it may then be explicated very commodiously, that whereas the *blood of Abel*, the first that ever suffered, *called for* nothing but *vengeance* on the murderer, the *blood of Christ*, quite contrariwise, *called for mercy* on his very crucifiers, and on all the world of men besides, and so *spake as good things* as Abel's did ill, cried as loud for pardon as his is said to do for vengeance. But if we consider the design of the whole context, which is the comparing the state and economy under the law and before Christ with that now after or since his coming, and the preferring the latter infinitely beyond the former, we shall then have great reason to incline us to accept the second sense, that the *sprinkling of the blood of Christ*, that sacrifice of his upon the cross, had infinitely more efficacy in it (and that devolved to us) to obtain God's acceptance, than that sacrifice of Abel's, the first great type of that shedding the blood of Christ, this *Lamb of God*, is affirmed in the scripture to have had. That this sacrifice of beasts offered by Abel should here be mentioned with Christ's sacrifice of his own body on the cross, the reason is evident, because all the sacrifices of beasts, not only under the law, but before it, among the patriarchs, before and after the deluge, were all types of Christ's *one perfect sacrifice*. And Abel's being the first of these recorded in scripture, and attested to have had much of God's acceptance, particularly more than Cain's, (see Heb. xi. 4.) is therefore the fittest to be insisted on in this place. And that Christ's blood is said to *speak better things than that*, and so than any other blood in sacrifice, is agreeable to Heb. ix. 13, 14, *For if the blood of bulls—how much more the blood of Christ*; and, ver. 22, 23, *And almost all things are purged by blood—It was necessary therefore that the heavenly things themselves should be purged by better sacrifices than these*. And accordingly in the ancient liturgies, and in the canon of the mass now in use, when the bread and wine is consecrated into the sacrament

of the body and blood of Christ, the prayer makes mention of Abel's sacrifice and Melchisedec's offering, choosing out those two as the most ancient and eminent types (under the Old Testament) of this sacrifice of the blood of Christ commemorated in that sacrament. This (and much more, which, if it were needful, might be added to this purpose) will make it reasonable to have annexed this latter sense to the former more ordinary, if not to prefer it before it.

25. [*m*] *spake*] *Χρηματίζειν* is a word of a special signification, noting divine revelation, either by *בְּרוּךְ* *קוֹל*, the *voice from heaven*, or any other way. So Matt. ii. 12, 22, revelation of God's will *by dream*; and Luke ii. 26, by that or some other such way; and Acts x. 22, a revelation *by an angel*. So of Moses, Heb. viii. 5, and here of Noe, ch. xi. 7, and Rom. xi. 4, *ὁ χρηματισμὸς*, that *voice* from heaven to Elias, 1 Kings xix. 12. Hence saith Phavorinus, *χρηματισμὸς, ὁπτασία*, it signifies a *vision*, *νομοθεσία*, the *giving of the law*; and again, *Χρηματισμὸν δίδωμι, ἔχουν θεῖον λόγον*, oracles or divine speeches, agreeable to the known notion of *χρηστήριον* for *μαντεῖον τῶν Θεῶν*, an *oracle of God*. According to which notion of the word it is here to be rendered, not *speaking* simply, but *speaking from God, delivering oracles, warnings, or precepts* from him.

CHAP. XIII.

4. [*a*] *Marriage is honourable*] The main difficulty here is, what verb is here to be understood and taken in, for the clearing the construction. It may possibly be *ἐστὶ*, *is*, and then the only remaining difficulty will be, what shall be meant by *ἐν παντί*, whether it be most fitly rendered *in all*, whether denoting *all things*, that is, all respects, or *all men*, that being of several ages or of several qualities, are yet capable of marriage; or whether, as Theophylact adds, *in all times* of persecutions or of release from persecutions; or whether, according to the promiscuous use of prepositions in these writers, and particularly of *ἐν*, oft taken notice of in other places, it be to be rendered *among all*, that is, *among all men*, noting the general estimation and opinion of all men of all nations, whether heathens, Jews, or Christians; among all whom (save the Gnostic heretics, then newly sprung up) marriage had been looked upon with honour. This might easily be shewed out of the Jewish writers and customs. Marriage and procreation was the means of taking away their reproach, and so a note of peculiar honour among them. So likewise among the Lacedæmonians' law appointed a mulct first for the *ἄγαμοι*, *unmarried*, then another for the *ὀψίγαμοι*, those that *married late*, as the third, and the severest, *κακογαμίον*, for *marrying ill*. See Aristo's Commentaries in ^r Stobæus. And ^s Musonius in his book, Whether Marriage be any hindrance to Philosophers, hath discoursed it at large, *ὅτι μέγα καὶ ἀξιοσπουδαστον ὁ γάμος*, that "marriage is a great and desirable thing," as being the beginning of the constitution of families, cities, kingdoms, the only lawful means of continuing the world, and that therefore the gods have taken special care of it, Juno, Cupid, and Venus; and consequently that it is unreasonable to affirm *μὴ προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ ταῦτα*, that "there is any sort of men," philosopher or other, "for whom this is not convenient."

See Hierocles also, as he there is set down in ^tStobæus, out of his tract on this subject. And plenty of the like observation we have among the ancient Romans, who have enjoyed great privileges by this of marriage and propagation: the *jus trium liberorum*, the "privilege which they had that had gotten three children in lawful marriage," is famously spoken of among them. And accordingly to these premises this sense will be very perfect truth, *Marriage is honourable among all men*, Jews, heathens, and Christians also, among whom Christ hath left it in the same dignity in which he found it, having instituted nothing to the prejudice of lawful marriage, but, as Theophylact adds, "looking upon it with honour," as that which, ἐν σωφροσύνῃ τηρεῖ, *preserves men and women in sobriety and continence, or abstinence from all unlawful pleasures*. All which being granted, and supposed to be most true, yet it seems most probable from the context, that not ἐπὶ, *is*, but ἔσο, *let be*, in the imperative, is the verb which is here understood. *Let marriage be honourable among all, and let the bed, the marriage bed, be undefiled, or simply the bed, whether in or out of marriage, so as to contain the monial as well as conjugal chastity, proportionable to the fornication as well as adultery after mentioned in the interdict*. That it is thus, by way not of affirmation but exhortation or precept, may appear by the verses before, which from the beginning of the chapter are all exhortatory, and in the imperative, but especially ver. 5, where the style is exactly the same as here, ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος, *disposition, or conversation, without covetousness*, and yet the sense must necessarily be thus made up, (and so our English hath rendered it,) *let your conversation be without covetousness*; and so again, ἀρκούμενοι, *be content with the things that are present*. To this agrees what Georgius Alexandrinus saith in the Life of Chrysostom, p. 188. l. 15, that he always bid them τίμιον τὸν γάμον καὶ τὴν κοίτην ἀγνὴν φυλάττειν, "to keep marriage honourable ——" which being taken from this place evidently, is by him set by way of exhortation. And to this rendering therefore I do adhere, as an admonition seasonably given, contrary to the "Gnostics' infusions among them.

7. [b] *them which have the rule*] The word ἡγούμενος is a common word to signify all kind of authority or rule: ἡγούμενος λαοῦ, *ruler of the people*, Ecclus. ix. 22; ἡγούμενος ἐκκλησίας, *ruler of the congregation*, chap. xiii. 54; ἡγούμενος δυνάμεων, *ruler of the armies*, 1 Macc. xiii. 8; ἡγούμενος Ἰουδαίων, *ruler of the Jews*, ver. 42; ἡγούμενος ἔθνους, *ruler of the nation*, Ecclus. xvii. 13; ἡγούμενος πόλεως, *ruler of the city*, ch. x. 2; ἡγούμενος ἀδελφῶν, *ruler of the brethren*, ver. 24 and ch. xlix. 17; and frequently ἡγούμενος, *ruler*, simply. So the Hebrew נָשָׂא, and לָשֶׂט, and נָגִיד, which are ordinarily rendered ἄρχων, *governor*, are often ἡγούμενος, *ruler*. And what kind of government it is, must still be judged by the circumstances of the context in any place, and not from the nature or use of the word. In the New Testament it is applied to Christ as *ruler or governor in Israel*, Matt. ii. 6; and so also to the government of the apostles in the church, Luke xxii. 26, ὁ ἡγούμενος ὡς ὁ διακονῶν, *let him that ruleth*, that is, who shall be constituted ruler in the church, *be as he that serveth*; and there it is all one with ὁ μείζων

^t Page 414.

^u See note [b] on 1 Tim. iv.

ἐν ὑμῖν, *the greater, or greatest, among you*. So Joseph is ἡγούμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον, *a ruler over Egypt*, Acts xv. 22. Judas and Silas, that were sent by the council of apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and chosen ἐξ αὐτῶν, *out of them*, and so some of that number of the bishops of Judæa that were in the council, are called ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, *rulers among the brethren*, which there appear to be bishops of Judæa, (see note [e] on Acts xv.) and accordingly do teach and exhort and confirm and impose hands, all which were the bishops' office in that place. And thus it is here used in this verse, and again vv. 17 and 24, περὶ ἐπισκόπων λέγει, *he speaketh of bishops*, saith Chrysostom and others. And these the bishops of Jerusalem, and the other cities of Palestine, (τοῖς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, say the Scholiasts in the Argument of the Epistle,) to whom the Epistle was sent. Of these there are these characters in this chapter, all agreeing to this interpretation: first, that they had *spoken* to them *the word of God*, that is, preached the gospel to them in this verse; secondly, that they *watched over* their *souls*, and are to *give an account* of them; and consequently the Hebrews must obey and be subject to them, ver. 17, all evidences of their charge and authority in the church: thirdly, *all their rulers, and all the saints*, are the two comprehensive words which contain all the Hebrews, to whom this Epistle is written, the former noting the bishops, the latter all the faithful committed to their charge. And it is observable that the latter Jewish writers, when they speak of Christian bishops, express them by a word of great affinity with this here, retaining the Greek ἡγέμων in their language, with little or no change, הגמון, or אנמן, either with or without the aspirate. So in Abrabanel on Isa. xxxiv. fol. 54. col. 4, speaking of the famous Burgensis, from a Jew turned Christian, and at last become a bishop, he saith that he was formerly called Solomon the Levite, and afterward became שר וגדול בין הנוצרים, *a ruler and a great man among the Nazarites, or Christians*, בורגניש, אנמן, *egemon*, that is, *episcopus, Burgensis*. See Elias Levita in Thisbi, and Buxtorf. Lex. Talmud. in the word הגמון.

9. [c] *established*] The Hebrews express food by *the staff of bread*, because feeding is the sustaining and upholding of the body, which would otherwise, as a cripple deprived of his crutch, as the sick or weak man of his staff, soon fall to the ground. Accordingly the Hebrew סער, *stabilivit, fulcivit*, to *establish* and *sustain*, signifies also *refecit, refreshing*, and doth so especially when it is joined with לב, *heart*, (answerable to καρδία here,) as Psalm civ, *bread to strengthen man's heart*, and Gen. xxvii, *with corn and wine I have sustained him*. And in Chaldee and Syriac the same word signifies *eating, taking meat*. So 1 Kings xiii. 7, *Come home with me, and feed, or eat*; the Septuagint, καὶ ἀφίστησον, *and dine*; and among the rabbins ordinarily, סעודה, *convivium, a feast*. And so here βεβαιῶσθαι, *to be established*, (one sense of that Hebrew סער,) is set to signify that other of *feeding* or *eating*; and with the addition of χάριτι, *with grace*, imports the gospel, the spiritual food of souls, to tend more to our spiritual advantages than ever the sacrifices of the Jews did or could, which are here called βρώματα, *meats*, because of them part being sacrificed to God, part going to the priest, the rest went for the furnishing a

feast for the *sacrificers* and others whom they invited to them, and therewith they *refreshed* and *cheered* themselves *before the Lord*, Deut. xii. 18.

[*d*] *grace*] That *χάρις*, *grace*, hath in many places of the New Testament, and particularly in this, a special peculiar notion to signify the gospel, as that is opposed to the law, (upon this ground, because the matter of the gospel is free undeserved mercy; and besides, the sending Christ and the Holy Ghost and the apostles to reveal this is an act of infinite charity in God also,) will appear, not only by the opposition here to *βρώματα*, *meats*, which as *βρώσεις* also signify the Mosaic feasts and sacrifices, 1 Cor. viii. 8. Heb. ix. 10. Rom. xiv. 17. Col. ii. 16. but more evidently by viewing these many other places in the New Testament, wherein the word *χάρις* signifies the gospel; John i. 17, *ἡ χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια*, *grace and truth*, the gospel, (and substance of all the Mosaic shadows,) is said to have *come by Jesus Christ*, in opposition to the law by Moses. So Acts xi. 23, *ἰδὼν τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *having seen the grace of God*, that is, the gospel, so successfully preached among them, (see note [*d*] on Acts xviii.) and accordingly, ch. xiii. 43, they *exhort* them *ἐπιμένειν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *to continue in the grace*, that is, the gospel of God that had been preached, the doctrine thus mercifully revealed from God by them. So Acts xiv. 3, the Lord is said to *bear witness to the word of his grace*, that is, by miracles to confirm the preaching of the gospel. So ver. 26, and ch. xv. 40, Paul and Barnabas were commended by the apostles *τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *to the grace*, that is, the gospel, of God, to the preaching of it, expressed after by *εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν*, *the work which they performed*. So ch. xv. 11, *διὰ τῆς χάριτος Ἰησοῦ*, by the gospel, in opposition to the yoke of the law laid by the Judaizers upon the Christians. So *πεπιστευκότες διὰ τῆς χάριτος*, *they that believed through the preaching of the gospel*. So ch. xx. 40, *εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος*, *the gospel of grace*; and, ver. 32, *λόγος τῆς χάριτος*, *the word of his grace*, that is, preaching of the gospel. So *ἐλάβομεν χάριν*, *we received grace*, Rom. i. 5, and then *ἀποστολήν*, *apostleship*; first the mercy of receiving the gospel, then commission to preach it. So Rom. v. 2, *εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην*, *unto this grace*, the gospel, in which we stand, &c. So ch. vi. 14 and 15, *we are not under the law, but ὑπὸ χάριν*, *under grace*, that is, under the gospel. So 2 Cor. i. 12, *ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ*, *by the grace of God*, the gospel set in opposition to the *σοφία σαρκικὴ*, *the fleshly heathen wisdom*, (because this was no way to be attained but by God's revealing it;) so ch. vi. 1, they are *exhorted* not to *receive χάριν Θεοῦ*, the gospel again, *εἰς κενὸν*, *in vain*. So Gal. ii. 21, *οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *I do not evacuate the gospel*, I do not let that great favour of God of revealing the gospel to me to be cast away upon me; and, ch. v. 4, of them that depended on the law, *τῆς χάριτος ἐξενέεσθε*, *ye have fallen from grace*, that is, from the gospel. So Eph. i. 6, *the glory of his grace*, and ii. 7, *the abundant riches* of it, that is, of the gospel revealed to the heathen. So Col. i. 6, *ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἤκουσατε καὶ ἐπέγνωτε τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*, *from the day that ye heard and knew the grace of God in truth*: where by the conjunction of *ἀλήθεια*, *truth*, with it, (as before in John, *grace and truth*,) and the *hearing and knowing*, it is clear there can be nothing meant by *χάρις*, *grace*, but the gospel. So 2 Thess. ii. 16, *a good hope, ἐν χάριτι*, *in the gospel*; and 2 Tim. ii. 1, *ἐνδυναμοῦ*, *be strong, ἐν τῇ χάριτι*, *in the preaching of*

the gospel. So Tit. ii. 11, *the grace of God hath appeared, teaching, &c.* clearly the gospel and the doctrine thereof. So in this Epistle, ch. x. 29, *the Spirit of grace*, the Spirit of God, that, in God's great kindness to us, was sent to consecrate the apostles to their office of preaching the gospel. So ch. xii. 15, ὑστερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ, *falling short of the grace of God*, noting apostasy or defection from the gospel; and perhaps contrary to that, ver. 28, χάριν ἔχωμεν, *let us hold fast grace*. So 1 Pet. i. 10, περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος, *the grace to you*, or the gospel preached unto you; and ver. 13, ἐπὶ τὴν φερομένην ὑμῖν χάριν, *the gospel brought to you*; and ch. v. 12, testifying, ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθὴ χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *that this is the very gospel of God*. So Jude 4, *transferring the grace of God to lasciviousness*, that is, making that use of the gospel to libertinism.

15. [e] *fruit of our lips*] Some difficulty there is in the phrase καρπὸς χειλέων, *fruit of lips*. It is ordinarily conjectured that the Greek translation in Hosea, ch. xiv. 2, whence it is taken, read פרי instead of פרים, *calves*, which the Hebrew copies retain; and instances of the like have been given, note [a] on Heb. viii. But Mr. Pocock renders another account of it, viz. that καρπὸς is here taken in the notion of κάρπωμα, the word used by the Septuagint for an *holocaust*, which being ordinarily of young bullocks, the Hebrew פרים, *vituli*, *calves*, may fitly be rendered by it. The only difficulty is to resolve what the reason is that holocausts should be called κάρπωμα: and his conjecture is good, because these being above what was prescribed by the law, they bear proportion to fruit or banquet after a meal, and accordingly they are called by the rabbins קין למובח, *summer fruit for the altar*, or a banquet over and above the prescribed sacrifice: for as it is the custom after a feast to serve in fruit, so, saith Bartenorius, "after they have offered the due oblations of every day, they bring the holocausts for their freewill offerings." See Maimon. ad Mishnaioth, tr. Shekalim, c. iv. §. 4. But if this be not embraced, why yet may it not be resolved that the LXXII, retaining the sense, thought fit (as often they do) lightly to change the words, and so to set *fruit* for *calves*? By this means it is become far more fit for our apostle's turn to signify our Christian sacrifice or freewill oblations, works of mercy, &c., which together with our praises of God we offer to him, proportionable to the *offering to God thanksgiving, and paying vows*, psalm l. 14, which being *promised by the lips and spoken with the mouth*, psalm lxvii. 14, the payment of them is really καρπὸς χειλέων here, *the fruit, and calves, of our lips*. This *fruit of the lips* is here visibly set down as all one with the θυσία αἰνέσεως, *sacrifice of praise*. Thus the τρυφίστι, *that is, enforceth*. Now the *sacrifice of praise* is literally תודה, *θυσία αἰνέσεως*, so called psalms l. 14, 23. cvii. 22. cxvi. 17; and that the σωτήριον, *salvation*, ver. 13, that is, the *peace offering, or trespass offering*, Lev. vii, where for דם אשם, *the trespass offering*, the Septuagint have θυσία σωτηρίου, *the sacrifice of salvation*, ver. 1, θυσίαν, αἰνέσεως, *the sacrifice of praise*, ver. 2, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως σωτηρίου, *the sacrifice of salvific praise*, ver. 3. And this the Christian offers in the eucharist, wherein, according to the primitive practice, every man brings his liberal oblation, the bread and wine, and fruits of the season, in * Justin

Martyr's time, and afterward that which was proportionable thereto, never "coming to God empty," or without "remembering the Corban," saith y St. Cyprian. For this being offered to God by the bishop or priest with thanksgiving, (from whence it was called the *eucharist*,) thereby to acknowledge God the author of all the good things we enjoy, (*primitias earum quæ sunt ejus creaturarum offerentes*, saith z Irenæus,) is properly our *sacrifice of praise*, a real sacrifice, viz. the δῶρα, *gifts* or *oblations* which there we bring, and that a *sacrifice of praise* or *thanksgiving*, being farther ἀνάμνησις θυσίας, a *commemoration of Christ's sacrifice*, saith Chrysostom; and so literally καρπὸς χειλέων ὁμολογούντων here, the *fruit*, or *freewill oblation*, of *praising lips*, or of *lips giving thanks*, or *confessing in the name of the Lord*, that *Lord of our salvation* whom we there commemorate. And then to all this follows very naturally, in the next verse, *to do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased*: that is, over and above this solemn eucharistical oblation, we must also be mindful of daily continual works of charity upon all occasions, and wants of our poor brethren; this of charity and mercy being our acceptable Christian sacrifice, required by God in exchange for those daily sacrifices of the Jews, that were consumed with fire, went all into smoke, were not laid out to so much solid profit, (the relief of our poor brethren, God's known proxies upon earth,) as these our Christian sacrifices are.

THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JAMES.

BY the word καθολικῇ, *catholic*, is here noted, that this Epistle was not written to any particular church of one denomination, as St. Paul's Epistles were, but to all the Jewish converts wheresoever they were. That those were dispersed into several parts, and thence called the διασπορά, *dispersion*, see note [d] on John vii. The places where they especially lived are mentioned, 1 Pet. i. 1; and Pontus being there first mentioned, St. Cyprian mentions that Epistle of his, as that which was called *Epistola Petri ad Ponticos*, "The Epistle of Peter to those of Pontus," Cyprian, l. 3. de Testimon. 39, but that not to exclude the other parts of their dispersion after mentioned. Such Epistles as these are those which are anciently called ἐγκύκλιοι, which being delivered to the church of some one city, were appointed by them to be transcribed, and sent about to all the other churches within such a κύκλος, *compass* or *circuit*.

Who the writer of this Epistle was is thus far agreed on amongst most, that it was the bishop of Jerusalem, though the Syriac conceive it to be the *son of Zebedee*: but he was cut off by Herod, Acts xii. 1, before this dispersion of the Jewish Christians was so considerable as it was at the writing of this Epistle. The main question is, what James

y De Op. et Eleem. p. 180. Dominicum celebrare te credis, qui Corbonam non respicias?
z Lib. 4. c. 34.

it was that was bishop there, whether *James the son of Alphæus*, one of the Twelve, or some other. That it was *the son of Alphæus*, is thought to be favoured by the title of the Epistle, which in most copies hath 'Ιακώβου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, of *James the Apostle*. But this sure is a mistake; for the bishop of Jerusalem was *James the Just*, known by the title of *the brother of the Lord*, that is, the son of Cleophas, (Christ's uncle,) and so his cousin-german, which is ordinarily expressed by *brother* in the sacred dialect. So Clemens Hypotyp. l. 6, in Euseb. l. 2. c. α', Peter and James and John (the sons of Zebedee) μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ 'Ιακώβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον 'Ιεροσολύμων εἰσεσθαι, "did not contend for the dignity, but chose James the Just bishop of Jerusalem." And this, it seems, as next of kin to Christ; for of Simeon, the second bishop, saith Hegesippus in Eusebius, l. 4. c. κβ', Μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸν 'Ιακώβον τὸν δίκαιον, πάλιν Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέβητο πάντες ὄντα ἀνεψιών τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον, "After the martyrdom of James the Just, Simeon again was constituted bishop of Jerusalem, whom all preferred to that dignity, as being" (after James the next, or) "second cousin of Christ." Now that this James, the Lord's brother, was not one of the Twelve, is clear by Eusebius, l. 1. c. ια', Εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ Σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἦν, "This James was one of the reputed disciples, yea and brethren of Christ." Where *disciples* are clearly opposed by Eusebius to the Twelve. So in the author of the Recognitions, this James is affirmed to be none of the Twelve. So in the Menology of the Greek church they celebrate three Jameses: *James the son of Alphæus*, October 9; *James the brother of the Lord*, October 23; and *James the son of Zebedee*, April 30. So saith Eusebius again, lib. 2. c. κγ', that he was called *James the Just*, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ 'Ιακώβοι ἐκαλοῦντο, "because there were many of that name." See more of this, note [a] on 1 Cor. xv. As for the title of *apostle*, which here is bestowed upon him, that is no objection against what hath hitherto been said. For St. Hierome, in his Commentary on Isaiah, calls him *the thirteenth apostle*; and upon the mention of him Eusebius adds, lib. 1. c. ια', Εἰδὼς ὡς παρὰ τούτους, κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν δώδεκα, πλείστον ὅσων ὑπαρξάντων ἀποστόλων, "Beside the Twelve, there were many other apostles in that age, after the similitude, or by way of imitation, of the Twelve." And Theodoret pronounces indifferently, Τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους, ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον, "Those that are now called *bishops*, they then called *apostles*." So Thaddæus, (not Lebbæus or Judas, one of the Twelve, but, saith Eusebius,) one of the Seventy, who ten years after Christ was sent by Thomas to the king of Edessa, is out of the Syriac records of that city called ἀπόστολος Θαδδαῖος, *the apostle Thaddæus*. So Luke, or possibly Silas, St. Paul's fellow traveller, is named among the apostles of the church, 2 Cor. viii. 23; and so by Epiphanius and Theophanes Luke is styled ἀπόστολος, *apostle*. So Mark, St. Peter's follower, that first planted the church in Alexandria and Pentapolis, is by the anonymous writer of his life in Photius, by Eusebius, lib. 2. c. κδ', by Epiphanius, Hær. 51, called ἀπόστολος, *apostle*. So Timothy, converted by St. Paul, and after that made bishop of Ephesus, is by the Anonymous in a Photius, ὁ ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος, *the apostle Timothy*; and in Theodoret on

1 Tim. iii. 1, Ἀσιανῶν ἀπόστολος ὁ Τιμόθεος, *Timothy the apostle of the Asiatics*. And so Theophanes, τῷ Ἰουλίῳ μηνὶ γηγόνασιν ἑκαίμια τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων, Ἀνδρεία, Λυκά, καὶ Τιμοθέου, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, "In the month July were the dedication of the memorials of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, the holy apostles." So Titus is by Theodoret styled Κρητῶν ἀπόστολος Τίτος, *Titus the apostle of the Cretans*. And so Epaphroditus, Philipp. ii. 25, is ἀπόστολος ὑμῶν, *your apostle*; for which Theodoret gives the reason, because τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐπεπίστευτο, ἔχων ἐπισκόπου προσηγορίαν, "he was intrusted with the episcopal government of them." So Clemens Romanus, the bishop of Rome, is by Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. 4, called ὁ ἀπόστολος Κλήμης, *the apostle Clemens*, by St. Hierome, in Isaiah lii, *vir apostolicus*, "an apostolic person," by Ruffinus, De Adulterat. lib. Orig. *pene apostolus*, "almost an apostle." So Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is by Chrysostom in his encomium of him, called ἀπόστολος, *apostle*.

For the time when this Epistle was written, there is no certainty of defining, save that, as it must be after the apostle's preaching and converting the Jews in the other regions beside Judæa, so it must be before the year 63; for then this James was put to death by Anna's the younger, the high priest. See Josephus Antiq. l. 20. c. 8. The design of the Epistle is visible, to fortify the faithful against all temptations wherewith the Gnostic heretics could solicit them, and to secure their patience and purity and faith and charity, and all other Christian practices in them, and to foretell them the nstead that their worldly wealth, most solicitously preserved, will stand them in at the approaching calamity, which will involve incredulous Jews and Gnostics together, chap. v. 1, hereby comforting the faithful, and encouraging them to persevere till this *coming of Christ* for their rescue from their persecutors, ver. 8.

CHAP. I.

6. [a] *in faith*] The word πίστις, *faith*, which is generally thought in this place to belong to believing that the prayers shall be heard, may very well be taken in the ordinary notion for a firm adherence to the doctrine of Christ, a constancy in the Christian profession and practice. Thus is *believing* used, Ecclus. ii. 13, *Woe to him that is fainthearted, for he believeth not*; and this, joined with the *sinner that goes two ways*, ver. 12, as here the *double-minded man*, opposed to *praying in faith*, is further explained by *doubting*, and *wavering*, and *instability*. So in Herodotus, l. 1, Χρὴ πίστιν ἐν φιλήϊ τίδεσθαι, κραδίη μὴ διπλῇ πεφυρμένους, "Men must preserve faith in friendship, and not be polluted with a double heart;" where, as here, *faith* and the *double heart* are opposed in this sense. This notion will very well agree with the context, where comforting the dispersed persecuted Christian Jews, ver. 2, and bidding them rejoice in those sufferings, to which he again returns, ver. 9, (which argues that all which is betwixt doth also belong to the same matter,) he enforces his exhortation, ver. 3, by remembering them that the *trial of their faith*, meaning that by which their faith or constancy is tried, that is, afflictions, (so δοκίμιον signifies, and differs from δοκιμή, Rom. v. 4, as κριτήριον from κρίσις, that by which the *judgment* is made from the *judgment* itself,) *worketh*, or *perfecteth*, *patience*; that is, that if they had no afflictions to try their constancy of adhering to Christ.

there were then no place for that great Christian virtue (at least no way of perfecting it) to which the promises were made, viz. patience, perseverance; which *patience* must *have its perfect work*, ver. 4; that is, Christianity requires perfect patience and perseverance in spite of all temptations; and he that fails in any, loses all; and he that is not tried (and gives testimony of his sincerity) in every thing, he is imperfect, and wants somewhat that trial would make him capable of. But because in the many temptations of the world a man may fail, or for want of wisdom how to behave himself, miscarry sometimes, (and that consideration may discourage men when heavy pressures come tumbling in upon them,) therefore, ver. 5, he proceeds to answer that objection, by telling them that this defect is reparable by prayer; God can supply them in this, (and Christ, in the like condition, bids the disciples *take no thought*, never premeditate, *what answer they shall give*.) If they refer themselves in prayer to God's guidance in this matter, he will give them this wisdom abundantly. But then, ver. 6, that which is required to qualify them to have this prayer of theirs granted by God is, that they keep close to God, have no waverings, or inconstant demurs, or doubtings, whether they shall keep close or no: in the same sense as *calling upon God in truth*, or *in faith*, psalm cxlv. 18, (the Hebrew בְּאֵמֶת indifferently signifies either,) is constantly to adhere to God on whom they call. In which St. James looks particularly on the Gnostic compliances and warpings of some Christians, that to avoid persecutions were ready to forsake Christ, which is here expressed by the *wave driven by the wind* of persecution, (as Eph. iv. 14, by *false doctrine*.) and the *double minded, unstable person*, ver. 8, (which, ch. iv. 8, is also looked on as *impure*.) which had no reason to expect any wisdom or assistance from God, ver. 7. And so though it is possible the *asking in faith* may signify in a narrower sense confidence that his prayers shall be heard, yet it accords very well with the scope that it should be taken in the greater latitude; when he prays for wisdom to behave himself in persecutions as he ought, let him stick fast to his profession, and never waver in that, come to God with that firm unmoved purpose and resolution of mind, and he shall be sure to be assisted by God. So 1 John iii. 22, *Whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments*; adhere and stick fast to him, and do what is pleasing to him.

9. [b] *brother of low degree*] What the meaning of this verse is, $\text{Καυχᾶσθω δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐν τῷ ὕψει αὐτοῦ}$, *But let the brother that is low triumph, or rejoice, in his height*, is to me very doubtful, and therefore I have set down two notions of which it is capable. The former hath already been set down from an idiom of the sacred dialect, note [d] on Matt. ix, and need not be again recited here. The latter hath these probabilities for it. First, from the context, which from the beginning of the chapter had been to exhort them to *rejoice in tribulations, to count it all joy*, ver. 2, and that is all one with καυχᾶσθαι , *rejoice*, or *boast*, here; and then that which is *matter of all joy*, or of *boasting*, being always some good accession, some dignity, some advancement, it is very reasonable that that which he is bid *rejoice in* should be looked on as ὕψος αὐτοῦ , *his height*, his preferment. Secondly, from the word ὕψος , which is here used, and signifies *height*, not ἐξaltation , *exaltation*, or being *made high*, which is it that is opposite to

ταπεινός, being brought low, ver. 10, which notes this ὕψος, or height, to be that which the brother which is low hath whilst he remains such, and not that to which he is raised from his low estate, and ceaseth to be low when he is so raised. And upon this notion the second sense is founded, that the Christian in a low condition is not to be sad or dejected at that, as at an unhappy estate, but to look upon it with joy, as a thing that hath many huge advantages in it, especially in such times of persecution to Christians as those were, (it riddeth him of envy, plunderings, and continual fears,) a preferment or dignity to him. Thirdly, from the *but* in the front, *But let the brother*, &c. which is a note of connection with the former, and so an argument that this is the meaning, which is most agreeable with the foregoing discourse, which was wholly of the advantages of afflictions, and rejoicing in them, and not of exaltation. And thus also it will connect very fitly with the following verse: for if the person in a low estate be to look upon it as a preferment or advantage, then in reason the *rich man* is to rejoice at his *ταπεινός*, being brought low, that is, at his being reduced to that condition which is said to have so much of height and advantage in it. All this thus put together renders this a very probable interpretation.

11. [c] *ways*] The word *πορεία*, *ways*, here may possibly be a change of the transcriber for *ἐμπορία*, *tradings* or *merchandises*, as ch. iv. 13, it is the rich man's speech, *Ἐμπορευσόμεθα καὶ κερδήσομεν*, *We will traffick and gain*. But because *πορεία*, *ways*, hath no inconvenient sense in it, therefore there is no use of any such alteration.

17. [d] *variableness*] The word *παράλλαξις* signifieth astronomically the several habitudes and positions wherein the sun appears to us every day at the rising, in the meridian, and when it sets. And so *τροπή* is also a like word, belonging, not to the daily but yearly course of the sun, which is further from us or nearer to us, after the measure or in the proportion that it moves toward the northern or southern tropic. And from thence it is that it casts several shadows to the several people of the world, and gives geographers occasion to divide them into *ἄσκιαι*, *ἐτερόσκιαι*, and *περίσκιαι*, those that cast *no shadows*, those that cast *shadows on one side*, and those that cast *shadows round about*. And agreeable to this is the word *ἀποσκίασμα*, *casting of shadow*, here; and being joined with *τροπῆς*, *turning*, signifies the variations of the shadows, according to the various motions of the sun before mentioned.

23. [e] *natural face*] Some difficulty there is in understanding this verse, which will be resolved, if, as ordinarily it is thought, *πρόσωπον γενέσεως αὐτοῦ*, be determined to signify no more than *a man's own face* reflected to him in a glass, and *ἑσπῆτρον* be taken for that *glass* or *mirror*. For then the meaning of the verse will be, that the word of God is as such a glass, reflecting to him the portraiture of himself, *ποιοῖς ἴσται*, *what a kind of person he is*, whether there be any thing amiss in him or no; and he that hears the word of God, and doth it not, is as if a man should look upon and contemplate *his face in a looking-glass*, and no more; (that will be the meaning of *κατανοοῦντι*, *he that beholdeth*, in the present tense.) As for any use or effect of this *looking*, it follows, he *beheld* and *went away*, and *presently forgot*: when he hath seen what blemishes there are to be wiped off, to be reformed in him, he contents himself with having seen them; and having done so, departs, and never thinks more of them, lays not to heart

what he sees thus amiss in himself, forgets to reform or amend any thing. To this interpretation the chief objections are, first, from the word *γενέσεως*, which seems unnecessarily added, when *πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ*, *his own face*, would have served the turn: and again, *γενέσεως*, signifying *birth or nativity*, it is not obvious what should be meant by *the face of his own birth*. Secondly, from the *γὰρ*, *for*, ver. 24, which seems to divide the period, and make that of *going away and forgetting*, the proof of his being *like a man that beheld his face in a glass*, whereas by this interpretation the *going and forgetting* is connected with his *seeing his face*, and both of them together are the thing to which the forgetful hearer is resembled. To the first of these this answer may be offered; first, that a man may be said to have a double face, an inward and outward, a spiritual and corporal; the face of his mind, thoughts, and actions; and that is to be beheld and considered in a spiritual mirror, the word of God, as the outward, the bodily face or countenance, is by the ordinary glass or mirror represented to us. And the similitude being here set between one of these and the other, it will not be improper, to the mention of the *face*, to add a word of distinction, *πρόσωπον γενέσεως*, that *face* which belongs to man *by nature, by birth*, and is not acquired by study, by actions, by any thing in his own will or choice, as the face of his mind, the soul, may be said to be. Or it is possible, because *πρόσωπον* signifies sometimes a *false face*, that of an actor, a stageplayer, a personator, that here *πρόσωπον γενέσεως*, *that face that he is born with*, may be set opposite to that. As for the setting it in the genitive case adjectively, that is an ordinary Hebraism, as *the mammon of unrighteousness* for the unrighteous mammon: and we have an example of it in this very place, ver. 25, *ἀκροατὴς ἐπιλησμονῆς*, *an hearer of forgetfulness* for a forgetful hearer, which is as strange as here, *the face of his own birth*, for his natural countenance, or that which he hath by his birth. To the second it may also be answered, first, that the particle *γὰρ* is not always causal, or a note of probation in these writers, but sometimes a form of connection only; and yet, secondly, that here (according to the interpretation premised) it may be allowed to have that force, his *going and forgetting* being the reason why he that hears and doth not the word is likened to him that thus only looks or contemplates. Not that every one that sees his face in a glass doth, when he goes away, forget; but that he that doth only look, and, without more care or effect of his looking, doth *go away and forget*, is a fit emblem of the forgetful hearer of the word. From this notion of the words there will now be no reason to inquire (as some have done) whether a face seen in a reflection or mirror be ordinarily retained in the memory of the man whose face it is, that is, whether a man use to remember his own face; much less for that nicer question, whether women ordinarily do it, though men do not, as if that were the reason why the word *ἀνδρὶ*, *a man*, in the masculine, were here used, and not *ἀνθρώπῳ*, which is common to man and woman. These sure were no part of St. James's observation, but only that he or she that have looked on themselves in a glass, may possibly go away and never think more of what they saw, never wipe off the spots which they discerned there; and then that man or woman is a fit emblem to express the matter in hand, the bare unfruitful hearer of the word. Having thus cleared this interpretation of the words from those objections, it

is not unreasonable to acquiesce in it; and therefore I shall not trouble the reader with another interpretation, which I had conceived more applicable to this place, by rendering *πρόσωπον γενέσεως*, *the scheme of a man's nativity*, in the astronomers' use of the word *γένεσις*, (and so ^b St. Chrysostom, πολλοὶ καὶ γένεσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτειχίζουσιν, and frequently elsewhere, for the astrologers casting men's nativity,) and the evangelist's notion of the word *πρόσωπον*, *face*, Matt. xvi. 3, Luke xii. 56, for *the appearance of the sky* (and in like manner of the heavens) at any point of time, for which Origen in his Philocalia useth *σχηματισμός ἐπὶ τῆς γενέσεως*, *the habitude or figure at the nativity*, and then interpreting ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ, in an artist's *glass*, wherein he represents to any man his *fortune*.

27. [f] *Pure religion*] That this verse is a defensative particularly against the Gnostics of that time, may appear by these two parts of worship here mentioned: the first, charity to them that want; the second, spotlessness from the pollutions especially of the flesh, but also from other sins of the world. These two branches are styled by two names, the one *pure*, the other *undefiled worship*, and both of them taught both by God the Father in the Old Testament, and now by Christ. Contrary to these were the Gnostic practices in the two particulars. For the second, both of uncleanness, even the highest baseness and villainy, and of *loving the world*, and the pleasures and advantages thereof, *more than God*, and complying with the persecutors still, rather than they would suffer any thing, there is very often mention made in the Epistles; and for the first, beside the very frequent inculcations of the duties of charity, and the finding fault with (and complaining for) the want of them, there is in Ignatius's Ep. ad Smyrn. an eminent testimony. For fortifying them against the heresy of the times, μηδεὶς πλανάσθω, *let no man deceive you*, &c., and having resolved that faith and charity, τὸ δλον ἐστίν, ὃν οὐδὲν προκρίκεται, are betwixt them "the whole or all of a Christian, before which nothing is to be preferred," (in opposition to the Gnostics, who supposed themselves so perfect that they had no need of either,) he speaks plainly and punctually of them under the name of *ἑτεροδοξοῦντες εἰς χάριν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσαν*, "of false opinions toward the grace of Christ which is come to us," and bids them observe how contrary they are to the doctrine of God in these particulars following; Περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, οὐ περὶ χήρας, οὐ περὶ ὀρφανοῦ, οὐ περὶ θλιβομένου, οὐ περὶ δεδωμένου ἢ λελυμένου, οὐ περὶ πεινῶντος ἢ διψῶντος, "They have no care of charity, no care for the widow, nor orphan, nor oppressed, nor imprisoned, nor hungry, nor thirsty." In which respect it is manifest that this apostle, ch. ii. 14, proceeds to a punctual discourse of the absolute necessity of superadding works of charity to faith, or else it will *profit nothing*, directly opposite to the doctrine of Simon and his Gnostics, of whom saith ^c Irenæus, *Hos qui in eum et Helenam ejus spem habeant, et ut liberos agere quæ velint, secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines et non secundum operas justas*, "They that place their hope on Simon and his Helen, as free men did what they would, deeming that men were saved by his grace, and not according to any good works

^a b Tom. iii. l. 9. p. 266.

^c Lib. i. c. 20.

or endeavours." So of the ^d Valentinians, the progeny of those Gnostics, *Semetipsos non per operationem, sed eo quod naturaliter spirituales, omnino salvari*, "That they are not saved by working, but because they are naturally spiritual." *Quapropter et intemperate omnia quæ velantur hi qui perfecti sunt operantur*, "And therefore they that are perfect act without fear all things that are forbidden." This was St. Augustine's sense of the design of this Epistle, De Fide et Oper. c. 14. *Quoniam hæc opinio tunc fuerat exorta, aliæ apostolicæ Epistolæ Petri, Johannis, Jacobi, Judæ contra eam maxime dirigunt intentionem, ut vehementer adstruant fidem sine operibus nihil prodesse*, "Because this opinion was risen up in that time, all the catholic Epistles of James, &c. were chiefly intended against it, vehemently asserting that faith without works will profit nothing."

CHAP. II.

1. [a] *faith of our Lord*—] Δόξα Χριστοῦ, *the glory of Christ*, we have explained often to belong to the *Shechinah*, that again to his ἐμφάνεια, or *appearance* in the flesh, his incarnation, and all that was consequent to that. This being here improved with the addition of the words *Lord Jesus Christ*, doth more set out the necessity of obeying and observing all those things which this Lord and Saviour, the Messiah of the world, hath commended to his disciples, that is, to all Christians, believers, faithful persons, of which nature especially is charity in the following verses, and impartial strict justice (supposed and contained in that) in this present verse. Then for πίστις τῆς δόξης, *the faith of the glory*, (for so the Syriac construes the words,) it signifies this Christian faith, this faith, or profession of, or believing this incarnation and resurrection of Christ: and πίστιν ἔχειν ἐν προσώποληψίαις, *to have this faith in, or with respect of persons*, is to look on those that profess this faith, not as they are Christians, but as they are rich or poor, preferring partially one before the other, accordingly as he comes into your courts in greater splendour. And so the meaning of the whole verse is, that they that are professors of Christianity (and are here supposed to be so, and are put in mind of it by the title of ἀδελφοί μου, *my brethren*) ought not to have any such unchristian temper in them as in their judicatures (for so συναγωγή signifies *an assembly for judicature*, and that for ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs, and so it seems to signify here, ver. 2.) to prefer or favour one Christian before another only in respect of his wealth or fine clothes, when Christ hath equally received them both, or (if any) hath preferred *the poor*, ver. 5.

2. [b] *assembly*] That συναγωγή signifies all kind of *assemblies, meetings in the market-place*, Matt. vi. 2, *consistories for judicature*, Matt. x. 17 and xxiii. 34. (and not only *places for the public service of God*,) hath been formerly said, note [d] on Matt. vi. That it may do so also among Christians, and that it doth so here, appears, first, by the προσώποληψία, *acceptation of persons*, partially, ver. 1, which especially respects judicatures; secondly, by *the footstool*, ver. 3, which was proper to great persons, princes on their throne, or judges on their

tribunal; thirdly, by the word *κριταὶ ἐγένεσθε*, *ye become judges*, ver. 4, they were judges, it seems; fourthly, by the mention of *κριτήρια*, *judicatures*, ver. 6, which clearly signify such consistories, 1 Cor. vi. 4; and lastly, by ver. 9, where their partiality, particularly that of preferring the rich to a better place than the poor, is said to be a breach of the law: for so by a canon of the Jews it is provided, that when a rich man and a poor have a suit together before their consistories, either both must sit or both stand in the same rank, to avoid all marks of partiality. Agreeable to which is the now present practice of the Jews; so that if in matter of difference about *meum* and *tuum*, a Christian, having to do with a Jew, think fit to refer it to a *chacham* or *judge* among them, and at his coming into the room where he is, chance or choose (as taking himself to be a person of better quality) to sit down, he presently saith to the Jew, be he never so mean, *Sit thou down also*.

4. [c] *partial*] What is the meaning of οὐ διεκρίθητε here, will not easily be resolved. I suppose it may best be done by these degrees: first, by observing that *διακρίνεσθαι*, in the middle voice, generally signifies in these books either *doubting* (*wavering*, Matt. xxi. 21, Mark xi. 23, Acts x. 20 and xi. 11, Rom. iv. 20.) or *disputing*, there being a connection betwixt these two, he that doubts always *disputing* with himself. From whence also it signifies *to implead*, (with *τινι*, or *πρὸς τῷα* added to it,) or *to lay any thing to one's charge*, either in or out of *judicature*; as Acts xi. 2, they of the circumcision *διακρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν*, *charged Peter, or disputed with him, saying, Thou wentest in to the uncircumcised, and didst eat with them*. For the notion of *wavering*, Hesychius is punctual; *διεκρίθη, ἐμερίσθη, ἐδίσταζεν, εἰλαβήθη*, it signifies *to be divided, to doubt, to fear*; so twice in this Epistle, ch. i. 6, *μηδὲν διακρινόμενος*, *nothing wavering*, ὁ γὰρ διακρινόμενος, *for the waverer*. And as by this notion of the word I conceive a difficult place will be explained, Jude xxii, (see note [m] on that Epistle,) so we may conclude that in this Epistle, ch. iii. 17, *ἀδιάκριτος* will be best rendered *without wavering*, or *constant*, (see note [f] on that chapter.) Secondly, by observing the force of *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*, *in yourselves*, added to it: for as that refers oftentimes to the inward thoughts of the heart, (and then *not to doubt in themselves* is to do what they do without any inward reluctance, check, or scruple, or dubitancy, which in a sinful and irrational fact (as this here spoken of is) cannot but be a great aggravation of it,) so, being applied to disceptations or disputes, it oft signifies *among themselves*, or *one with another*. And if it be so here, it will then belong to the judges in this ecclesiastical council, or assembly of bishops, *debating or considering among themselves* what justice there is in the cause. Thirdly, by observing that punctuation which we find of it in Œcumenius, (and so also in some printed copies,) without any note of interrogation. And that that is the right reading is sufficiently evident, both by the mood and the copulative *καὶ*, *and*, which connect it with what went before, and demonstrate it to be governed of the *ἐὰν*, *if*, ver. 2, as *εἰσελθῇ*, and *ἐπιβλέψῃτε*, and *ἐπηγε* are. And then this must needs be the right rendering of it: *If a man enter having a gold ring, and if a poor man in sordid apparel enter also*, (that is, if they implead one the other,) *and if you look on* (or have a partial respect to) *the rich, and say unto him*, &c. *καὶ οὐ διεκρίθητε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*, *and if ye either*

doubt not, dispute not, within yourselves, in your own hearts, or else among yourselves make no disceptation about it, never consider the merit or justice of the cause, but merely looking upon the persons, which of them is in fine, which in sordid clothes, and become judges of evil thoughts, unrighteous judges. Where the sense being all this while suspended, one difficulty there is still remaining to resolve what shall be the latter part of the period, answerable to the *if*, by way of *ἀντίδοσις*. And that may possibly be the *Ἀκούσατε ἀδελφοί, Hear, my beloved brethren*, ver. 5; as if he should say, “If in your judicatures you deal thus partially, I must then tell you, or hear you, and remember, my beloved brethren, *Hath not God chosen the poor?* that is, done quite contrary to what you now do?” Or else there must be acknowledged (which is very ordinary) an *ellipsis*, thus to be supplied: *If you do thus and thus, then sure you are partial to your fellow Christians*, ver. 1. And either of these are very commodious, and sufficiently clear the words from all further difficulty; whereas there be many difficulties that press the other reading by way of interrogation: as, first, that the *καί* before the *οὐ* is not at all rendered or taken notice of in that reading; and, secondly, it is scarce to be observed in any author that the negative words *οὐ, οὐκ, οὐχ, οὐχι, or μή*, are at any time interrogative when they stand not first in the sentence, as here the *οὐ* doth not, the *καί* being before it; and thirdly, that other reading supposes and proceeds upon a notion of *διακρίνεσθαι*, which may belong to the active *διακρίνειν*, but never to the mean voice (as *διακρίνεσθαι* is) in the New Testament, or any other author, or glossary.

CHAP. III.

1. [*a*] *be not many masters*] What the full importance of this admonition is, *μη πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε, be not many masters*, may perhaps be thus collected. One great fault of the Judaizing Christians and Gnostics, frequently taken notice of, is that of *judging* others, the orthodox Christians, and separating from them. Thus Rom. ii. 1, the *ὁ κρίνων, he that judgeth*, in the beginning and end of the verse, hath been shewed to signify (see note [*a*] on that chapter) him that teacheth the necessity of observing the Mosaical law, and accuseth, and separateth, and speaks evil of the orthodox Christians, as breakers of the law, as *παραβάται*, a sort of *apostates*, because they are not circumcised. These are there further described, vv. 18, 19, 20, as those that take upon them to know the will of God most perfectly, (and are thence called *Gnostics*,) to be *guides of the blind, lights of them that are in darkness, instructors of fools, διδάσκαλοι νηπίων, teachers or masters of babes, &c.*, where their assuming those titles of *guides, lights, instructors, masters*, is joined with the *judging* of others as *blind, ignorant, fools, and babes*. And as there *διδάσκαλος, teacher or master*, (the same as here,) is one of the titles they assumed, so, ver. 21, is *ὁ οὖν διδάσκων ἕτερον, thou that teachest another*, in this sense again, thou that assumest to know more than all others, to be able to instruct and teach others, as if no man knew his duty but they. These are again described, Rom. xiv. 4, by the *ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην, he that judgeth another man's servant*, that when Christ hath given Christians liberty in the matter of circumcision and other Judaical performances, require all those performances of their fellow Christians, as if they, not Christ, were the

lords and masters of their faith. So again, Col. ii. 16, *Μήτις ὑμᾶς κρινέω, Let no man judge you in meat or drinks, &c.*, where the *judging* is that of the Judaizers, and is called *dogmatizing*, ver. 20, by ordinance retrenching that liberty that Christ hath given us, and thereupon judging all that are not their disciples; and so that is all one with this notion of διδάσκαλοι, *masters*, here. A spice of this humour it was that Christ noted in the Pharisees, Matt. xxiii, when he tells them they *loved to be called Rabbi, Rabbi*, ver. 7, that is, *my master, my master*, my guide, my instructor; which Christ forbidding his disciples to imitate, gives this reason, εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ καθηγητής, *for one is your guide, or master, Christ*; and again, ver. 10, μὴ κληθῆτε καθηγηταί, *Be not ye called guides, or masters, for one is your master, Christ*. And that this is the notion of διδάσκαλοι, *masters*, here, may appear, first, by the circumstances of the context; and, secondly, by comparing them with these other places now mentioned. For the first, in the 12th verse of chap. ii, St. James speaks distinctly to these Judaizers, and admonisheth them of their words as well as actions, that they are to be guided by the Christian, not Mosaical law, and accordingly to be judged; that the Christian law teacheth liberty from the Mosaical, and they that speak or do contrary to that liberty are much to be blamed. Which being thus generally proposed on those two heads, he begins (by way of ἐπ'ἀνδοας) first with the last actions, those especially of mercy, most contrary to the practice of these Judaizers, who fiercely persecuted the orthodox Christians; and on that head he proceeds to the end of the chapter, shewing how little available faith or Christian profession will be without charity. And then at the beginning of this chapter he returns to the first, that of the tongue or speech, a special part of which is that of judging others, and so goes on to this matter of the unruliness of the tongue, ver. 3, &c., and shews how contrary that is also to Christian profession, ver. 9, it being the *cursing of men*, when they pretend to pay reverence and *blessing to God*. And this, it seems, they were guilty of, not only by what had before been said, ch. i. 26, that he that *seems to be religious, and bridled not his tongue, that man's religion is vain*, but here also, ver. 10, *My brethren, these things ought not to be so*. And that they are the Gnostics that are thus noted by him, appears, ver. 13, *Who is wise and ἐπιστήμων, knowing among you? let him by a good conversation shew his own works with meekness of wisdom*: intimating, that this proud, fastidious, supercilious wisdom, judging and censuring others, is that which is here designed to be beaten down by him, and so the πικρὸς ζῆλος, *bitter zeal*, ver. 14. And that is the reason also that, ch. iv. 11, having exhorted them not to *speak against one another*, he adds, *He that speaks against his brother, and judgeth his brother, speaks against the law, and judgeth the law*; that is, by his practice condemns the law of God, which he so zealously professeth to stand for. That this is the importance of the place may appear, secondly, by comparing this verse here with Rom. xiv. 10. There, for the suppressing this fault of theirs, *judging or setting at nought the brother*, this reason is given, πάντες γὰρ παραστήσόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *for we shall all appear before the judgment seat of Christ*, (as in another matter, 1 Cor. iv, *He that judgeth me is the Lord, therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, &c.*; that is, judging

others is an unchristian thing, derogating from Christ's judicature, to which all must be referred.) And so here, *Be not many masters, knowing we shall receive a greater judgment*; that is, answer for what we do at an higher judicature. And so again, ch. iv. 12, *There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy*; (that is, to whom all judging is to be referred :) *who art thou which judgest another?* This is farther confirmed by comparing it with 1 Tim. i. 7, where of the Gnostic Judaizers (evidently described, ver. 6, by the *τινὲς ἀστοχίσαντες*, and *ἐξερπάγησαν εἰς ματαιολογίαν*, *swerving from the faith and good conscience, and being turned to vain speaking*) he saith, that they are *desirous to be teachers of the law*, that is, *rabbies*, that is, all one with the *διδάσκαλοι*, *masters* or *teachers* here; and this, it seems, in respect of their asserting the necessity of the Christians observing the Mosaic law, (as appears, ver. 8,) and that is in effect the *judging* of them that observe it not. And so 1 Tim. vi, speaking of these under the title of *ἐτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες*, *heterodox teachers*, *puffed up*, as Gnostics, but *μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι*, *knowing nothing*, he adds mention, as of their *envy* and *strife*, so of their *evil speaking*, and *evil surmising*, the *judging* which we now speak of. As for the putting in the word *πολλοί*, *many*, *be ye not many masters*, I suppose that is in opposition to the *εἰς διδάσκαλος* or *καθηγηγῆς*, *the one master or guide*, Matt. xxiii, or the *εἰς νομοθέτης*, *the one lawgiver or judge* here, James iv. 12. For it being Christ's office only to give laws to the church, these Judaizers do clearly intrench upon his office, and so are *πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι*, *many*, instead of the *one Master*. This one difficulty being thus explained, and the interpretation confirmed, the rest of the chapter will be very perspicuous and coherent to it, which in any other interpretation of the verse will be obscure, and the connection very hard to be discerned.

5. [b] *Even so*] That the word *οὕτω*, *so*, here, is a note of the latter part, or *ἀνταπόδοσις*, of the similitude, may at first sight be believed, but upon further consideration will be found a mistake. For that which is here added is not fitly illustrated by the foregoing similitude of the *horse* or *ship*, but by another similitude annexed after it, with the particle *ἰδοὺ*, *behold*; for that is the way of bringing in similitudes, (and is used before, vv. 3 and 4,) and not only the forms *ὥστερ*, *οὕτω*, *as*, and *so*. Nay, when the plain sense or matter to be illustrated is first set down, as here it is, ver. 2, *If any man offend not in word, he is able to bridle the whole body also*, there the *ἰδοὺ*, *behold*, is by much the fittest form to introduce the similitude, as there it doth of the *horse* and *ship*. And if that be converted into the other form, it must be by placing the latter part first, after this manner: As a man *turns* or *rules* an *horse* by a *bridle*, or a *ship* by a *stern*; so he that hath command of his tongue, is able to *bridle* or *rule* the *whole body*. And again, ver. 5, As a little fire sets a great deal of matter on fire; so the *tongue*, being a *little member*, *μεγαλαυχῇ*, *makes a great noise*, keeps a great stir, puts whole multitudes into a combustion. And therefore another notion of *οὕτω*, *so*, is here to be taken notice of, as a form of bringing in a second or third part of a distribution, without any *ὥς* or *ὥστερ*, *as*, antecedent. And so it seems to be in this place, a form of transition from one part of the discourse of the tongue, considered when it is *bridled*, vv. 2, 3, 4, to another, ver. 5, &c., when it is not bridled, and will be best

rendered, *In like manner*, or, *So likewise*. As for the οὕτως, ver. 6, which seems otherwise used, it is not to be found in the king's MS. nor the Syriac. See note [c].

6. [c] *And the tongue*—] The words of this verse 6, in the ordinary copies, Καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ, ὁ κόσμος ἀδικίας· οὕτως ἡ γλῶσσα καθίσταται, *And the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue seated in the members*, seems not to be rightly set. The king's MS. leaves out the οὕτως. But that change will not render the words any complete sense. The Syriac seems to have read it shorter without the latter, οὕτως ἡ γλῶσσα, *so the tongue*, and to have read τῷ κόσμῳ, *to the world*, instead of ὁ κόσμος, *the world*; and then the plain meaning is, *And the tongue is placed in the members, a fire of iniquity to the world*: that is, As a fire in the midst of a great deal of combustible matter sets all presently in a flame, so doth the tongue in our members; it is a cause of contention, sedition, &c., (and so of the greatest iniquity, that sin of uncharitableness, so contrary to the Christian law,) *to the world*, the whole society of men about us. That this is the true rendering of the place, by making *the world* answerable to the ἄλλῃ, *matter*, which is set on fire, (and not that the tongue compared to fire is here styled *a world of iniquity*,) appears by the end of the verse, where in like manner it is said φλογίζειν, *to put into a flame τὸν τροχὸν γενέσεως, the wheel of affairs*. See note [d].

[d] *course of nature*] That γένεσις signifies *affairs* or *actions*, all that comes to pass, see note [a] on Matt. i. Τροχὸς signifies *a wheel*, and the Hebrews are wont rhetorically to express business or affairs of the world by the *turning of wheels*: איך תסבינה גלגלי אופני פרשיכם, *how are the rolling, or whirling, of the wheels of your affairs turned?* Buxtorf. Instit. Epistol. Epist. i. And so ὁ τροχὸς γενέσεως will signify *the compass* or *sphere* or *succession* of *affairs*, meaning of men or mankind; and so *putting that into a flame*, will be in another phrase all one with πῦρ τῷ κόσμῳ, *fire to the world*, at the beginning of the verse, *putting the world*, that is, all the affairs of the world, into a combustion.

Another notion I have had of this phrase, which I shall but mention, by taking γένεσις in the astronomers' notion, (touched on note [e] on ch. i.) for *nativity* or *geniture*, as that notes all the events of life, by astrologers conjecturally foretold from the position of the heavens at the time of any one's birth. This the artists might fitly represent in a wheel, bringing up one part of the life (and the events thereof) after another, to which the ancients' *wheel of fortune* may seem to refer; and when this wheel was represented fiery, that would fitly note contentions and wars, &c. And accordingly φλογίζειν τὸν τροχὸν τῆς γενέσεως might be rendered *to set the wheel of nativity on a light flame*; that is, to turn the whole life into contentions and feuds, which is but an elegant way of expressing that sense which is acknowledged to belong to these words.

7. [e] *every kind of beasts*] For the understanding this verse, it must first be premised, that the notion of φύσις, *nature*, for γένος, *kind*, or οὐσία, *essence, being*, in Hesychius, is commodious to it here, both in the beginning and end of the verse; so that πᾶσα φύσις θηρίων, &c., may signify *all kind of beasts*, that is, beasts indefinitely: so ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις may be *mankind*, that is, men indefinitely of all ages or times,

proportionably to *δαμάσκειται* and *δεδάσκειται*, is *tamed*, and *hath been tamed*; that is, in all times perpetually have been tamed. The greater difficulty will be, what is meant by *δαμάσκειν*, to *tame*: that may (as ordinarily it doth) signify *cicurare*, to take off from wildness, and so to *make tame and familiar*, to bring to hand; and that may be very applicable both to *θηρία* and *πετεινά*, *beasts* and *birds*, which are by men thus tamed, and made serviceable to us. But because this is not so commonly practised in serpents and fishes, and yet these are here named indifferently with the former, it is more reasonable that another notion of the word should here be pitched on, which may indifferently be applicable to all the kinds here mentioned; and that is the notion of *subduing*, *mastering*, *getting power over* them: so saith Hesychius, *δαμάσκειν*, *ὑποτάσσεται*, it signifies *to be subdued*, *kept under*, the very Latin, *domari*, *restrained*, that it shall not be able to offend or hurt; and so here *ἀκράσχετον*, *that which is not, cannot be restrained*, is opposed to it. And then this will be of a larger extent, belong to all hurtful creatures, which by horns, or teeth, or heels, or by their poisonous nature, are able to hurt us, and to all the several ways and inventions that men have to avoid and restrain these, by taking them, depriving them of their weapons of offence, their stings, their teeth, or when they have bitten or poisoned any man, by curing that wound, overcoming that poison. And this last of *poison*, if it be not primarily here meant, is certainly to be taken in, as may be guessed by the *ἀνταπόδοσις*, or second part of the similitude, ver. 8, where *the tongue* that *no man can subdue or restrain*, is said to be full *ἰού θανατηφόρον*, of *deadly, mortiferous poison*, whereas the poison of other things is conquerable, curable; and so when, ver. 6, it is said *σπαιοῦν*, to *defile*, that is, to infect, or poison, *the whole body*: and accordingly the *θηρία* in the front, which we render *beasts*, are *vipers* among the physicians, Nicander, &c., whose *θηριακά* comes from thence; and so *θηρίον* is used for a *venomous beast*, Acts xxviii. 4, (all one with *ἔχιδνα*, *viper*, ver. 3.) and so are *ἑρπετά*, *serpents*, also; and to that may possibly belong the other part of that enumeration, the creatures of the other elements, the air and water, *πετεινά* and *ἐνάλια*. And then perhaps it may not be amiss to resume the common ordinary notion of *φύσις*, *nature*, for the natural quality and faculty of all these here named, whether strength, violence, ravenousness, or poisonousness, which is by nature implanted in several creatures, enabling them to hurt and kill us, which yet, *ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει*, *by man's nature*, his wit, understanding, faculty of inventing of means to secure himself, or weaken or disarm them, have from time to time been subdued, weakened, deprived of their power of hurting mortally, whereas the tongue cannot be restrained; the poison of that is mortal, and neither to be cured nor prevented.

17. [f] *without partiality*] That *διακρίνεσθαι* signifies *to dispute*, or *doubt*, or *waver*, in the middle voice, and not *to judge*, or *be partial*, hath been already shewed, (see note [c] on ch. ii. and [m] on Jude. To which it is most consequent that *ἀδιάκριτος* here should signify *without wavering*; and so it will be a very fit epithet of the supernal wisdom, the true Christian piety, that he which hath it adheres firmly and constantly to Christ, whatsoever temptations attempt to drive or invite him from it. And this is most fitly added here where the

character of the true Christian is set opposite to that of the Gnostics, whose compliances (so often noted in him) with the Jews or heathens, when the Christian was persecuted by either, were the highest degree of wavering and inconstancy, and especially his doctrine of the *ἀδιαφορία*, that it was an *indifferent thing* to forswear Christ in time of persecution. And so this part of the character is fitly prefixed before *ἀνυπόκριτος*, *without hypocrisy*, which opposeth the Christian to the false deceitful professor of Christianity, such as betrayed the sincere orthodox believers to the Jews and persecutors, If there be any question of this, it must be because of the connection here with *καλῶν καρπῶν*, *good fruits*. For thus indeed the word is sometimes applied, and then it signifies an universal liberality. Thus in Palladius Lausiac. Hist. κεφ. ρυδ. Olympias, which is there called *κοινωνὸς καὶ διάκονος πάντων δεομένων*, *one that communicated and ministered to all that wanted*, and so dispersed or dissipated an immense wealth, *πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀδιακρίτως ἐπήρκεσεν*, *she aided all liberally and ἀδιακρίτως*, where it may possibly signify *without any difference*: so Gentianus Hervetus reads it *indiscriminatum*, to all that wanted, whatsoever they were: but it may also signify *without doubting*, or *wavering*, and so cohere with the *ἀπειρον ἐκείων καὶ ἀμέτρητον πλοῦτον διασκορπίσασα*, (immediately precedent,) *dispersing that infinite and unmeasurable wealth* which she had, *without any doubt*, or *wavering*, or *demur*, arising from worldly fear of her own want, which this liberality might cause, as when Christ commanded, Luke vi. 35, *to do good and lend*, *μηδὲν ἀπελπίζων*, *despairing or doubting nothing*. See note on that place. And so though possibly it may signify here *without making any difference in acts of mercy*, which is a kind of partiality, yet it may as fitly also be rendered *without doubting*, as that is applicable to mercy and *good fruit*, that is, to liberality also.

18. [g] *fruit of righteousness*] Some difficulty there is in this verse, arising from the different notions that *καρπός*, *fruit*, and *εἰρήνη*, *peace*, are capable of. *Καρπός*, *fruit*, noting that which is any way (whether naturally or morally) produced, signifies either an effect or reward. As an effect it is used, ver. 17, immediately precedent, where of the *supernal wisdom* it is said that it is *πλήρης ἀγαθῶν καρπῶν*, *full of good fruits*, those *fruits* being the effects or productions of that wisdom. But elsewhere it seems to be taken in that other notion. So Heb. xii. 11, where *chastening*, though at present not joyous, is yet said *afterward to yield* (by this moral way of production, not as an effect, but a reward) *the peaceable fruit of righteousness*: and so here the same phrase, *καρπός δικαιοσύνης*, *fruit of righteousness*, that is, of that *supernal wisdom*, or Christian piety and charity (see note [e] Heb. xii.) signifies the reward of it; and this is here said to be *sown*, as there to be *yielded* or *returned* (so *ἀποδίδωσι* signifies *retribution*) here, *ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, *in peace*, as there to be *εἰρηνικός*, *peaceable*. Then for *εἰρήνη*, *peace*, that signifies, first, that virtue of charity, *peace* with men; and so it is certainly used in the end of the verse, in opposition to all the uncharitableness and emulations in the former part of this and the beginning of the next chapter; and consequently *ποιεῖν εἰρήνην*, *to do or make peace*, (proportionable to the phrases *ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην*, *to do righteousness*, and *ποιεῖν ἁμαρτίαν*, *to do or commit sin*.) signifies to use all diligence of endeavour

and industry to attain it, διώκειν εἰρήνην, *to pursue peace*, φιλοτιμείσθαι, ἡσυχάζειν, *to be emulous, ambitious of quiet*, studiously to contend for it; and so is εἰρηνοποιοὶ, *peacemakers*, used, (see note [d] on Matt. v.) But then it doth also signify, according to the notion of the Hebrew בְּרָכָה, all happiness and prosperity, as when *Peace be to you* is the form of salutation, and contains all the blessings in the world, spiritual and temporal, under it; and so by the ordinary figure of sacred rhetoric, ἀντανάγκαις, (see note [k] on Matt. viii.) it seems to signify here in the former place *in peace*, that is, in a most happy, gracious manner, or with a confluence of all felicity attending it.

CHAP. IV.

5. [a] *the scripture saith*] There is no place of scripture of the Old Testament which can own so much of this citation as that, Gen. vi. where in the Septuagint's reading there is πνεῦμα, *spirit*, and παραμένει, *abideth*; and the παραμένειν, *abiding*, there, is all one with the κατοικεῖν, *sojourning*, here. Now whereas it is here added of that *spirit*, that it doth ἐπιποθεῖν εἰς φθόνον, *desire to envy*, first, it is clear that the πνεῦμά μου, *my spirit*, there, is the spirit or soul of man, given him by God, and so called *God's*, in respect of the original, (see note [f] on 1 Pet. iii.) but signifies the mind of man as it is in him, and is corrupted by an habit of worldly and wicked desires, which cannot be affirmed of God's *holy Spirit*, (and for any evil angel, it will be hard to say, either that such dwell in, or that it is they that *lust* in us: it is our own corrupt hearts, even when the devils move us, to which the lust and all the sin is to be imputed:) and, secondly, this is parallel to what, Gen. vi. 3, is said of that old world, *that man is flesh, and the thoughts of his heart always evil*, that is, his carnal or worldly desires are insatiable, bent to all manner of wickedness; the *desires* here being distinctly noted by ἐπιποθεῖν, *desiring*, and either the wickedness or insatiateness of them by φθόνος, *envy*, which sometimes in authors is the contrary to *liberality*, and signifies all manner of covetousness, pining to see any man have what we have not; and elsewhere signifies *malice, violence*, and the like. As for the addition here, ver. 6, *But he giveth more grace*, that seems to be the apostle's own observation of that place in Genesis, that when the world so provoked God, yet he gave them time of repentance, (as it there follows, *Nevertheless his days shall be an hundred and twenty years*; they shall have that space allowed them to reform and escape punishment,) and so God in Christ doth now; and upon repentance there is yet mercy and pardon to be had, upon which is superstructured naturally that which follows, *Wherefore he saith, &c.*

6. [b] *the proud*] The word ὑπερήφανος here notes not particularly the vice of *pride* and *haughtiness*, but a general disobedience and resistance against the law of God, which is called ὕβρις, *contumeliousness*, and *superbia, pride*, in opposition to *obedience*; as in Virgil,

regum est,

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos :

"It is the part of kings to spare those that submit, and subdue the proud:" a place directly parallel to this here out of the Proverbs, and which St. Augustine conceives to be had from thence. The place in the Proverbs reads, *God scorneth the scornors*, (because scornors use to

repel with scoffs all good counsels and admonitions.) And so saith Æschylus, Περσ. 827.

Ζεὺς τοι κολαστὴς τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν

Φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὐθύνος βαρὺς :

“ God is the just and heavy punisher of the proud.”

13. [c] *To day or to—*] It was an old saying of the Hebrews, mentioned by Ben Syra, “ Let no man say he will do any thing unless he first say, If the Lord will.” On which occasion there follows in him a story of a man, who, when he said, “ To-morrow I will sit with my spouse in the marriage-chamber,” was admonished that he ought to say, *וַיֹּאמֶר הוּא יֵשׁוּעַ*, *If God will*, and he answered, “ Whether God will or not, I will sit there.” Of whom, saith he, it followed, that he “ sat with her all the day, but at night when they were going to bed, before he knew her, they were both dead.” Wherefore they said, “ The spouse went up to her marriage-bed, and knew not what would befall her ; therefore whosoever desires to do any thing, let him first say, If God will.”

16. [d] *boastings*] Ἀλαζονεία signifies *boasting*, or assuming to oneself more than belongs to him, and differs from αὐθάδεια, *self-pleasing* or *insolence*, Tit. i. 7, in this, that this is a great love, or high opinion, of oneself, φιλαντία, *self-love*, 2 Tim. iii. 2, being *puffed up*, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, being *wise in one's own conceit*, Rom. xi. 25 and xii. 16 ; but that is a fastuous speaking : and as this is ordinarily expressed in magnifying one's own abilities or power above other men, so hath it here a notion little different from it, speaking in such a form as if he depended not upon God himself ; and so it belongs to the fault reprehended, ver. 13, when a man promises or affirms that simply which is not in his power, but as God is pleased to enable or concur with him. And thus it is used Prov. xxvii. 1, *Boast not thyself of to-morrow*, that is, assume not to thyself arrogantly that thou wilt do this or that to-morrow ; for, saith Solomon, *thou knowest not what a day may bring forth*. These kind of speeches then are here called ἀλαζονείας, *boastings* ; and they that take pleasure in such language, in assuming thus to themselves, speaking thus magnificently of their own purposes, are here said *καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις*, *to rejoice, or glory, in such boasting* : and though all sort of rejoicing be not, yet *πᾶσα καύχησις τοιαύτη*, *all such kind of rejoicing is evil*, ver. 16, and that in an high degree.

CHAP. V.

3. [a] *as it were fire*] That the words *ὡς πῦρ*, *as fire*, are to be joined with *ἐθησαυρίσατε*, *ye have treasured up*, and not with the former, the sense doth much enforce, and the ancient manner of writing without points doth well permit ; and it hath a special significancy in this place, agreeable to the times wherein this Epistle was written. For the *last days*, being the time of the Jews' destruction, (see note [b] on Acts ii.) and *to treasure up wealth as fire*, being no more than to lay up their wealth so as it should mischief, and devour, and consume, instead of advantaging them, this is here most truly said of the uncharitable and unchristian Judaizers at that time, in respect of the destruction of that people approaching, where the *rich misers* were the most miserably harassed of any. See note [c] on Rev. ix.

7. [b] *coming of the Lord*] The *coming of the Lord* is here expressly defined by Eecumenius to be *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱφοδος*, *the expedition of the Romans* ;

to which he there applies the words of Christ concerning John, *If I will that he tarry till I come*, Καὶ γὰρ παρετάθη καὶ τοῦτο ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης χρόνος ἕως τῆς ἀλώσεως Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ μικρὸν ἐπέκεινα, *For the time of this life was to him extended until the taking of Jerusalem, and a little beyond it.*

9. [c] *Grudge not*] The practices of the zealots among the Jews, a little before the great miserable destruction of that people, are often mentioned in Josephus, and referred to in this Epistle especially, and in those of St. Peter, written about the same time, and to the same persons that this of St. James was, viz. to the dispersed of the Jews. And although those to whom the epistles were directed immediately were the Jewish Christians, yet of these there were so many that did stand for the continuance of the Mosaical law, and so were Judaizing Christians; and these lived so intermixedly with the unconverted Jews themselves, and so maliciously acted with them, to the persecuting of the orthodox Christians, that as some passages of this Epistle seem to belong only to the Jews unconverted, as the former part of this chapter, till ver. 7, so many more pertain to those that went on with them in their sins, those that reconciled Christianity and the world, and all the most enormous sensual sins, ch. iv. 4, and particularly the outrageous practices of the zealots. For so it appears, by Acts xxi. 20, that *many myriads of converted, or believing, Christian Jews*, were all ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου, of the number of the zealots, that were very vehement persecutors of all that stood not for the law of Moses. To these refers the *unruly tongue*, ch. iii, compared to a fire that kindled so much matter, made such combustions among them, φλογίζουσα, *setting into a flame the whole wheel, or course, of affairs*, vv. 5, 6, *untameable*, ver. 8, full of *cursing and bitterness*, vv. 10, 11, and, in plain words, πικρὸς ζῆλος, *bitter zeal*, ver. 14; and again, ζῆλος, *zeal or envy*, ver. 16; and from thence, ἀκαταστασία καὶ πᾶν φαῦλον πρᾶγμα, *sedition, or tumultuousness, and every evil deed*, the very character of the zealots in Josephus. So again, ch. iv, the πόλεμοι καὶ μάχαι ἐν ὑμῖν, *the wars and quarrels among them*, ver. 1, which, as it is observed, were first intestine among themselves, begun by those of the zealots, and so prepared them to their wretched desolation when the Roman eagles came: and more punctually, ver. 2. φονεύετε καὶ ζηλοῦτε, *ye kill and envy*. And to this purpose the στενάζετε here most properly belongs, which though it signify *sighing, or groaning, or murmuring*, yet, because that is an effect of envy and emulation, which sighs at other men's prosperity, and because envy proceeds wholly from discontentedness, (as in the story of Cain it appears, first his countenance was sad, and then he maligns and slays his brother,) therefore by a figure it is set to signify the same thing that φθόνος and ζῆλος, *envy and bitter zeal*, had before so often done.

12. [d] *condemnation*] The ancient copies generally (and, beside those produced by others, the forementioned in Magdalen college library in Oxford) read εἰς ὑπόκρισιν, *into hypocrisy*. The word ὑπόκρισις, in the Septuagint, signifies ψευδολογία, *false speaking*; for the Hebrew הָיָה, which vulgarly signifies *to be an hypocrite, to dissemble*, signifies also *to lie, to deceive, to deal fraudulently*, (as near in signification as in sound to our *knave*, as it is now used among us;) and so one of these is taken for the other, the word ὑπόκρισις set to signify ψευδολογία, *false speaking*. And then the exhortation of this place will be

parallel to that of Philo, *Κάλλιστον τὸ ἀνώμοτον, οὕτω δὲ ἀληθεύειν ἐφ' ἑκάστου ὡς τοὺς λόγους ὅρκους εἶναι νομίζεσθαι*, "It is best not to swear at all, but to take such care of speaking truth with every man that our words may be thought to be oaths." And that of the Arabians, "Let thy speech be I and No, that thou mayest be a true speaker among all men:" and Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12, of a sort of Jews, *Πάν μὲν τὸ ῥῆθιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότερον ὅρκου· τὸ δὲ ὀμνύειν αὐτοῖς περιίσταται χεῖρον αὐτὸ τῆς ἐπιρκίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἥδη γὰρ ἤδη κατεγνώσθαι φασὶ τὸν ἀπιστοῦμενον δίχα Θεοῦ*, "All that is said by them is stronger than an oath. Swearing is forbidden by them, counting it worse than perjury, and affirming that that man is already condemned as unfit to be trusted, which is not believed without calling God to witness."

14. [e] *elders of the church*] What is here meant by *πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, elders of the church*, is not easy to be determined. If there were at the time of the writing this Epistle, beside the several bishops in each church, a second order, of presbyters under the bishops, and above the deacons, and of them more than one in each church, it would then be most reasonable to interpret this place of those. But because there is no evidence whereby these may appear to have been so early brought into the church, (see note [δ] on Acts xi.) and because *πρεσβύτεροι* in the plural doth no way conclude that there were more of these *elders* than one in each particular church, (any more than that the sick man was bound to call for more than one,) and because *πρεσβύτεροι, elders of the church*, was, both in the scripture style (see note [δ] on Acts xi.) and in the first writers, the title of bishops; and because when there were secondary presbyters more than one in every city, the sick man cannot be thought obliged by this text to call for the whole college, or one sick man for more than one; and lastly, because the *visiting of the sick* is anciently mentioned as one branch of the office of bishops; therefore it may very reasonably be resolved, that the bishops of the church, (not the elders of the Jewish synagogue, but the bishops of the Christian church, *seniores Christianæ congregationis*, as Erasmus paraphraseth it, *the elders, or governors, of the Christian congregation*,) one in each particular church, but many in the universal church, and so also many in the church of the dispersion, to which this Epistle is addressed, are here meant by St. James. Thus in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, where the *πρεσβύτεροι, elders*, being the highest order mentioned, and those to whom *κρίσις, judicature*, belongs, may (as in Papias, and Irenæus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, and Tertullian they do) most reasonably be conceived to denote bishops. One part of their office is set down, that they are *ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, those that visit all the sick*. And accordingly so it most probably must in this place.

[f] *anointing him with oil*] That *anointing with oil* was a ceremony sometimes used by Christ and his apostles in working their miraculous cures, *healing diseases*, and *casting out devils*, appears Mark vi. 13, where, at the apostles *going out*, it is said, *that they cast out devils, καὶ ἡλειφον ἐλαίῳ πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους, καὶ ἐθεράπευον, and anointed many sick persons with oil, and cured them*. Another ceremony there was used to the same purpose, *imposition of hands*, Mark xvi. 18, and Acts ix. 17 and xxviii. 8. And to these prayer was added as the more effectual and substantial performance, of which unction and imposition of hands

were only the ceremonies; and this prayer commenced in the name of Christ, or else the name of Christ, in prayer, called over the sick. And by these means, together with the sick man's examining, and confessing, and sincerely forsaking whatsoever sin he stood guilty of, either toward God or man, it was ordinary, while those extraordinary gifts remained in the church, for diseases to be cured, and health restored to the sick, without the use of any other means, of physic, &c., where, as *the prayer of faith*, or calling the name of Christ over the sick, was the means of curing the disease, ver. 15; and so, Acts iii. 16, *Christ's name hath made this man strong, and the faith which is by him hath given him this perfect soundness*; so the ceremony, whether of oil or imposition of hands, was indifferently either used or not used by them. In the Gospels many such cures are wrought without either; and so in the Acts, by *taking by the hand*, by *embracing*, ch. iii. 7, xx. 10, and by his bare word, ch. ix. 34; and so again, ver. 40, and ch. xiv. 10, and ch. xvi. 18, and xix. 12. From whence it appears, first, to what end this unction was used, precisely to that of miraculous healing, or recovering the sick to health; and that not through any efficacy or virtue in the oil, but directly the contrary, as *touching the eyes*, *laying on the hands*, and *saying the word*, were used, none of which have any natural force in them, nor were used on other design than to demonstrate the miraculousness of the work, which was wrought without any contribution of means. Secondly, that this usage, as a bare ceremony, was not instituted by Christ, or any way commanded to be continued by the apostles or their successors in the church, even while the gifts of healing did continue among them, but was by the apostles themselves very frequently omitted in their *working of cures*. Thirdly, for that use of unction or enoiling, as a viand to those that depart out of the world, there being nothing said of it here, (but on the contrary the whole use of it in order to the recovering of the sick,) there is no colour of ground for asserting it, nor obligation to the use of it, to be met with in the New Testament; and therefore, allowing it to be a bare ceremony, or a sign of our spiritual cure, it is strange how it should come to be esteemed a sacrament, and that distinguished from absolution on the sick bed, and as such be deemed necessary to all that depart out of this world, and used to them only when it is thought certain that they will die, and all this merely on the authority of this one place, where it is designed on purpose to the recovering of the sick person. Fourthly, that even in order to the recovering of the sick, it is not now a ceremony of any propriety or fitness for use, the gift of miraculous healing being not now pretended to in the church; and therefore this ceremony, which was then sometimes attendant on that gift, and was adjoined to the exercise of it, on purpose to shew that it was clearly a gift, operating without natural means, (to which end the unefficaciousness of unction was very proper,) must long since cease to have any propriety. Meanwhile the other parts of St. James's direction here to the sick are very worthy observing in order to our present practice; that they should *call for the elders of the church*; that those *elders* should *pray over or for* them, and that *in the name of our Lord Jesus*; that if the sick have upon examination been found guilty of any sin or sins, which may probably have brought that admonition from heaven (that sickness) upon him, he confess

them to God, and if they be trespasses against a brother, confess them to the injured person, and desire his reconciliation also, and in either case approve the sincerity of his resolution, contrition and change of mind, to the elder or spiritual person, who may be deemed in many respects more likely to pass a right judgment on it than he can on himself, and by his office is rendered most fit to be thus intrusted and employed; and then, lastly, that upon a due performance of all this, and upon a due preparation of the patient, and expression of his sincere desire of it, the absolution of the church should be afforded him. And as this may be a very proper method to be used for the obtaining the peace of God, and of real comfort to the true penitent soul; so may it now by the blessing of God, in case the disease was sent for such correction, be a most probable means, together with the skilful directions and applications of the physician, and a patient submission to them, *σάξεν κάμνοντα, to recover the diseased*: and to qualify him to receive benefit by the physician, and to partake of the promise here, *ἐγερῇ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος, the Lord shall raise him up*, when he in wisdom and mercy shall see that fittest for him: and the like may be said of all other afflictions. For as certainly as God hath the disposing of the world, every particular disease that befalls any is sent by him, and from him comes with some commission, whether to remove out of this world, or to exercise patience, or to mortify sin, or to call to reformation; and if the latter be it, (as I think I may truly say most commonly it is, and it is most safe to suspect and examine always whether it be not so,) then nothing can more contribute to the remove of this evil than to take away the cause of it, and to perform that work for which it was sent, according to what we find in the cures wrought by Christ, that the forgiving of the patient's sins, *Son, thy sins are forgiven thee*, is the ordinary preface to his recovery. And so Eccclus. ii. 11, before God's releasing, or delivering, in time of tribulation, there is first his ἀφίησις ἁμαρτίας, *remitting of sins*, as 2 Macc. iii, when Heliodorus had been scourged for his sacrilegious enterprise, and *the high priest offered sacrifice for his recovery*, ver. 32, the priest is said to have *made an atonement*, and God thereupon to have *granted him life*, ver. 33. And so in Hezekiah's sickness, when the prophet is sent unto him, this is the method of his recovery. And accordingly the son of Sirach counsels, Eccclus. xxxviii. 9, *My son, in thy sickness be not negligent: but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole. Leave off from sin, and order thy hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from all wickedness. Give a sweet savour, and a memorial of fine flour; and make a fat offering, as one that is to die. Then give place to the physician, for the Lord hath created him.*—*There is a time when in their hands there is good success.* And why may not this be that time which I now mention? The errors of the Romish practice in this point are very sufficiently provided against by our bishops in the days of Henry the Eighth, in their book set out by the king, and entitled, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, upon the head of Extreme Unction.* It is agreeably the grave and sober conclusion of Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of Durham at that time, in his book, *Contra impios Blasphematores Dei Prædestinationis*, p. 53, speaking of these very words of St. James, *Hanc salutarem admonitionem sequens ecclesia catholica suadet ante ulla corpori adhibenda humana medicamenta animam Deo esse recon-*

ciliandam, ne frustra laboret medicus illi subvenire quem Deus ob peccatum flagellat, sine cujus prius obtenta gratia non convalescet aeger, "The catholic church, following this wholesome admonition, advises, before men use any human medicines to the body, that their souls be reconciled to God, lest the physician labour in vain to cure them whom God chastiseth for sin, without whose pardon first obtained the sick will not recover." This indeed is a proper use of, and conclusion from, this text; and it will hardly without wresting yield any other.

15. [g] *they shall be forgiven him*] That ἀφεθήσεται here must be taken impersonally, and so rendered, *absolution, or remission, shall be given him*, may appear by the antecedent ἁμαρτίας, *sins*, which being the plural number cannot be joined with this which is in the singular, nor is there any other noun that can belong to it: for if ὁ Κύριος, *the Lord*, were the antecedent to it, it must have been in the active voice, ἀφήσει, *he shall remit* them. And thus in all probability it would have been, if it had been a promise of God's pardon or remission; for then, as it was said *the Lord shall raise him up*, so would it commodiously have been added, and *if he have committed sins, he, that is, the Lord, will remit them*. By this impersonal form, therefore, somewhat else seems to be meant besides the Lord's remission; and then that, from the precedent mention of *the elders of the church*, will be concluded to be the absolution of the church in the hands of the rulers thereof, the bishops, of which see note on John xx. 23. This is of two sorts; first, a release of the offender from the public censures of the church, excommunication, &c., (inflicted on scandalous offenders upon public cognizance of their faults,) upon repentance restoring such to their communion again: secondly, more private, in case of any wasting sin more privately committed, and in confession revealed to the spiritual person; in which case, upon faithful promise of reformation and obedience to spiritual advice and direction, (upon recovery to health,) the elder may and ought to give the sick person the peace of the church, and the benefit of *absolution*. And that being by him done ministerially, and *pro officio*, and *clave non errante*, as it brings the blessing and prayers of the church along with it, so it may reasonably tend to the quieting of the conscience, and avoiding all scruple and doubtfulness, (as our church affirms in the exhortation before the communion,) and be a means of obtaining a release from the disease, if God see fit, or a pawn and pledge of remission in heaven.

16. [h] *Confess your faults*] What is the meaning of παραπτώματα, *sins*, here, is matter of some doubt. For as, according to the notation of the word, it may signify some lapses or lighter sins, and so be opposed to ἁμαρτίας πεποιηκώς, *having committed sins*, in the former verse; so by the ἀλλήλοις, *one to another*, adjoining, it may seem to be restrained to *trespasses, offences against the brethren*, that is, other men, or Christians, and so to be opposed to ἁμαρτίας, *sins against God*. In either of these notions the ἐξομολογίσθε ἀλλήλοις, *confessing one to another*, will not necessarily import any more than confessing those lighter sins to any inferior fellow Christian, or to the wronged brother; the addition of whose prayers may be very useful to the obtaining any mercy from God, particularly that of the *ἰασις, healing*, that here follows; and the seeking his reconciliation in case of trespass will be a duty, if not of this, of another text, Matt. v. 24, and must be performed before there

be any reason to hope that God will accept his private offerings or prayers for the removing that punishment which his injuring his brother hath cried to heaven for and fetched down upon him. But it is to be observed, that the King's MS. reads this place with some variation, 'Εξομολογείσθε οὖν ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας, *Confess therefore your sins to one another*, and so the Latin also. And then as that distinction of the two sorts of sins, heavier and lighter, against God and against the brother, is superseded here; so the οὖν, *therefore*, connecting it to what went before, the prayer and absolution of the elders, and indeed the elders being the only persons who are supposed to be present there, and whose prayers *ex officio* will be most fit to be compared with Elias's *praying*, ver. 17, it must follow, that the ἀλλήλοις, *one to another*, must be restrained only to the elders forementioned, (as πάντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποτασσόμενοι, in the ordinary copies, 1 Pet. v. 5, *Be ye all subject to one another*, must signify, as it is defined by the matter, subjection which is not mutual, nor of superiors to inferiors, nor of equals to equals, but only of inferiors to superiors,) and the confessing of sins to them be here prescribed as the preparative and condition of their absolution. To which purpose it is certain, that as repentance, if it be sincere, comprehends confession to God, and if the penitent desire to approve the sincerity of it to the spiritual person, and obtain absolution from him, it is necessary that he make at least a general confession, and such as shall not hide any sort of his guilts from him, (as we read at John Baptist's baptism, Matt. iii. 6, and in the story, Matt. xix. 18, where the Greek fathers and Scholiasts agree, Δεῖ πάντα πιστὸν λέγειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίας, &c. *Every faithful man ought to tell his offences, and to renounce and disclaim them*.) and very useful and expedient that he descend to particulars also, that his prayers may be more particularly adapted to his wants, and probably prove more efficacious by this means; so this particular confession will be very advantageous to the penitent for the obtaining direction to the most proper remedies for the resisting and preventing the returns of those sins, in order to his fortifying himself against them.

20. [i] *hide a multitude of sins*] What is the meaning of this phrase, καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, *shall cover a multitude of sins*, is a matter of some difficulty to determine. It seems to be a proverbial speech, and very near that of Prov. x. 12, *Love covereth all sins*: and if by analogy to that it be interpreted, it must signify to cover other men's sins from our own eyes, to cause us to look favourably on others' faults, to see few faults in them, in order to peaceable and friendly living with them: for thus in that place of the Proverbs the opposition enforceth, *Hatred stirreth up strifes, but love covereth all sins*; where *hatred* being opposed to *love* or *charity* covering all sins, must also be opposite to *stirring up strife*, and so must be the composing of our minds, breeding kindness and charity to others, which is done by seeing as few faults in them as may be. And thus the saying of Pythagoras (who is thought to have had some knowledge of the scriptures of the Old Testament) seems to be interpretable, 'Ἡ μὲν ἐσθῆς τὴν ἀρρυθμίαν, ἡ δὲ εὐνοία τὴν ἁμαρτίαν περιστέλλει, "A garment hides the ill proportions of the body, but good will or charity hides sin." But it will be very unreasonable to affix this sense to this place, which speaks of him that *converts another from the evil of his ways*, and so *shall save that other's soul from death*,

but cannot fitly be said in the future to breed in himself charity to that other, or to look upon his sins with favour and indulgence. It must therefore first be remembered, what hath oft elsewhere been noted, that the writers of the New Testament do make use of phrases or places in the Old, in other senses than what in the fountain belonged to them, not by way of testimony, but by way of accommodation, affixing to the words some sense which they will fitly bear, though not that which had originally belonged to them. And then, secondly, *καλύπτειν ἁμαρτίαν*, to *hide sin*, is a known phrase for pardoning or forgiving of sins. So Psalm xxxii. 1, *Blessed is the man whose iniquity is forgiven, and ὃν ἀπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, whose sins are thus covered*: and so it may most reasonably signify here. And then the only question will be, whose sins they are which he that converts another to righteousness shall *cover*, his own or that other man's. That they are not his own, is thought reasonable; because then a man shall be said (or his charity shall be said) to *cover*, that is, to forgive his *sins*, which is the work of God only. But that objection is of no force, or if it were of any, it would equally hold against a man's *covering* another's sins: for neither *he* nor his charity can forgive another's sins, in propriety of speaking. And therefore there being a necessity to acknowledge some figure in the expression, it will be as easy by that figure to interpret it of a man's own sins, that, as in Daniel xii. 3, *they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever*; and as, Dan. iv. 27, Nebuchadnezzar is exhorted to *break off his iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor*; and as they that had fallen under the censures of the church by sin were, in the ancient church, according to the apostolic rules, to fit themselves for absolution, not only by repenting and reforming their sins, but by addition of *ἀγαθοεργίαι, works of charity and mercy*; so this great charity of converting any from the error of his way, which is a means of saving the soul of the converted alive, should be very acceptable in the sight of God, and being added to his sincere repentance for his sins, how many soever he hath committed, should be effectual to the obtaining his pardon, through the mercies of Christ under the gospel. And as this sense seems most agreeable to this place, where there is a double encouragement offered to excite that charity; first, the intuition of the advantage to the receiver, *saving his soul alive*, (which includes, and cannot well be improved with the addition of *covering*, or forgiving, his *sins*,) and secondly, of the advantage that devolves to himself; so it will be found perfectly concordant with the doctrines and interpretations of the ancient church, and no way unreconcilable with the merits and satisfaction of Christ, (by which only it is that God becomes propitious to our best performances,) or the doctrine of justification by faith, which doth not exclude, but suppose, the rewarding of our charity. If this be the meaning of this place, there will then be little reason to doubt but it is the importance also of the same words, 1 Pet. iv. 8, *for charity shall cover a multitude of sins*, which are used as an argument to the believing Jews to impress on them the practice of Christian charity then, at that time of the approach of God's judgments on the obstinate persecuting Jews and Gnostics, whose impurities, and hating and pursuing of the orthodox Christians, were sure to bring vengeance suddenly upon them; and sobriety, and vigilance in prayer, and fervent charity, were the likeliest

means to avert it from any; the latter of which, saith the apostle, hath that force in it, as to propitiate God to those that have been formerly guilty of many sins, supposing now they have repented and forsaken them.

[a] THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF PETER.

The time of writing this first Epistle of St. Peter is ordinarily affirmed to be the forty-fourth year of Christ, at which time he is supposed to have planted a church at Rome, and from thence to have wrote this Epistle to the Jewish Christians, which either before their Christianity dwelt out of their own country, (see Acts ii. 10,) or, because they were Christians, were driven out of it, Acts xi. 19. That it was written from Rome seems evident by the salutation in the close, ch. v. 13, where the *συνεκλεκτῇ*, *fellow-chosen*, unquestionless signifies their fellow-church of Jewish Christians; and that *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι*, *in Babylon*, denotes *Rome*, see note [a] on Rev. xviii. That St. Peter and other the apostles were persecuted by Herod Agrippa, appears Acts xii. 1, and accordingly the apostles' going out of Judæa is placed by Baronius in an. Chr. 43, that is, in the second of Claudius's empire. That Peter came to Rome in that second of Claudius, is affirmed by Eusebius in Chronico, and in like manner by St. Hierome De Script. Eccles. *Secundo Claudii anno Simon Petrus Romam pergit*, "In the second year of Claudius Simon Peter goes to Rome:" and so saith Orosius, l. 7. c. 6, that "at the beginning of Claudius, Peter came to Rome, and converted many there to the faith of Christ," according to that of Epiphanius, that "the church of Rome was founded by Peter and Paul." And so saith Gaius and Dionysius bishop of Corinth; the former calling the monuments of those two apostles *τροπαῖα τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, "the trophies of those that built that church," and the latter calling that church *τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γεννηθεῖσαν*, "the plantation made by Peter and Paul." All which, as they are evidences of Peter's having been at Rome, so is that the prime thing doubted of by those later writers which question this date of this Epistle. Agreeably hereunto the principal design of this Epistle is to comfort and confirm those Jewish converts who were thereupon driven from their homes, Acts viii, and from Judæa and Samaria, where at first they were *scattered*, ver. 1, driven farther off at length by the malice and persecutions of the obdurate Jews, to Phœnice and Cyprus and Antioch, Acts xi. 19, and here to Pontus, Galatia and Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. Which persecutions for the name and profession of Christ he makes matter of the greatest joy to them, ch. i. 6; and so again, ch. iv. 13, mixing withal many precepts agreeable to their present condition, especially that of *abstaining from carnal lusts*, ch. ii. 1, and discharging the offices that belonged to them in their several rela-

tions of *subjects*, ch. ii. 13, of *wives*, ch. iii. 1, of *husbands*, ver. 7, of *bishops in the church*, ch. v. 1.

CHAP. I.

2. [a] *sprinkling of the blood*] What is meant here by *ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ*, will be discernible by observing that it is in the same case, and so in conjunction with *ὑπακοήν*, *obedience*, preceding. By this it appears that it must be taken in a passive sense, so as they are susceptible of it who are here said to *obey*, that is, so as the believers here, *through the sanctification of the Spirit*, shall be *sprinkled with that blood*. The only question is, what notion of our being *sprinkled with Christ's blood* is here referred to. For more possible notions there are of which the matter is capable. The principal, that in reference to the practice, Exod. xxiv. 8, where the people are *sprinkled with blood* by way of ob-signation of the covenant between God and them : for upon reading of the covenant in the audience of the people, and upon their *professing*, *All that the Lord hath said we will do, and be obedient*, ver. 7, it follows, ver. 8, *Moses took the blood and sprinkled it upon the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words*. Were it not for that last clause, *concerning all these words*, it might still be uncertain what part of the covenant it was (whether only that on God's, or that also on the people's part) which was thus signed, and consequently signified by the *ῥαντισμὸς*, *sprinkling of blood* : but by the use of the phrase *all the words*, ver. 3, viz. *all the words which the Lord hath said*, it is evident that the people's part, which is obedience, and not only God's part in making good his promises to them, was it that was sealed, and so signified by their being *sprinkled with blood* by Moses, and to it is immediately annexed, *All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient*, ver. 7. *And Moses took the blood and sprinkled it*, &c., ver. 8. And to this it is very agreeable that here it is (in the same case) joined with *ὑπακοήν*, *obedience* and the *sprinkling of the blood of Jesus*, noting this of evangelical obedience to be the condition required on our part in this new covenant, which Christ sealed with his blood, in like manner as that Mosaical covenant was there sealed with *sprinkling of blood*, and to which he hath both enabled and obliged us by his death, having *given himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself* (which is the effect of *sprinkling*) *a peculiar people*, &c., Tit. ii. 14, and so we read of this *blood of sprinkling*, (by which Christ's death is typified,) *that it was the blood of the covenant which the Lord commanded to you*, Heb. ix. 20, a rite to *engage our obedience to God*. And this seems to be the most proper notation of the words, and is fully parallel to that of Ephes. i. 4, where God is said to *have chosen us in Christ that we should be holy*, &c. Some other notions the phrase might be capable of, either to signify God's pardon and acceptance, Heb. ix. 22, Rom. iii. 25, (but that will not so well agree with the passive acception of the word, looking rather on God, who is the agent in it, and the blood of Christ the meritorious cause of it ; whereas this being joined with *obedience*, seems to be somewhat in us, to which we are enabled and engaged by the blood of Christ,) or else to denote our imitating Christ's constancy and perseverance, shedding our blood in his cause,

as he hath given us an example. And thus indeed *to be sprinkled by Christ's blood* may be a phrase, figuratively to signify our transcribing this bloody copy of his, but yet seems not to be any part of the intimation of the ceremony of *sprinkling with blood* in Exodus, from which this rather seems to be transcribed.

CHAP. II.

2. [a] *sincere milk*] What λογικὸν γάλα, *rational milk*, signifies, hath been noted note [a] on Rom. xii, that milk or food which men, that is, rational creatures, feed on, and which men, rational creatures again, the apostles of Christ, afford them for their spiritual nourishment or instruction. Such figurative speeches as these are very ordinary, and have no more strangeness in them than νοητὴ or πνευματικὴ τροφή, *intellectual* or *spiritual food*, that is, food to the understanding or to the spirit: νοῦς and λόγος and πνεῦμα, the *understanding* and *reason* and *spirit* being in effect all one, and *milk* being every where used for that instruction that is fit for those of younger years, Heb. v. 12. Agreeable to this figurative expression of *rational milk* is that of Plato, when he calls rulers νομεῖς καὶ τροφεὶς ἀγέλης ἀνθρωπίνης, “feeders and pastors of the human herd,” this flock of reasonable creatures which are fed with this *rational milk*. And so in Eustathius on Homer Ἰλιάδ. ε’. Ἀνθρωπίνην ποιμαντικὴν ἀσκοῦμενοι, “they that exercise this trade of feeding men,” (as shepherds feed their flocks,) which have therefore so ordinarily that title of ποιμένες, *pastors*.

6. [b] *it is contained*] The word περιέχει is taken notice of by grammarians as a word fit for the citing any passage out of an author. So in Erotian's Medicinal Lexicon, in the word Κάμμορος, λέξις περιέχουσα is a word which is to be met with in the author and place which he there cites. Here it is used impersonally, as ἀπέχει, (see note [d] on Mark xiv.) and so 1 Macc. xv. 2, and 2 Macc. ix. 18. Accordingly περιοχὴ is used for *any place cited out of the scripture*, Acts viii. 32.

[c] *elect*] By occasion of this word ἐκλεκτός, *elect*, in this place, it will not be amiss to give an account, once for all, of the use of that and the like words generally in the scripture. To begin with the Old Testament first. The Hebrew word, which must especially be taken notice of, is בחר, *probavit, examinavit, elegit, to approve, examine, choose*. From whence is the noun בחור, directly answerable to ἐκλεκτός, *elect*, here, taken adjectively: [and therefore, Prov. xvii. 3, where the Hebrew hath בחר, and our English render rightly from thence, *the Lord trieth the hearts*, the Septuagint read ἐκλεκταὶ καρδίαι παρὰ Κυρίῳ, *hearts elect before the Lord*.] This word בחר is from hence taken by them to signify, 1, any *choice person* fit for employment, especially for war, and from thence is used, 1 Macc. iv. 1, for a *choice party*, ἐκλεκτὴ ἵππος, *a thousand of the choice*, that is, best *horsemen*, and Exod. xiv. 7, *chosen chariots*; and so the *left-handed men*, that were such excellent *archers*, Judges xx. 16, are ἐκλεκτοὶ, *chosen men*; and Psalm lxxviii. 31, *the chosen men*, that is, the soldiers, or military men; and accordingly the word doth signify a *young man*, who is fittest for military and such other employments. Thus 1 Sam. viii. 16, בחוריכֶם, we render *your goodliest young men*, (which the Septuagint mistaking, and reading p instead of n, render τὰ βουκάλια ὑμῶν, *your herds*;) and Deut. xxxii. 25, it is clearly taken for *young men*, in opposition to maidens, עלמותיהן, saith the

Targum. But the notation which is most primitive and literal to it, is that of *choice* or *chosen*, as that notes the best, and those that are upon trial found fit to be preferred before others, as *בְּחֹר*, *chosen man in Israel*, 2 Sam. vi. 1. *And David gathered together all the chosen men in Israel*, all that were fit for the *militia*: and indeed by a *metalepsis* it was that it came to signify a *young man*, because the age was determined, after which (and not before) a man was thought fit for that employment; and so the *choice men*, or those of the *militia*, were consequently those of such an age; and therefore, Numb. xi. 28, when Joshua is called a *servant of Moses*, *סִבְחוֹרִיו*, (which the Targum reads *מעלמותיה*, of his young men,) the Septuagint reads *ἐκλεκτὸς αὐτοῦ*, a *choice person about him*. Thus again from men is the word brought to be applied to things, as Gen. xxiii. 6, *בְּמִבְחָר קְבָרֵינוּ*, in the *choice of our sepulchres*: *בְּשֹׁפָר*, say the Targum, in the *fairness*, that is, in the fairest and best of them. So Deut. xii. 11, *your choice vows*, or the choice of your vows; and Isa. xxii. 7, the *choicest valleys*; and so Eccus. xxiv. 15, *σμύρνη ἐκλεκτή*, the *choicest or best myrrh*; and (to add no more) Isa. xxviii. 16, from whence the words in St. Peter are cited, the *λίθος ἐκλεκτός*, *choice stone*, here, is there justly rendered a *tried stone*, the Hebrew *בָּחַר* signifying this *trying* and fitting it for the place where it was to be set, viz. for the corner, to which, being the principal place of the whole building, that *stone* that was truly fit upon trial, is truly said to be a *precious corner-stone*, in the words following both there and here. Besides *בָּחַר*, there is also another word very near it, which is oft used in this sense: the Hebrew *בָּרַר*, which signifying to *make pure* and *clean*, signifies also *elegit*, "to choose;" and then the noun *בָּרוּר*, from thence is rendered *καθαρός, ἄγνος*, and *ἐκλεκτός*, *pure, clean, elect* promiscuously, and *elect* as that signifies the best of the kind. So *ὄρνις ἐκλεκτή*, a *crammed fowl*, saith Buxtorf; and 2 Sam. xxii. 27, *with the pure thou shalt be pure*, which the Greek reads *μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἱση ἐκλεκτός*, *with the elect thou shalt be elect*. As the Arabic *مَبْرُ*, which signifies to *clarify* and *purge*, signifies also to *choose*, to *set apart*, to *design to an office*, as of David, Psalm lxxviii. 70, and of the disciples, Acts i. 2. In the New Testament we have the verb *ἐκλέγεσθαι*, the substantive *ἐκλογή*, and the adjective *ἐκλεκτός*. The verb signifies to *prefer one before another*, either in the bestowing of undeserved favours, or designing to an office. In the first sense, Mark xiii. 20, *οὓς ἐξελέξατο*, *they whom God had chosen*, that is, *favoured* before others, to wit, the believing Jews, who should be delivered out of that destruction which lay so heavy upon *πᾶσα σὰρξ*, *all flesh*, that is, the whole Jewish nation: and that the Christians of them were designed to this favour, see Matt. xxiv, note [g] out of Josephus, by whom it appears that the siege of Jerusalem by Gallus was unexpectedly raised, by which means all the Christians in the city got out of it to some other place, so that when Titus came some months after to the fatal siege, there was not one Christian remaining in it. So John xv. 16, *You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you*; that is, It is not you that have begun to me, that were first in your expressions of kindness and favour to me, but I to you. And so ver. 19, *I have chosen you out of the world*; that is, allowed you this favour of taking you out, discriminating you from the rest of the world, by taking you nearer to myself than I have done other men. So Acts xiii. 17, speaking of God's favour to the Israelites

beyond all other people, he saith, ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, *he chose our fathers, and exalted the people, &c.*, according as they are called ἐκλεκτοὶ, *his chosen*, Eccclus. xlii. 1; and Jerusalem, ἐκλεκτὴ πόλις, *a chosen city*, ch. xlix. 7. So 1 Cor. i. 27, 28, and in the parallel place, James ii. 5, *God hath chosen the foolish, weak, despised things*, that is, persons of the world, and τοὺς πτωχοὺς, *the poor of this world*, that is, revealed the mysteries of the gospel unto them, allowed them that favour above learned, proud Grecians; and so Ephes. i. 4, ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ, *hath chosen us in him*, is God's bestowing upon us that favour of being Christians, of revealing his gospel to us, making known the mystery in Jesus Christ, ver. 9, a favour much beyond any vouchsafed to the former ages. For the second sense of *designing* or *choosing* to some office, so it is, Luke vi. 13, ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα, out of the number of disciples *sequestering twelve* for apostles. So John vi. 70 and xiii. 18, Acts i. 2 and 24. And so the apostles designing Stephen to the office of deacon, ἐξελέξαντο, *they chose him*, Acts v. 6. So ch. xv. 7, and so of those that were designed to be sent to Jerusalem, Acts xv. 22 and 25. These are all the places in the New Testament wherein the verb is used, (unless those two to another matter, Mary's *choosing the better part*, and *the guests choosing the uppermost places*,) and in all these the context shews the meaning and use of it, when it is spoken of God, that it belongs either to some special undeserved favour of God, peculiarly that of revealing the gospel, or to his designation to some peculiar office, especially that of apostleship. Proportionable to these two notions of the verb is that of the substantive ἐκλογή, in respect of the undeserved favours, freely afforded one before another, so as we are said to *choose* when no obligation lies upon us, and *to be obliged* when we cannot choose. So we have κατ' ἐκλογὴν, *according to election*, Rom. ix. 11, where it signifies the free unobliged preferring of the younger before the elder, and κατ' ἐκλογὴν Θεοῦ πρόθεσις, *God's purpose* in that respect, his free determination to prefer the Jews, that should come from Jacob, before all other people, particularly before Esau's progeny, the Edumæans. So Rom. xi. 5, λείμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος, *the remnant according to the election of grace*, that is, the remnant that should have the favour to be left or reserved, according to the rule observed in the gospel, the humble, pious Jews, that believed the gospel, when the rest stood out and were destroyed; which, though a reward of their repentance and faith, was yet an act of free mercy in God thus to accept of their repentance. And so ver. 7, *the election hath obtained*, that is, the believing Jews, the remnant which had that free undeserved favour from God above the rest. And, ver. 28, of the Jews again, that they were κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπητοί, *beloved according to the election*, that is, beloved in respect of the undeserved promises of peculiar favour made to that people for Abraham's sake. So 1 Thess. i. 4, ἐπὶ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν, *your election from God*, that is, the great favour of God, so unexpected to the Gentiles, to have Christ and the gospel made known unto them; and 2 Pet. i. 10, where they are advised to all diligence, βεβαίαν ποιέισθαι, *to confirm or ascertain* to themselves, τὴν κλήσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν, *their calling and election*, that is, that special favour vouchsafed unto them, to retain to Christ, to be Christians first, and then to be that *peculiar remnant* to whom those special promises were made, and in whom they should be fulfilled,

when all the rest of that people should be destroyed. One only place more there is wherein this word is used, Acts ix. 15, where God saith of Saul, *Σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς μοί ἐστιν οὗτος*, *He is to me a vessel of election*, which seems to refer to the second notion of *choosing*, viz. to that office of the apostleship. Lastly, for the adjective *ἐκλεκτός*, that is proportionable to the use of the word in the Old Testament, for the choicer sort of men approved of by God, preferred before others in that respect; as Matt. xx. 16, and xxii. 14, *Many are called, but few are chosen*, *ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί*, there are many that retain unto Christ, many Christian professors, but few special labourers in the former place; few fit to be received at his table, few penitent sincere believers, in the latter, see note [c] on Matt. xx. And so Luke xxiii. 35, where Christ is said by the Jews to be *ὁ ἐκλεκτός Θεοῦ*, *the chosen of God*, one that had exactly approved himself to God, and that in an eminent manner, and so should in any reason be delivered by him. Thus in this place, where Christ is compared to a corner stone, he is called (however he be rejected *by men*) *παρὰ Θεῷ ἐκλεκτός*, *elect with God*, ver. 4 and 6, a choice, approved, special stone in the estimation of God, and therefore *ἄτιμος*, *precious*, also in both places. And so perhaps when the Christians, to whom he writes, are called by him *γένος ἐκλεκτόν*, *a choice sort of people*, ver. 9. And so all the other phrases joined with it do import. Thus it is frequently used, as in the Old Testament, for a soldier, so in the New, in an evangelical sense, for one of Christ's *militia*, a believer, a Christian, a faithful servant of his, as they that are such differ from all others, unbelievers and crucifiers of Christ. Thus, *διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς*, Matt. xxiv. 22 and 31, and Mark xiii. 20, 22, 27, Luke xviii. 7, all in the same notion, to signify believers or Christian Jews that had that promise, that they should escape out of those calamities that fell on that whole nation, the *οἱ σωζόμενοι*, *the saved*, Luke xiii. 23. And an observable place there is to this purpose in Theophylact on Matt. xxii. 14, (though Æcolampadius leave it out in his translation, yet extant in the Roman edition,) *πολλοὺς καλεῖ ὁ Θεὸς, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντας, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί· ὀλίγοι γὰρ σωζόμενοι καὶ ἄξιοι ἐκλεγῆναι παρὰ Θεῷ. ὥστε τοῦ μὲν Θεοῦ τὸ καλεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἐκλεκτοὺς γενέσθαι, ἢ μὴ, ἡμέτερόν ἐστι*, "God calls many, or rather all, but there are few elect: for there are few that escape, or are fit to be chosen or approved by God: so that it is God's part to call, but ours to be elect or not:" which supposes the *σωζόμενοι* and *ἐκλεκτοί*, *the saved* and *the elect*, to be all one, and both those the Christians that, Matt. xxiv. 22, are said, *σώζεσθαι*, *to escape*, and to be *ἐκλεκτοί*, *elect*, viz. those that in that great tribulation that overwhelmed the Jews did yet escape and survive. Thus again in that general notion for believers and Christians, Rom. viii. 33, *Τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατ' ἐκλεκτῶν Θεοῦ*; *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect*? bring any charge against the faithful servants of Christ, the *lovers of God*, ver. 28. So Rufus, *ἐκλεκτός ἐν Κυρίῳ*, *elect in the Lord*, Rom. xvi. 13, a special believer, certainly without any relation to any particular decree of God's concerning him, which could not appear concerning his person, (of the *ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία*, *the elect lady*, 2 John i, and her *ἐκλεκτὴ ἀδελφὴ*, *elect sister*, ver. 14, see note [a] on 2 John), and therefore must be so interpreted as to denote that which was discernible in him, viz. his faith and Christian behaviour. So *ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *as the elect of God*, Col.

iii. 12, that is, as faithful, approved disciples and servants of his; and 2 Tim. ii. 10, *I suffer all for the elect*, that is, the Christian believers, for the advancement of the gospel; and Tit. i. 1, *διὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν Θεοῦ, for the faith of the elect of God*, that is, of the sincere, converted Christians, or believers, in opposition to all the rest of the unbelieving world; as 1 Tim. v. 21, *ἐκλεκτοὶ ἄγγελοι, the elect angels*, are those that did not apostatize, but continued faithful and obedient to God; and 1 Pet. i. 1, *ἐκλεκτοὶ παρεπίδημοι, the elect strangers*, that is, the believing Jews that sojourned in that country. And this seems the more clear by Apoc. xvii. 14, where *κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ, the called and elect and faithful*, are joined together as words of the same importance; and if there be any difference, then is *πιστοὶ, faithful*, to be looked on as an higher degree than *ἐκλεκτοὶ, elect*, as that than *κλητοὶ, called*. For that they should be so called to denote the order of time, *ἐκλεκτοὶ*, before *πιστοὶ, faithful*, as *election* from the beginning before *faith* in time, will not be agreeable to the place, because then *κλητοὶ*, being *called*, must be in order before election, which cannot be affirmed. The short is, that the word notes generally somewhat of eminence above other men, of difference from them, as the believer or Christian excels and differs from all that are not such, and so the sincere from the formal professor or hypocrite; and that is all the notation of it. Agreeable to which is that of Phavorinus, *Ἐκλεκτός ἐστιν, ὁ ἀπὸ πολλῶν, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἔργα τινὰ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκλεγμένα*, the word signifies one that “differs from other men, or is preferred before them, because he hath some choice works above those others.” And in Hesychius, *ἐκλεκτός* (for which the ordinary copies read corruptly *ἐκκλητος*) *ἐνδοξος, τίμιος*, it notes *famous, honourable*, a person of approved excellence, value, and esteem.

8. [d] *appointed*] The word *τιθέναι, to put or set*, is ordinarily used for *appointing or ordaining*, and being applied to God, or spoken indefinitely, doth oft signify his decree or destination. Thus, John xv. 16, *ἐθέκα ὑμᾶς, I have appointed you*, as harvesters to go abroad in all the world, and bring in converts to heaven. So of Christ, Acts xiii. 47, *Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, I have set*, that is, appointed or decreed, *thee a light for the Gentiles*. So 1 Thess. v. 9, *Οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ὀργήν, ἀλλ’ εἰς περισποίησιν σωτηρίας, God hath not set us*, that is, decreed, determined us, *to wrath or destruction*, (as he doth those whom for their obstinate course in sin he forsakes, and no further calls them to repentance,) *but for the obtaining of salvation*; that is, hath decreed to call us to the knowledge of the truth by the preaching of the gospel, and so to repentance and reformation here, the means to attain eternal salvation hereafter, if we do not resist and evacuate his gracious calls and admonitions. And so without question it is to be understood here, that of the *ἀπειθοῦντες τῷ λόγῳ*, of them that *disobey the word, or gospel*, of Christ, and so *προσκόπτουσι, fall or bruise themselves*, or, (if the comma, as it is in the ordinary copies, be placed after *τῷ λόγῳ, the word*, not before it,) *προσκόπτουσι λόγῳ, fall and bruise themselves at the word*, *ἀπειθοῦντες, disobeying* and rejecting it when it is preached to them, it may truly be said, *εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτίθησαν, that they were ordained thereunto*. And of that there are two possible interpretations, both agreeable to analogy of faith; first, that the *ἀπειθοῦντες, they that disobey* the gospel, that stand out obstinately against it, *ἐτίθησαν, were decreed and appointed* by God

to stumble and fall at that stone, that is, to be bruised and ruined by this means, to be destroyed among the crucifiers, and condemned with them hereafter, it being most just with God that they that will not reform and amend at the preaching of the gospel, and so receive benefit by it, should be for their obstinacy condemned; and so much the worse for it, as the gospel is said to be *the savour of death to them that perish*, or go on still in their destructive courses, and as Christ is said by Simeon, Luke ii. 34, *κείσθαι εἰς πᾶσι*, *to be set*, that is, decreed by God, (the same that *τίθεσθαι*, *to be set or ordained* here,) *for the falling of many in Israel*, that is, of those that believe not on him. This is the most obvious sense of the words by referring *εἰς δ*, *to which*, to *προσκόπτουσι τῷ λόγῳ*, *stumble, or fall, at the word*, and interpreting the *fall* of the mischief, not the sin (which is noted by *ἀπειθοῦντες*, *disobeying*) that they incur by this means. But if (as others conceive) the *ἀπειθεῖα*, *disobedience*, be that to which they are said to be *ordained*, yet may that be taken in a commodious sense also, that the gospel was designed by God to be of such a temper, and the profession of it mixed with so many persecutions, that none of the proud, worldly-minded men, (represented by the *stony and thorny ground* in the parable,) none but the humble and honest heart could lay hold on it. But the former sense is most agreeable to the context, ver. 7, where Christ is said to be *a stone of offence*, *ἀπειθοῦσι*, *to the disobedient*; which must needs signify the fall and mischief of the disobedient, not their disobedience simply, to be the thing here spoken of, and to which they are said to be *appointed*, ver. 8. However, it is clear that here can be no proof or testimony of any absolute, irrespective decree of God, either for sin, or without sin for punishment: for if sin, disobedience, should be decreed or ordained by God, then disobeying would be a compliance with his ordination or will, and thereby cease to be sin, (which is a resisting of his will:) and for punishment, that cannot here be supposed to be without sin, the sin of *disobedience*, or *infidelity*, being here named, upon which they are *ordained* to that punishment, and not without respect unto it.

9. [e] *a peculiar people*] What λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν signifies here, must be discerned from Exod. xix. 5, whence it is taken, (though the words are removed out of their place, and these, which are there before the *royal priesthood*, here placed after it.) The Hebrew reads there סגלה לי סגלה, which is literally, *you shall be to me a treasure, or keimhliion*, any thing that is laid up and preserved most carefully. The Greek render it there more according to the sense, *ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος*, *ye shall be unto me a special or peculiar people*, as that phrase is used and rendered Tit. ii. 14. And though the apostle here doth not use that whole phrase, yet he takes λαὸς, *people*, from thence; and for the word סגלה, he renders it from Mal. iii. 17, *εἰς περιποίησιν*, *for an acquisition, or possession*; for so there that speech of God's *אני עשה סגלה*, *which I make a treasure*, or *keimhliion*, (that is, lay up tenderly and carefully, and, as it follows, *spare as one spareth his son that serveth him*,) is rendered in the Greek, *ἦν ἐγὼ ποιῶ εἰς περιποίησιν*, *which I make for an acquisition, or treasure*. What the word *περιποίησις* signifies hath been shewed, note [d] on Heb. x, viz. the same with *σωτηρία*, *saving or preserving*; and so it perfectly agrees with the Hebrew סגלה, which is *a jewel to be preserved, or kept, most safely*:

and so λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, are those whom God means to keep most charily, as his dearest children or most valued treasure : and so that is the meaning of the whole place here, that whereas other temporary believers, according to the purport of the seed on the stony ground in the parable, do fall off from Christ in time of persecution, and so, by complying with the persecutors, bring certain destruction on themselves, even in this world, take part in that ruin of the Jews; the faithful persevering Christians are most carefully preserved by God, and rescued out of the common destruction of Jews and Gnostics, and eternally crowned afterward. And the consequent of this their preservation is the exaltation of the glory of God by this means, who hath thus powerfully rescued them out of that unbelief, (wherein the generality of the Jews lie immersed,) and then magnified his providence in securing them; as it follows here, *that ye may set forth, &c.* See note [c] on Ephes. ii.

12. [f] *behold* The word ἐποπτεύσαντες in this place may probably signify more than *looking on*; because, first, that will not so well agree with ἐκ καλῶν ἔργων, *by your good works*, and the supplying it by *which they shall behold*, supposeth ἐκ καλῶν ἔργων, *by your good works*, to belong to δοξάζωσι, *glorify*, following, whereas it is evidently joined with ἐποπτεύσαντες. Secondly, ἐποπτεύειν, *to behold*, is, ch. iii. 2, put with an accusative case after it, ἐποπτεύσαντες ἀναστροφῇ, *beholding your conversation*. Hesychius hath a word near unto this, ἐπόπιζε, which he renders ἐντρέπου, *revere*; and ἐποπτεύειν, proportionable to the Latin *suspiciere*, (*looking on the ground*, to note modesty and reverence,) is ordinarily taken in that sense. And that which seems most probable is, that either ἐποπτεύειν may have that sense also, or else be by the scribe mistaken for one of those, and so be best rendered *revering you*, or *looking with reverence upon you*.

[g] *day of visitation* What the day of visitation signifies here, may be a matter of some question, but that in part resolved by the use of the same phrase, Isa. x. 3, *What will ye do in the day of visitation, and the desolation which shall come from far?* where it is evident that the day of visitation, and the coming of desolation, or destruction, are all one. So to visit signifies to punish, to avenge, very frequently in the prophets: *Shall I not visit for this? shall I not be avenged?* &c.; and, *I will visit their offences with a rod*. And so the bishop's title, ἐπισκοπος, *visitor*, may fitly be given him in respect of the rod or censures, the ecclesiastical punishments intrusted to him, which are εἰς ὄλεθρον σαρκός, *for destruction of the flesh*, and εἰς καθαίρεσιν, *for excision*. This then being premised, the only difficulty will be, what day of vengeance this was that here is meant. And the context seems sufficient to answer that. For having admonished the Christian Jews to behave themselves honestly among the Gentiles, that they may not speak against them as evil-doers, and presently specifying wherein this honest conversation consisted, in submitting to and obeying their heathen governors, ver. 13, this evidently refers to the frequent seditions that were stirred up among the Jews against the Roman yoke, which made them looked on by their procurators and the emperors as unquiet turbulent people, and brought the Roman armies and destructions upon them. And so against this it is that he warns the Jews Christians, that they meddle not with them that are given to changes, join not with the seditious, and that upon this

motive, that by so doing, by being found quiet obedient subjects, when this vengeance comes upon the seditious, the heathens may observe the difference betwixt believing and unbelieving Jews, the first very good, the second very ill subjects, and so have a good opinion of that religion that hath wrought so much good upon them, (and perhaps be attracted to Christianity, when they come to destroy the Jews.) And thus indeed it happened, that presently after Titus's destroying of the Jews, the Christians had favour from the emperors, liberty for their assemblies, halcyonian days bestowed on them. The Syriac here read *in the day of temptation*, that is, of affliction coming on the nation, the falling of which upon the obdurate unbelieving Jews, and the escaping of the Christians, (as most remarkably they did by Gallus's raising the siege, and the Christians going out, and flying to Pella,) could not but be taken notice of by the heathens, and so be means of their acknowledging of God's good providence and mercy toward the Christians, and glorifying God for this work of his. And so this is the full importance of this place.

24. [h] *bare our sins*] Ἀναφέρειν is to *carry up*, to *bear to an higher place*: and because the θυσιαστήριον or altar was such, it therefore signifies to *offer up a victim* there, Heb. vii. 27, James ii. 21; but here being joined (not, as there, with θυσίας, *sacrifices*, but) with ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, *our sins*, and ἐπὶ ξύλον, *to, or upon, the cross*, (which was an high place also, and therefore his crucifixion is expressed by ὑψωθῆναι, being *lifted up* or *exalted*.) it must therefore here signify to *bear*, or *carry up*, our *sins* thither, which is a phrase for suffering the punishments of sin, making expiation for them; as Numb. xiv. 33, where the Hebrew read וְנִשְׂאוּ אֶת זִנְיֹתֵיכֶם, *and they shall bear, or carry, your fornications*, the Chaldee render it וְיִקְבְּלוּ, *et suscipient*, “and they shall undergo,” that is, literally, ἀναφέρειν, which the most learned P. Fagius renders *luent pœnas peccatorum vestrorum*, “they shall bear the punishments of your sins.” Thus βαστάζειν κρίμα, Gal. v. 10, *to bear the judgment*, is to be punished for sin; and Ezek. xviii, *The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father*, that is, be punished for it.

CHAP. III.

4. [a] *hidden man of the heart*] Κρυπτός καρδίας ἄνθρωπος, is a phrase made up of two Hebraisms: 1. τὸ κρυπτὸν καρδίας, *the hidden, or secret, of the heart*, is an Hebrew form of speech; as when, Ps. li. 8, the original hath בְּסֵתֶם, *in clauso, secretly thou hast made wisdom known to me*, the Targum read בְּשִׁמּוֹר לְבָא, *in the hidden of the heart*, that is, in the heart which is hidden. Then for κρυπτός ἄνθρωπος, *the hidden man*, that is by the same analogy that παλαιός ἄνθρωπος, *the old man*, and καινός ἄνθρωπος, *the new man*, and καινὴ κτίσις, *the new creature*, as they signify continuing in sin and renovation of life, and ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, *the inner man*, that is, the mind of man, opposite to the carnal or sensitive appetite; and so κρυπτός καρδίας ἄνθρωπος, *the hidden man of the heart*, shall be no more than its opposition to ὁ ἔξωθεν, *the outward*, &c. ver. 3, will enforce, viz. the inward invisible accomplishments or beauty of the heart, according to that of the poet,

Γυναικὶ κόσμος ὁ τρόπος, κ' οὐ χρυσία,

“behaviour, not golden ornaments, are the setting out of a woman.”

[b] *not corruptible*] Τὸ ἀφθαρτον, *incorruptible*, here may signify as

ἀφθαρσία, incorruptibleness, Eph. vi. 24, the durableness and constancy of the virtue spoken of, that will not be corrupted or debauched by any temptations to the contrary, and this proceeding from the sincerity and simplicity of the affection at the present, which is likely to make it durable; as in nature the more simple and uncompounded things are, the less they are corruptible, whereas the double principle renders every thing the more liable to corruption: and therefore the Scholiast on Homer gives the reason why the plague coming in the army,

Ἡμιόνους μὲν πρῶτον——

“seized first upon the mules,” which are a mixed species, made up of the horse and the ass; *εὐδιάφθορον γὰρ πᾶν τοιοῦτο*, “for such creatures,” saith he, “are most subject to corruption and infection” of all others. But another notion there is of which the phrase is capable, in opposition to the *χρῦσια*, &c., *gold chains and ornaments*, ver. 3, for those, though precious, are corruptible, and therefore, ch. i. 8, *silver* and *gold* are the instances of the *φθαρὰ*, *corruptible* things. And in opposition to those, *ἐν ἀφάρτη*, *in the incorruptible*, &c., will here signify that incorruptible ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, so much more valuable than gold.

7. [c] *according to knowledge*] That *κατὰ γνῶσιν*, *according to knowledge*, doth here more probably denote that knowledge of duty by which a Christian's life and actions must be directed, is the opinion of Hugo Grotius, who applies to this sense those other places, Rom. xv. 14, *filled with all knowledge, able to instruct others*; and 1 Cor. i. 5, *enriched in all knowledge*; and 2 Cor. vi. note [b], *in purity and in knowledge*. To this it may perhaps be fit to add, (what hath been noted, 1 Cor. i. note [c], and will again be enlarged on 2 Pet. i. [c], that the word *γνῶσις*, *knowledge*, hath a critical notion in these books for a special *χάρισμα*, or *gift* of the Spirit, 1 Cor. xii. 8, viz. that sort of Christian knowledge which consists in explaining of parables or mysterious expressions in scripture. And that may be thus applicable to this place: The duty of the husband toward the wife is best to be learned from the mystical explication of the words, and story of the creation of the man and woman, Gen. i. 27, *God created them male and female, and blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.* And, ch. ii. 22, *God took out one of Adam's ribs, and made it a woman; And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh—Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.* That by this rule of the creation the Christian doctrine of the duties of husbands and wives is regulated, appears Matt. xix. 4, where, to that question about divorces, Christ answers, *Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, &c. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.* And so Mark x. 6. So 1 Cor. vi. 16, *What? know you not (making this a special piece of knowledge) that he which is joined to an harlot is one body with the harlot? for they two, saith he, shall be one flesh.* And

Ephes. v. 31, having said, *For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh*, he adds, ver. 32, *This is a great mystery*—collecting mysteriously (or κατὰ γνώσιν, according to knowledge, that is, by the skill of interpreting mysteries of scriptures,) all the conjugal love and union, as between husband and wife, so between Christ and his church, from that one passage in the creation. So 1 Cor. xi. 8, to prove that the wife is to be covered, as a token of her subjection to her husband, he saith, *For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.* All which are but conclusions drawn by this γνώσις, or mystical explication, from those passages in the creation of man and woman. And so it may be very fitly affirmed here of the several parts of the husband's duty to the wife; they are all evidently concludible (κατὰ γνώσιν, according to knowledge, or by explication of the hidden sense) from the words in the creation. First, συνοικοῦντες, cohabiting, (contrary to the infusions of the heretics falsely called Gnostics,) is the interpretation of the first part of God's blessing, Gen. i. 28, in these words, *Be fruitful and multiply; and again of their two being one flesh.* And this Plato himself appears to have learned from the story of the creation, writing in Convivio and his Dialogue περὶ ἔρωτος, "that anciently male and female were put together in one body," and were after by Jupiter cut asunder; concluding, ἕκαστος οὖν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου σύμβολον, "every one of us is the share of a man," ὅτε τετμημένος, ὥσπερ αἱ ψῆτται ἐξ ἐνὸς δύο, "cut asunder, like the sole-fishes, made two of one;" and this is the reason, saith he, "that every one seeks out and desires a wife," τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἕκαστος σύμβολον, "every one the other part of him," ἐπιχειρῶν ποιῆσαι ἐκ δυοῖν, καὶ λίσασθαι τὴν φύσιν, "endeavouring to reunite the divided parts, to make one of two, and so to cure the dismembered nature." To which fable St. Chrysostom refers, ^d when he saith of man and woman, ὥσπερ ἡμίτομα δύο εἰσὶ, "they are as two halves cut asunder." Secondly, the woman's being taken out of the man's side, doth, not only with the Jews in theirs, but with Christ and his apostles in their Christian Cabala, signify that the woman is dependent of the man, unable to subsist without him; from whence it follows here, that he must provide for her honour or maintenance, as being the weaker vessel. (see note [d]). Thirdly, the woman's being joined with the man in the dominion over the creatures, God's having given the fruit of the earth for food to them both in common or equally, Gen. i. 28, 29, is a direct foundation of what is here added, that they are συγκληρονόμοι, coheirs of the gift of life, as ζωὴ, life, signifies the necessities of life, of which therefore the wife is in all reason to partake with him: or if ζωὴ be taken for life itself, then it belongs to the creation, male and female created he them; which is again a mystical proof or argument of conviction, that they that partake of life equally should also partake of the necessities of life. To which we shall not need to add a third acception of ζωὴ, life, for eternal or everlasting life, which seems not to be looked on here. See note [e].

[d] honour The word τιμὴ ordinarily signifies maintenance: so 1 Tim. v. 3, τὰς χήρας τίμα, honour, that is, maintain, relieve, the widows;

and so when the *ruling elder* is said to be *worthy of double honour*, 1 Tim. v. 17, that denotes such a proportion of maintenance above others as was wont to belong to the elder brother in the family. So Acts xxviii. 10, of the barbarians, *πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς*, *they honoured us with many honours*, that is, made us many entertainments when we were there, *καὶ ἀναγομένοις ἐπέθεντο τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν*, *and when we went away, they brought us in all things for our use*. So in Cicero, *Medico honos debetur*, "Honour is due to a physician," that is, a reward or fee. And so Aristotle, Rhet. l. i. c. 5, among the parts of *τιμὴ*, *honour*, reckons *δῶρα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τίμια*, *gifts, honorary donatives*, *καὶ γὰρ δῶρον ἐστὶ κτήματος δόσις, καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον*, "for a gift is the giving a possession, and a sign of honour. So Num. xxii. 37, *Am not I able to honour thee?* that is, to give thee *mercedem*, "a reward," saith St. Hierome: for so the Hebrew כָּרַךְ signifies both *honour* and *reward*, and also the necessities or provisions in an army, (*opes, pecudes, suppellectilem omnem, wealth, cattle, all kind of provision*, saith Schindler,) Judges xviii. 21. And so as the Hebrew בִּזְיָא signifies both *to despise* and *to take no care of*; so to take care of, to provide for any, is expressed by *honouring*. So Matt. xv. 6, *and shall not honour his father*, &c., that is, shall afford him no maintenance or relief, see note [d] 1 Tim. v. And so here, *ἀποτρέμει τιμὴν*, *to afford supplies or maintenance* to the wife, as being *the weaker vessel*, taken out of and depending on him for the necessities of life.

[e] *grace of life*] The several notions of the word *χάρις*, *grace*, in the sacred dialect have been often taken notice of. See note [k] on Luke i, [f] on Acts ii, [d] on Heb. xiii, [e] on Acts xviii; all of them springing from that primary notion of it for *charity* and *liberality*. Thus is the word used, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, *τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν*, *your charity or liberality to the poor Christians*. So Ecclus. xvii. 22, *ἡ χάρις*, &c. *the charity of a man*, and ch. xx. 13, *χάριτες μωρῶν*, *the charities of fools*; for so it follows, ver. 14, *the gift of a fool*, &c.; and ch. xl. 17, it is rendered *downrightfulness*. Thus in Aristotle *χάρις* is defined *ὅταν τις ὑπουργῇ καὶ βοηθῇ τῷ δεομένῳ, μὴ ἀντὶ τινος μηδ' ἵνα τι αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπουργοῦντι, ἀλλὰ ἵνα τῷ ἐκείνῳ τι*, Rhet. l. 2. c. 7, "When any man relieves him that wants, not that he himself may gain any thing by it, but only that the other may." Where the anonymous Scholiast expounds it *χάρις*, *ἡ τοῖς δωρεὰν, grace, that is, gift*; and so Hesychius, *χάρις*, *δωρεά*. So in Callimachus, *eis Δῆλον*,

Σῶζεο, μὴ σὺ γ' ἐμείο πάθης κακὸν εἶνεκα, τῆσδε
'Αντ' ἐλεημοσύνης, χάριτος δέ σοι ἔσσει' ἀμοιβή.

"I wish you may suffer no ill for this mercy to me, but that you may be rewarded for your charity:" where *χάρις* is clearly interpreted by *alms* or *mercy*. So 2 Cor. viii. 1, and 4, it is clearly used for a *gift* or *liberal beneficence to the poor*. Thus in this epistle, ch. iv. 18, *ποικίλη χάρις Θεοῦ*, *the manifold grace of God*, is God's liberality of divers kinds, particularly the wealth that he hath given to men, as to stewards, to distribute to them that stand in need of it; and at the beginning of the verse it is called *χάρισμα*, *Ἐκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβε χάρισμα*, *Every man as he hath received wealth*, or any other such gift of God. So the *grace of God*, so often mentioned, is the mercy and gift of God; as in the benedictions, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, all one with *ἀγάπη*, God's

love, and *κοινωνία*, *communication*, after it. So John i. 16, *We have received χάρις*, *grace, mercy*, liberal effusion of goodness, ἀπὶ χάριτος, *in respect of* (and *in proportion to*) his great *goodness*, and *mercy*, and abundant *charity* to us, mentioned before, ver. 14, and after, ver. 17, where the *grace* of Christ is set opposite to the strictness of the law, which hath nothing of mercy in it. Agreeable to this notion of χάρις, as it signifies an act of this mercy in God, that is, a gift, is the use of it in this place, where the husbands are commanded to distribute to their wives all things that they stand in need of, ὡς συγκληρονόμοι χάριτος ζωῆς, *as copartners of the gift of life*: that is, the wife and the husband are joined together in receiving from God that largess of his, whether it be ζωῆς, as that signifies *life* itself, as we know it was in the creation, God equally distributed this gift of life to them; or as it notes the comforts and necessities of life, the wife as well as the husband hath right of inheritance from God to all the good things of this life, as having equally dominion given to them both over the fish, and fowl, and beasts, and herbs, and trees, Gen. i. 28, all which are given them for meat, ver. 29.

19. [f] *spirits in prison*] For the explicating of this very obscure place, the best rise will be that which St. Hierome on Isaiah hath suggested to us, by looking on the words of God to Noah, concerning the sins of the old world, and his judgments designed against them, Gen. vi. 3, where, considering Noah as a prophet, (and preacher of repentance to the old world,) it will not be strange if the expression be prophetic and figurative. The Hebrew hath it thus, לֹא יִרְוֶן רוּחִי בָאֲדָם, which the ordinary English render, *My spirit shall not always strive with man*; the Greek, Οὐ καταμενεῖ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις, *My spirit shall not abide in these men*, perhaps reading ἵλιν from ἵλιν, *to lodge, or abide*. The English render the Hebrew יִרְוֶן, as if it came from רָוַן, *disceptavit, judicio contendit*, “to contend,” or “go to law;” but the word comes from נָוַן, which signifies *a sheath*, 1 Chron. xxi. 27, and is used for a *body*, Dan. vii. 15, *My spirit in the midst of my body*, as being the sheath or receptacle of the soul: and so the writers of the Talmud ordinarily use it, and Tertullian de Resurrect. *Caro vagina afflatus Dei*, “Flesh is the sheath of the breath of God,” no doubt referring to this place; and accordingly לֹא יִרְוֶן is literally to be rendered, *shall not abide as a sword &c. in a sheath*. For the removing all improbability of thus reading יִרְוֶן, (not ἵλιν, *pernoctabit*,) and taking it in the notion of *abiding*, or *continuing*, in *flesh*, and not of *striving*, as the Interlinear and our English render it, and as יִרְוֶן indeed would require to be rendered, I shall only add two things: first, That the ancient interpreters with one accord agree in the sense of *abiding* or *inhabiting*. The Chaldee read, לֹא יִתְקִים דְּרָא בִּישָׁא דְּדִין קִרְמִי לְעֵלָם, *This evil generation shall not always remain before me*; the Syriac and Arabic, *My spirit shall not dwell in man for ever*; the LXXII, as we said, οὐ κατεμενεῖ, *shall not abide*; and so the Latin, *non permanebit, shall not abide*. This is a strong argument, that they who, when they meet with יִרְוֶן, uniformly render it *κατεμενεῖ*, &c. by words of *judging*, yet rendering this in so distant a manner, did not read that word, or in that sense, but יִרְוֶן, as all copies have it, in a notion of *abiding* or *being in another*. And although the scripture of the Old Testament give us no

further insight into this word than that once we find נרן for a *sheath of a sword*, once for a *body of a man*; yet by these so distant notions of it, we have reason to suppose that there was some original comprehensive notion of it belonging to more, or else it could not have been applied, in the Chronicles and in Daniel, to these two so distant particulars. A *sheath* and a *body* differ much the one from the other, yet agree in this, that as one is the repository or abiding-place of the sword, into which it is put, so the other is of the soul; and from this agreement no doubt it is that they are expressed by the same word. And then it would be very strange if that word, thus common to them, should not natively signify that wherein they thus agree, viz. *abiding*, or *being put in*, or *kept in*, or *confined* to such a place, or some such thing. It is evident that many Hebrew words are of a far greater latitude of signification and comprehensiveness than we can by the use of them in the Bible (which is but a volume of a narrow compass) discern or conjecture, as appears especially by the use of them in Arabic books, which language is certainly but a dialect derived from the Hebrew. And therefore it is not unreasonable on the grounds premised, and those more than obscure indications in the Bible which we have of it, that this should be the native meaning of the verb, though in other places of the Bible we do not exactly meet with it. The second thing is, that though ילון were not the reading, nor by the LXXII and the other interpreters believed to be so, yet it is so ordinary for words of affinity in sound or writing to have a nearness of signification, that these interpreters, which did not always render literally, but oft by way of paraphrase, might probably enough have an eye to the notion of ילון for *abiding*, and so render it καταμείναι, *to remain*, or *abide*, for which in this matter St. James useth κατοικεῖν, *to sojourn*, or *abide*, as in an inn, for a night, James iv. 5; for after this manner of liberty it is that the Jerusalem Targum on this verse evidently takes in both the interpretations of ירון and ירון. In the latter sense from ירון, *to judge*, their Paraphrase thus begins: *Non adjudicabuntur generationes quæ futura sunt post generationem in diluvio perditioni, vastationi aut deletioni universali*: "The generations which shall be after the generation of the flood shall not be adjudged to an universal perdition, vastation, or blotting out." A truth indeed secured by God's promises at large, chap. viii. 21, and ix. 11, but no way pertinent to this place, where the deluge itself is threatened. Only on occasion of the affinity in sound and writing of ירון, *not judging*, here, to ירון, *לא ירון*, this part of the Paraphrase, though alien to the place, seems to be begotten. But then for the former, as the words are undoubtedly read ירון רוחי, *לא ירון*, so the Paraphrase proceeds in relation to them, *Annon spiritum meum filiis hominum indidi?* "Have I not put my spirit into the sons of men?" an evident proof of their understanding ירון in a notion of putting one thing into another, which consequently may be resolved to be the general acception of the active verb, and then that which is so put doth abide in it, as in a repository of some sort or other; such is a sheath to a sword, a prison to him that is put into it, a cabinet to that which is laid up in it, the body to the soul, as long as the man lives. As for רוחי, *my spirit* or *breath*, that sure is that breath breathed by God into man, Gen. ii. 7, by which he became

a living soul, (see note [a] on James iv.) *Spiritus meus filiis hominum indidi*, "I have given my breath, or spirit," (*afflatus Dei*, in Tertulian,) "to the sons of men," saith the Jerusalem Targum there, according to that of Seneca, Ep. 66. *Ratio nihil aliud est quam in corpus humanum pars Divini spiritus mersa*, "Reason is nothing else but a particle of the Divine spirit immersed in a man's body;" and so in the poet is a man's soul called

— *divinæ particula auræ,*

"a particle of the divine breath, or spirit." From hence the meaning of those words is clear, *My spirit shall no longer be sheathed in man*, that is, the souls which I have breathed or given to men, the sons of Adam, and which are sheathed in them, imprisoned, detained unprofitably, shall no longer continue or abide in them: so saith St. Chrysostom, Οὐ μὴ καταμείνῃ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ, οὐκ ἐάσω αὐτοὺς λοιπὸν (ἔτι), "My spirit shall not always abide among these men," is instead of, "I will not suffer them to live any longer:" and this, as a figurative obscure expression, is twice afterward set down more clearly; *The Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth*, ver. 7; and, *The end of all flesh is come before me; and I will destroy them from the earth*, ver. 13. It must here be further observed, that in the latter part of that third verse is added, first, the reason of that sentence of God; secondly, the space in his long-sufferance designed, before which was past it should not be executed. The former in these words, *For that he also is flesh*, that is, extremely given to the satisfying of the flesh, that age being a most carnal and abominable age, used ordinarily by the Jews (under the phrase דְּיֹר חֲמָבֹל, *the age of the deluge*) for an example of all impiety; and that I suppose here meant also by *the earth was corrupt before God*, v. 11 and 12; the *corruption* there, as φθορά in the apostles, signifying all manner of unnatural lust and villainy. And for the latter, it is evident that they were allowed sixscore years to repent in, and avert the judgment, and that Noah was sent to preach repentance to them by denouncing the judgment and building the ark. *Ecce dedi ut resipiscentiam agerent*, "Behold, I have given them that space, that they might repent," saith the Jerusalem Targum. And accordingly this age is ordinarily, and by way of proverb, used by the Jews as an evidence and example of God's μακροθυμία, his *patience and long-suffering* to sinners, before he comes to punish them. And when the judgment came upon that world of ungodly men, yet a remnant was delivered, Noah and his family in the ark, from perishing in the waters. By this explication of that verse in Genesis, as it already appears how perfect a parallel that was of God's dealing with the Jews, giving them time to repent, delivering all that did repent, and destroying the whole nation besides; so it is evident that from thence this verse of St. Peter's may be interpreted. For the τὰ ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύματα, *the spirits in the prison*, or *custody*, or *sheath*, here, (φυλακῇ signifying any kind of receptacle, Rev. xviii. 2.) are those souls of men that lay so sheathed, so useless and unprofitable in their bodies, immersed so deep in carnality as not to perform any service to God, who inspired and placed them there, (and it is elsewhere a figurative speech to express wicked men, who are called *prisoners, in prison*, that is, ἐν φυλακῇ, Isa. xlii. 7, and

chap. xlix. 9, and *bound in prison*, Isa. lxi. 1.) they, the *thoughts of whose hearts were evil continually*, ver. 5. To these Christ, that is, God eternal, πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν ἐν πνεύματι, *went and preached in, or by, that Spirit*, by which he was now raised from the dead: where first the word Χριστός, *Christ*, is used, not Θεός, *God*, according to the general opinion of the ancient fathers of the church, that he which of old appeared to the patriarchs was (not the first, but) the second Person in the Trinity, Christ the Son, not God the Father; and that those appearances of his were *prælia incarnationis, prelusory and preparative to his taking our flesh* upon him. And accordingly those verses of the Sibylline Oracle, which introduce God speaking to Noah about the ark, and setting down the speakers' names by numbers,

(Ἐννέα γράμματ' ἔχω, τετρασύλλαβός εἰμι, νόμι με.

Αἱ τρεῖς αἱ πρῶται δύο γράμματ' ἔχουσιν ἑκάστη,

εἰς ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ, καὶ εἰσιν ἄφωνα τὰ πέντε.

Τοῦ παντὸς δ' ἀριθμοῦ ἑκατοντάδες εἰσὶ δις ὀκτώ

Καὶ τρεῖς τρεῖς δεκάδες ἑσὶν δισδά——)

are best interpreted by Θεὸς Σωτὴρ, *God Saviour*, that is, *Christ*: for to those two words belongs all that is said in those verses; they consist of nine letters, four syllables, the three first of two letters apiece, and the fourth of the remaining three, of five consonants, and four vowels; and so likewise the numeral importance of each letter amounteth to the just number of 1692, as it is there described. See Canter. Novar. Lect. l. i. c. 3. Secondly, the phrase πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, *went and preached*, or *going preached*, is but an idiom of the sacred style, wherein πορευθεὶς, *going*, and such like words, are frequently used as παρέλκοντι, *expletives*; so, to omit many more, Ephes. ii. 17, speaking of Christ after his departure from the world, (in the same manner as here before his coming into it,) and of his preaching by his apostles, not personally himself, to the heathen world, St. Paul expresses it after the same manner as here, καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην, *and he went and preached peace*. Thirdly, by his *Spirit* is evidently here meant that Divine power by which he was raised from the dead, after his crucifixion, and by which he means now to act revenge on his crucifiers after a while, if they repent not, but in the mean time to preach repentance to them. And that makes the parallel exact betwixt the matter here in hand and the story of the old world. Here men are divided into two sorts, ver. 17, those that *suffer for well doing*, the pious, constant, yet persecuted Christians, and those that *shall suffer for evil doing*, the contumacious obdurate, persecuting Jews and Gnostics; as there, the violent and corrupt on one side, which were, after the *hundred and twenty years*, swept away with the deluge, and Noah (and his family) on the other side, who by being set forth as an example of the godly, *delivered out of temptations*, 2 Pet. ii. 5, 9, appear to have been opposed and wronged by them. And therefore to prove (what was undertaken, ver. 17,) that even in respect of this world it is far better to be of the number of the persecuted, who shall be delivered, than of the most prosperous persecutors, which shall after a time be destroyed, as the example of Christ was very pertinent, ver. 18, who having suffered a while, was

e So Guil. Canterus rightly reads it, not αἱ λοιπαί.
not σύν γ' ἐπρά.

f So again Guil. Canterus,

raised in power to destroy the crucifiers; so the example of the old world is fitly made use of also, who are evidently pointed at not only by the πνεύματα ἐν φυλακῇ, *spirits in the sheath, or custody, or prison*, (which so fitly agrees with the ירִי, *sheathed*, in the old prophecy,) but by that which here follows, ἀπειθήσασι ποτε, which were *disobedient of old*, see note [g], (which clearly takes it off from belonging to the Gentiles of Christ's time, to which some interpreters are willing to apply the place,) and that ποτε, *of old*, defined by the ὅτε, *when*, that follows, ὅτε ἀπᾶς ἐξεδίχετο, *when once God's long-sufferance waited*, (or *without once*, ὅτε ἀπεξεδίχετο, as the king's MS. reads it,) ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, *when it waited in the days of Noe*, &c.; which particular of *God's long-sufferance*, awaiting their repentance 120 years, and daily admonishing and reproaching them all that time, (see Heb. xi. 7.) by the κατασκευαζομένη κιβωτος, *preparation of the ark*, and his *saving the remnant* (as the son of Syrach calls it, Ecclus. xlv. 17.) by this means, δι' ὕδατος, *through, or out of, the water*, (see note [b] on 1 Cor. iii.) are very commodiously applied to St. Peter's present purpose also, Christ's deferring this vengeance on the Jews forty years after his crucifixion, being on purpose designed, first, to bring the crucifiers to repentance, secondly, to make trial of the patience and perseverance of the sincere Christians, and to deliver them peculiarly out of this deluge of destruction, Rev. ii. 7, &c., when all others, Jews and temporizing Gnostics, were destroyed.

20. [g] *disobedient*] The word ἀπειθοῦντες, *disobedient*, is used for a course of great notorious sin, spoken of the παροικισμένοι, *exasperators, provokers*, Heb. iii. 16, 18; against whom God's oath was gone out, that *they should not enter into his rest*, ver. 19. They are here certainly the wicked men of the old world, on whom the flood came, called ἀσεβῶν κόσμος, *the world of the ungodly*, 2 Pet. ii. 5, which are there joined with the *wicked of Sodom*. From whence, and from some other evidences, it is probably to be concluded what their sin was which brought the flood upon them, viz. the sin of unnatural uncleanness, or sodomy, contrary to that breath of God breathed on them, the light of law, and reason, and nature, and the very soul within them. For so, Gen. vi. 2, upon *the sons of God taking them wives of the daughters of men*, presently follows the decree of God to send the deluge upon them. *The sons of God*, and *of men*, were certainly the worshippers of the one true, and the many false gods; and the marrying of those idolaters was the means of ensnaring the godly in the heathen idol-worships, and all the villanies in their practices or sacrifices, (as after it was, Num. xxv. 2.) This is there in general expressed, ver. 5, by, *The wickedness of man was great upon the earth*; meaning by πονήρια, *wickedness, villany*, (as ἀκαρία, *incontinence*, Matt. xxiii. 25, is πονηρία, *wickedness*, Luke xi. 39.) and, ver. 11, by, *The earth was corrupt before God, and filled with all violence*; by *corruption*, signifying these unnatural lusts, so ordinarily called φθορά, and φθείρεσθαι, *corruption and being corrupted*, (see note [b] on 2 Pet. i. and note [b] on 2 Pet. ii.) and by *violence*, either the same again in the most enormous kind, such as was by the Sodomites offered to the angels, (see note [h] on 1 Cor. v.) or else persecuting all others that would not go on with them in all their riotous courses, and both together expressed, ver. 12, by one of them, *corrupt*, *And all flesh corrupted his way*; and both again by *violence*,

ver. 13, *The end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with violence.* So that either of these single, or, which in probability is all one, both together, is the notation of the sin for which the flood came, and the interpretation of the ἀπειθήσασί ποτε, those that of old were disobedient in this place.

21. [h] *The like figure*] The king's MS. reads ο καὶ ἀντίτυπον, &c. where ο in capital letters (as that whole book is written) signifies oftentimes οδ, as in an inscription of an ancient cup in Athenæus, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟ is written for Διονύσου. And so in an old copy in Magdalen college in Oxford, it is clearly οὗ ἀντίτυπον, *the antitype of which.* As for the word ἀντίτυπον, it may perhaps be here fit to note, that, as it is certainly best rendered *antitype*, to preserve the signification of the Greek, whatsoever shall here appear most fitly to belong to it, so the Greek is capable of very distant senses. For, first, it signifies (not a *like*, but) a *contrary*. So in ε Xenophou, τὰ μὲν εἰς χάριτα διὰ τοῦ ἀρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ ἀντίτυπα δι' ἄλλων, "Matters of favour are done by the prince himself, but the contrary by other men." So saith Hesychius of it, Ἀντίτυπα: ἀντιτυπῆσαι, ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἀντεπεῖν, and Ἀντιτυπία: ἀντιλογία, ἐναντιώσεως. It signifies *contrariety* or *contradiction*; and so we know the preposition ἀντί most ordinarily imports. And this the place would not unfitly bear, that baptism is quite contrary to the ark of Noah, but yet saves as that saved. There the destruction was by water, and only they were saved which got into the ark; but here water is the means of saving from destruction, and they perish which have not this immersion or baptism here spoken of. Beside this, there is a second notation of this word, as ἀντί signifies *pro* as well as *contra*, and so it may here be fitly rendered. For when it is compounded in the notion of *pro*, it notes *instead of another*, as ἀνθύπατος, *proconsul*, is he that supplies the consul's place, is in his stead. And so it may be here, οὗ ἀντίτυπον βάπτισμα, *baptism instead*, or supplying the office of the ark, *saves us now.* In this sense *antitype* is ordinarily taken among us for that which (is not itself a type or figure, but) supplies the place of some former type; so purity of the heart is the antitype of circumcision, that is, that which is now by Christ required instead of that ceremony among the Jews. But beside both these, there is a third notation of the word, for ἀντίγραφον, *a copy*, differing from τύπος, so as the impression in the wax differs from the engraving in the seal. So the old Glossary renders both those words, ἀντίγραφον and ἀντίτυπον, by *exemplum* and *exemplar*. And thus is the word used, Heb. ix. 24. and generally in the ecclesiastic writers, and is best expressed by *parallel*, or *answerable*, and may so here fitly be rendered *parallel wherunto baptism*—.

CHAP. IV.

1. [a] *suffered in the flesh*] What is here meant by *suffering in the flesh*, (or, as the king's MS. reads, σαρκί, *to the flesh*, which we are to do by way of correspondence to Christ's crucifixion, doth not only appear by many other phrases elsewhere, as *being dead to sin*, *crucified with Christ*, noting thereby mortification and forsaking of worldly sinful courses; but also by the distinct words here added, πᾶνται ἁμαρτίας, *he hath ceased from sin*, which refer the phrase here to reforma-

tion of wicked lives, not to suffering of afflictions, as the words might be thought to signify. And this irrefragably appears by ver. 2, *That we should no longer live the rest of our time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God.* Which verse, if it be compared with that harder phrase, *κριθῶσι κατ' ἀνθρώπους σαρκί*, *judged to the flesh according to men*, ver. 6, it may possibly give some light to the explication of it. For *ἐπιθυμίαι ἀνθρώπων*, *the lusts of men*, ver. 2, may well be answerable to *κατ' ἀνθρώπους σαρκί*, *the flesh according to men*, ver. 6, noting thereby the customary sinful lusts of the Gentiles, as on the other side, *the will of God*, ver. 2, is all one with the *spirit according to God*, the godly, spiritual inclinations and dispositions: and then why may not *μηκέτι βῶσαι*, *living no longer*, that is, *dying*, be all one with *κριθῶσι*, *be judged, or condemned, or sentenced to death*? For when all the phrases that belong to Christ's sufferings, *crucifixion, death, burial*, are applied by accommodation from Christ to the Christian, in respect of his *dying to the flesh, to the world, to sin*, and when the opposite to being *judged is living*, (and when that opposition is strictly observed in all other parts of the phrase, *πνεύματι*, *spirit*, opposed to *σαρκί*, *flesh*, and *κατὰ Θεόν*, *according to God*, to *κατ' ἀνθρώπους*, *according to men*.) why should not *κρίνεσθαι*, *to be judged or condemned*, which is the thing immediately preparatory to execution, be taken here (though not often elsewhere) for execution, or suffering that sentence; and so *κριθῶσι σαρκί*, *judged to the flesh*, be all one with *dead to the world or flesh*, that is, mortifying all sinful lusts, opposed to *living according to God, to the Spirit, an holy and godly life*? Another notion these words, ver. 6, may be thought capable of, *ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατ' ἀνθρώπους τῇ σαρκί*, (speaking of penitent sinners involved in a common ruin,) that though as far as men can see, *κατ' ἀνθρώπους*, *according to men*, they be *judged in the flesh*, swept away in the calamity, in respect of their bodily outward condition, yet they are at rest, and so in their soul or spirit *live with God*. If *suffering in, or to, the flesh*, ver. 1, did belong to afflictions, this then might probably be the meaning of ver. 6. But the former being otherwise determined by the context, this latter will best be interpreted by analogy therewith.

3. [b] *excess of wine*] *Οινόφλυξ, μέθυσος, ὁ εἰς τὸν οἶνον ὁρμῶν φλύειν* γὰρ τὸ ὁρμῆν ἔχειν πρὸς τι, saith Phavorinus; the word signifies a *drunkard, one impetuously given to wine*. And again, *οἰνοφλυγία, ἐπιθυμία οἶνου ἄμετρος*, an immoderate desire of wine.

4. [c] *think it strange*] *Ξεγίεσθαι* is to wonder, as at a new or strange accident.* So in Polybius, *ξεγίεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν διὰ τὸ παράδοξον*, to think strange, and doubt as at a paradox; all one with *ξενοπαθεῖν*, to be surprised with some unexpected event. So *Ξεγίω, ἐκπλήττω*, in Phavorinus, and proportionably in the passive, *Ξεγίεσθαι, ἐκπλήττεσθαι*, to be stricken on a sudden, or amazed: so here again, ver. 12, *μὴ ξεγίεσθε τῇ πυρώσει*, *be not surprised, amazed, or vehemently affected with wonder*, at that *πύρωσις* which is among you.

[d] *excess of riot*] *Ἀνάχυσις, θυρμός, σύγχυσις*, saith Phavorinus: where *σύγχυσις*, signifying *confusion*, is a general word, and would not much tend to the illustrating of the other, did not the *θυρμός* tell us what kind of confusion it was, viz. a confusion of sexes in committing those base sins; for so saith he of *θυρμός*, *μολυσμός, ῥύπος, μίasma*, it notes those *filthy abominable pollutions*: and accordingly Hesychius

having rendered it *φυρμός, βλακεία*, interprets the latter of these *μαλακία, mollities*, the word so commonly used for *effeminacy*, and particularly for these base sins. Another notion of this word there is (the primitive, I suppose, whence this is by metaphor derived) for *ponds* or *cavities* which are filled with the sea at the time of float, and will carry boats at such times to the main land, and to cities built there. So saith Strabo, l. 3, *Λέγονται ἀναχύσεις αἱ πληρουμέναι τῇ θαλάττῃ κοιλάδες ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσι, καὶ ποταμῶν δίκην ἀνάπλους ἐπὶ τὴν μεσόγειαν ἔχουσαι καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῆς πόλεις*. These Ptolemy calls *εἰσχύσεις*, as our Humber in England is by him expressed by *Ἄβου* (in all probability for *Ἀβρου*) *εἰσχύσις*. And this overflowing of the sea is very fit to express this of extravagant enormous lust, (see note [b] on Jude.) Agreeable to this is the notion of *ἀσωτία* here also joined with it: *Ἀσώτως, ἀκόλαστος, ἀσελγής*, and *Ἀσώτως, αἰσχρῶς*, saith Phavorinus; it notes *incontinence*, and *lasciviousness*, or *filthiness*, which what it signifies in that writer will appear by the account which he gives of *ἀσελγαίνειν*, viz. that principally and properly it signifies τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ταῖς γυναῖξι μίγνυσθαι, the sin mentioned Rom. i. 26, from whence, saith he, there was a city called *Ἀσελγη*, ὅπου κακῶς ἔζων οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐκοινώνουν, where such unnatural villanies were ordinarily committed: and *κοινῶς, ἀσελγεία, ἀκαθαρσία, uncleanness*, but that especially of the basest and foulest sort, as may appear by his rendering *ἀρρητοποιΐα* by *ἀσελγεία, αἰσχροπυγία* by which it appears that these two words signifying each of them so unsavourily, are joined together to denote those *ἀθέμιτοι εἰδωλολατρεΐαι, abominable practices*, of the Gentiles in their idolatries, ver. 3.

12. [e] *fiery trial*] What *πύρωσις* here signifies will easily be defined from the notion of the Hebrew *פָּלַח*, which signifies two things, *to persecute*, and *to set on fire*. So Psalm x. 2, where the Hebrew is rendered by us, *the wicked doth persecute the poor*, the LXXII. read *ἐμπυρίζεται ὁ πτωχός, the poor is set on fire*. And so again, *ἔζη*, which signifies *to try*, (either as gold is by the fire, or as men by afflictions,) is by the LXXII, Psalm xvii. 3, rendered *ἐπύρωσας, casting into the fire*. And accordingly *πύρωσις* regularly will signify in general any kind of adversity or sharp persecution, which (as fire blown up into flames, to gold or other metals, is the means of exploring and purifying them) is in like manner here said to be *γινομένη ὑμῖν εἰς πειρασμόν, befallen them for their trial*. Thus, Prov. xxvii. 21, *δοκίμιον ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσῷ πύρωσις, casting into the fire is the trial for silver and gold*; and Psalm lxxvi. 10, *ἐπύρωσας ἡμᾶς, ὡς πυροῦνται ἀργύριον, thou hast cast us into the fire, as silver is cast into the fire*, unless perhaps that should be read *ἐπείρασας ὡς πευράζεται, thou hast tried us as silver is tried*; and so in other places of the Old Testament. The word we have again, Rev. xviii. 9, where *καπνὸς πυρώσεως* we rightly render *the smoke of her burning*, or *being set on fire*. If this be now applied to the Jews in general at that time, it may then be fitly interpreted of the great combustions and seditions caused by the *ζηλωταὶ* and *στασιασταί, zealots and seditious*, oft mentioned by Josephus, which raised such stirs among them, and brought such heavy, bloody slaughters upon them before their destruction by the Romans, and not only in but out of Judæa. And in opposition to these perhaps it is, that they are advised to be *ζηλωταὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, zealots of that which is good*, for so the king's MS. reads instead of *μιμηταί, imitators or followers*, ch. iii. 13; and accordingly now, when

the τὸ τέλος ἡγγικε, the destruction or fatal excision, was but *approaching*, the πύρωσις is spoken of as already, *γινομένη ἐν ὑμῖν*, *befallen among* them, and so may fitly be the forerunner of their destruction, as Josephus observes it was. But if it be more strictly applied to the Christians to whom St. Peter writes, it must then signify the persecutions which, from the Jews and Gnostics, fell on the pure and orthodox Christians, wherever Christianity was planted in the provinces, and was particularly *ἐκ πειρασμῶν*, *for the exploring and trying* them, the malice of the persecutors being such, (and no other means of appeasing them, save the denying of the faith, or, by compliances, seeming to do so,) that whosoever was not sincere was sure to be tempted out of his profession.

14. [*f*] *glory*] That δόξη, *glory*, is answerable to the Hebrew *Schechina*, the *appearing of God by angels*, or any other glorious way, hath been often said, note [*a*] on Mark i, (see 2 Pet. i. 3, 17, and Jude 24.) and that that also signifies that eminent way of God's appearance, (which is therefore called his ἐπιφάνεια,) the incarnation and being of Christ here on the earth, hath been formerly noted also, note [*c*] on John i. So note [*a*] on 2 Cor. iv, *the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ*, is the glorious exhibition of God, so visible in Christ here on the earth. And so most probably here it signifies; and then τὸ τῆς δόξης will be the state or condition of Christ when he was here upon the earth, with which is here fitly joined τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the Spirit of God*, (so Christ incarnate was *God blessed for ever*,) that is, the same way of dispensation and economy which was used on Christ when he was here on earth, (see note [*e*] on Luke ix.) And that this is the meaning of it here, will be judged by the context, which pronounces them happy that are *reproached for Christ's name*; because by that means they are made like Christ, that prime person that suffered for well doing.

15. [*g*] *a busybody*] What the ἀλλοτριοπειρασμία here signifies, will best be guessed by observing, first, that it is here joined with other great and gross sins, theft, murder, evil-doing; secondly, by comparing it with another word of near signification, περιεργία, 2 Thess. iii. 11, (against which the apostle exhorts, 1 Thess. iv. 1.) This crime is either of a lower or higher sort; the first is idleness, the second improves it into sedition. Against the former, the apostolic doctrine did proceed by way of censure, that they were not to be acknowledged in the catalogue of those poor that were to be relieved by the church out of the public stock, but rather under the title of the ἀτακτοί, *disorderly* persons, used as *thieves*, (with whom they are here placed,) which were to be sold as slaves, forced to labour, and so taken off from their idleness and meddling with other men's matters. Thus among the Egyptians idleness was a capital crime; among the Lucani, he that lent money to any idle person was to lose it; among the Corinthians, the slothful were delivered to the *carnifer*, saith Diphilus. Another, higher than this, there was, of undertaking to have the charge of those that do not belong to them; a fault which at this time was very observable among the Jewish zealots, who pretending to and promising themselves a perpetual immunity from all power of men, (as the only children of God, which were not therefore to be under any man, particularly under heathens, but to enjoy an αὐτονομία, or *immunity*,) would

force all men to join with them against the Romans, that is, against the public peace, calling themselves the *εὐεργέται καὶ σωτῆρες*, *benefactors and saviours* of the nation, and plundering all that would not be as active and seditious as themselves. Such as these were very rife at the time of writing this Epistle, and might justly be here ranked with *thieves and murderers*, being most eminently both of these, under pretence of zeal to the law, and making all men perform their duty.

17. [*h*] *For the time*—] The *ὅτι* here will most conveniently be joined with the *δοξαζέτω*, ver. 16, as the matter of the Christian's joy, and occasion of his glorifying God, that this is the season of *judgments beginning at the house of God*. For there being two parts of God's κρίμα, or judgment, the one tolerable, the other intolerable; the one for advantage of the sufferer, the other for the greatest disadvantage; the one here called ἀρξασθαι κρίμα, *the beginning*, or τὸ πρῶτον, *first part, of the judgment*, the other τὸ τέλος, *the end*, or tail of it; the one assigned to pious men, the οἶκος Θεοῦ, *house of God*, the other to the impious, obdurate, ἀπειθοῦντες, *disobedient*, (see note [*g*] ch. iii.) it must needs be looked on as an happy condition, and that which is matter of joy and not of sorrow to any, that they have their part in the former of these, and not in the latter of them. What the τὸ τέλος, *the end*, here is, may perhaps be questioned, whether any vengeance in this life, or that greater in another life. But the answer is easy: it belongs primarily to the vengeance that here should light upon the obdurate Jews, their utter excision now approaching, styled τὸ τέλος πάντων, *the end of all things*, ver. 7; in comparison with which the persecutions that now fell on the persevering Christians from their hands were very light and supportable; but this not to exclude, but to be the entrance on that sad arrear, the dregs of that bitter cup in another world. What is here added of the δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, *the righteous scarcely escaping*, is taken from Prov. xi. 31, where that which is in the Hebrew בְּהוֹרֵן בְּמֵרִץ צִדִּיק, and is from thence rightly rendered by our English, *behold, the righteous shall be recompensed on the earth*, is by the Septuagint (by mistake, as it is probable, of *בְּמֵרִץ* for some other word) rendered δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, *the righteous hardly* (that is, not without some difficulties and persecutions) *escapes*; where, as the recompence on earth, which the righteous meets with, is the punishments and afflictions which befall him in this life, so the σώζεται, *saved*, must be the temporal preservations here, or immunity from afflictions; and μόλις σώζεται, *hardly saved*, his bearing some sharp pungent part of them, but those not comparable with that other part of God's cup of trembling, which expects the ungodly both here in a remarkable destruction, and in another world.

CHAP. V.

3. [*a*] *as being lords*] Κατακυριεύειν is κατακρατεῖν, saith Phavorinus, *to have and exercise dominion*. What this is will appear by that place of the Gospel, Matt. xx. 25, where it is explained by the practice of the heathen rulers, kings or emperors, over them, who do ἐξουσιάζειν, and κατακυριεύειν, (both to the same sense,) *act as κυρίος, lords*, masters of their people; and that not only by dominion over their persons, but over their estates too, so far as to maintain all their state out of the people's purses, by way of tribute and taxes. This is the meaning of

διακονεῖσθαι there, ver. 28, *to be served or benefited* by their subjects, the same that Xenophon means by ὠφελοῦντο ὑπ' αὐτῶν, Præf. to Κύρ. Παιδ. *being profited by them*: and ^h Callicratides the Pythagorean, in his book of the Felicity of Families, intimates the same by his definition of *despotic government*, ἂ τῷ ἰδίῳ συμφέροντος ἀρχοῖσα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἀρχομένων, "that which respects the rulers' own profit, and not the subjects'." For this is the manner of the *kings of the nations*, (and consequently will be so of their king, if they will have one,) 1 Sam. viii. 11, *to receive tributes* and the like from their subjects, and to be maintained by them in all their splendour and greatness that belonged to them, all the pomps and expenses of their families and courts being fetched out of their subjects' purses and persons. Which consideration would, saith Samuel, make them think their present estate under the θεοκράτεια (being *governed by God* immediately) much better to them, ver. 18. And that is the meaning of the κατακυριεύειν, to behave themselves after the manner of these, to use their power in order to their own profits and greatness, (like those, Neh. v. 5, where the word ἐξουσιάζειν is used.) And this is here forbidden the governors of the church; they may not make this their manner of ruling, to exercise this power over their flock, but to give them examples of all kind of Christian virtue, and so neither to be πλῆκται, *strikers, imperious, masterly persons, ruling roughly and harshly*, and in ostentation of their power, nor αἰσχροκερδεῖς, *covetous, griping*, making advantage of ecclesiastical power to squeeze gain out of men: which two things are so severely interdicted the ecclesiastical ruler, 1 Tim. iii. 3, and Tit. i. 17, and perhaps are intended here also, ver. 2; the first by οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς, *not forcibly*, in an active sense, not using violence toward the flock, and the latter by the αἰσχροκερδῶς, *not making filthy gain*, that is, such as the use of their power over the flock brings them in, over and above that proportion which by the church is allotted for their maintenance.

[*b*] *heritage*] κλήροι may here be the several provinces over which each of the governors (mentioned together in the plural, ver. 1.) are placed. So Acts i. 25, κλῆρος διακονίας καὶ ἀποστολῆς, *the lot of ministry and apostleship*, is that charge or portion assigned by lot to Matthias, whither he was to go and officiate and preach the gospel: from which division then made among the Twelve at their setting out on their travels to plant the gospel, they and all others ordained by God to be apostles or bishops, had afterward their provinces to govern, ποιμαίνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν, *to rule as pastors and bishops*, ver. 2, when they were converted to Christianity: as among the Romans, the province which such a proconsul was to administer or govern, was his *lot* or κλῆρος, according to which κληρουχία, in Phavorinus, is rendered δεσποτεία, *lordship*. In relation to these provinces among the Romans, over which procurators, or prætors, or proconsuls were set, or to which they were advanced, as to a magistracy or preferment, and raised great wealth there from their provinces, (as Cicero tells us of Verres and the prætor of Sicily,) it is, that here the apostle commands the bishops not to bear rule as they do over their provinces, (that is, by force, and with griping and squeezing wealth out of them, that is, κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων, and ἀναγκαστῶς, and αἰσχροκερδῶς, see note [*a*],) but to rule

them as pastors do a flock, going before, and so conducting them, which is here the meaning of *τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου*, *becoming examples of the flock*, after the manner of the sheep in those parts, where the pastor going before, *the sheep hear his voice and follow him*, and that, as it is here, *ἑκουσίως* and *προθύμως*, *willingly and cheerfully*.

5. [c] *clothed* What *ἐγκόμβωμα* signifies, is particularly set down by Julius Pollux, *Ὀνομαστ.* l. 4. c. 18, in these words, *Τῇ τῶν δούλων ἐξωμίδι ἱματιδίων τι πρόσκειται λευκόν, ὃ ἐγκόμβωμα λέγεται ἢ ἐπίβλημα*, "Upon the servant's coat is added a little white garment called by this name;" by which it appears to be a habit peculiar to servants; and by what Hesychius and Phavorinus say, (*Ἐγκομβωθεῖς, δεθεῖς*, it signifies *being bound*, and again, *Ἐγκόμβωμα, δεσμός, a band*,) it appears to be some kind of *girdle* or *belt*; and agreeably Hesychius and Phavorinus explain *κόσσυμβος* by *ἐγκόμβωμα καὶ περίζωμα Αἰγύπτιον*, an *Egyptian girdle*. This, as it is a *belt* or *girdle*, is an emblem of obedience, and much more so as that girdle was proper to servants; and so it is here used by the apostle to denote humility to those that are placed over them, as their badge by which they may be known to be servants of Christ. That it is no barbarous word, see Photius Epist. 156, who cites out of Epicharmus *ἐγκεκόμβωται*, and *ἐγκομβώσασθαι* out of Apollodorus, *τὴν ἐπωμίαν πτύξασα διπλὴν ἄνωθεν ἐνεκομβωσάμην*, "I girt it upon me:" which agrees with the notion of a *belt*, which we have given of it.

13. [d] *elected together* *Ἐκλέγειν*, to *choose*, and *ἐκκαλεῖν*, to *call* or *cull* out, are in effect all one, and agreeably *ἐκλεκτή*, *chosen*, and *ἐκκλησία*, *church*, are so too, noting the society and assembly of Christians, as they are separate from the world, and in that respect said to be *called*, or *picked*, or *culled* out of it. Thus I suppose the word is used in Ignatius's Epistle to the Trallians, or by the interpolator, if that be not the original reading, where, speaking of bishops, he saith, *Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν*, *Ecclesia non est catus evocatus, aut peculiaris*, that is, in effect, the church is not a church of such as it ought: and so it must be understood by those words which follow in Videllius's copy; and if they were not written by Ignatius, seem to be a scholion to explain them, and as such, to be added to them, *οὐ συναθροῖσμα ἁγίων, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίων*, "not a collection of saints, not an assembly of pious men." And then *συνεκλεκτὴ* will signify that church which was planted together with them, their sister church; see note [a] on 2 John. That St. Peter was now at Rome when he wrote this Epistle, in the second year of Claudius, is collected by Baronius; and accordingly *Βαβυλῶν* here will be resolved to signify Rome, (see Euseb. l. 2. c. 14, and Jerom. de Scriptor. Eccl. in Marco,) so called, either *διὰ τὸ περιφανές*, *because of the great splendour* of that city, saith Eusebius, or else because of the great confusion of idolatry which St. Peter found there, (see note [a] on Rev. xviii.) And so *the church in Babylon*, the Christians in that heathen city of Rome.

THE SECOND EPISTLE GENERAL OF PETER.

THAT this second Epistle of St. Peter was not at first received in the church of Christ with so universal an agreement and consent as the former, may be concluded from Eusebius, and others of the ancients. But that either it was not received into the ancient canon, or not acknowledged to be written by that apostle, is the too hasty affirmation of some few later writers. For the confirming of which, because the posthumous Annotations of the most learned and judicious Hugo Grotius (a person which hath deserved so extremely well of this last age) have offered a special argument, it will not be amiss briefly to consider it. It is this: Peter, as all know, died under Nero; but this Epistle, as it is there suggested, at least the third chapter of it, was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. This is attempted to be thus proved: because "no Christian ever believed that the end of the world would come till after the destruction of the Jewish state;" (but that soon after that it would come, was the opinion of many;) "whereas," saith the objection, "the writer of this Epistle arms his readers with patience in expectation of the last day, if it came not so soon as they expected." Hereupon the conclusion there is, that Simeon, the bishop of Jerusalem next after James, is probably to be deemed the writer of this Epistle, who lived after the destruction of Jerusalem, till Trajan's time, and then was crucified. To make this good, these inconveniences are presently foreseen, which this opinion must necessarily fall upon. One from the beginning of the Epistle, where he is styled *Simon Peter*, (which cannot belong to Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, who was not called *Peter*;) and *Ἀπόστολος*, *Apostle of Jesus Christ*, which as little belongs to Simeon, whose predecessor James, in his Epistle, styles himself no more than *δούλος*, *a servant of Jesus Christ*. A second from ch. iii. 15, where he calls the apostle Paul *ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφός*, *our beloved brother*. To these inconveniences the only expedient that is there offered is this conjecture, (*Puto titulum fuisse, &c.*) that the word *Πέτρος*, *Peter*, should be left out in the title, and so likewise the word *apostle*, and so the form be reduced to that of *James and Jude*, *Συμεὼν δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *Symeon the servant of Jesus Christ*; and so likewise that the words rendered *our beloved brother*, were not in the ancient copies. But of this there is not pretended any colour of authority from any ancient copy, but only, *Credo ita comperturum si quis antiquiora quam nos habemus epistolæ hujus exemplaria invenerit*, "I believe that he which shall meet with more ancient copies than those which we now have, will find it thus." Which as it is an acknowledgment that no copy which we now have favours this conjecture, and so that it is deprived of all authority or probable ground, so it is an evidence of the infelicity and great injury done to learned men, whose notes and all their most sudden conjectures, which never passed the author's review, or second, maturer thoughts, are indifferently put to-

gether, and set out by others after their death. For it is not imaginable that that most judicious learned man, who was so great a master of reason, and so seldom or never assumes to put off any opinion of his own upon his own *puto* and *credo*, *thoughts* and *beliefs*, or *conjectures*, should thus leave out words and expressions upon his own fancy, without any pretence of any one copy to assist him. This will be yet more strange, if it be remembered, first, that ch. iii. 1, this is said to be a *second Epistle*, written much to the same purpose with the former, which is very agreeable to St. Peter's being the author of it; the former being wholly bent to fortify the Christian sufferers in their constancy against the baits and seductions of the Gnostics, but can no way be competent to Symeon the bishop of Jerusalem, of whom no records of those times tell us that he ever wrote any, and of whom it is not by those Annotations pretended that he wrote two Epistles. Secondly, that ch. i. 16, 17, there is a whole passage which cannot possibly belong to bishop Symeon, but signally doth belong to the apostle Peter, that of having been on the holy mount with Christ, and hearing those words, *This is my beloved Son*, &c., which certainly belongs to the transfiguration, Matt. xvii, where only Peter and James and John were present with Christ. And it is as strange, which on those verses is said in those Annotations, first, that these words must not be referred to the transfiguration on mount Tabor, but to that other passage, John xii. 28, (whereas H. Grotius, in those Annotations (which are known to be his) on Matt. xvii, distinctly applies the words to that on mount Tabor.) And, secondly, that when the voice, John xii. 28, was in the other words, *ἐδόξασα καὶ πάλιν δοξάσω*, *I have glorified, and will glorify again*, it is there suggested, that the words, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. were put in by some scribes who took the Epistle for St. Peter's. For which again there is not the least proof offered from any copy ancient or modern: so unhappy are all those conjectures in this matter, and so injurious to him whose name they have assumed to give them authority. It is true, there is some show of proof offered there that the phrase *holy mountain*, ver. 18, cannot belong to mount Tabor, being used by the Hebrew only for the mount Moriah, where the temple was. But that argument is of small validity, because though Moriah be ordinarily styled *the holy mountain*, and no other vouchsafed that title by the Jews, because of God's presence peculiar to the temple, which gave it the title of *holiness*; yet it is certain that other places, where God hath appeared to be present by his angels, have by the Jews and God himself been acknowledged and styled *holy*, (as when Moses is commanded, Acts vii. 33, *to put off his shoes, for the place where he stands is holy ground*;) and it is evident that that glorious appearance, and cloud, and voice at mount Tabor, were evidences of this presence, which might therefore, by analogy with the sacred style, denominate it an *holy mountain*. To this purpose it is further evident that St. Jude, ver. 18, speaking of the *scoffers* that should come in the last time, walking after their own lusts, cites that prediction from the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, ver. 17, where it is reasonable to believe that this Epistle, ch. iii. 3, is referred to, as indeed a great part of the argument of this Epistle is there made use of;) for in it those very words are met with, (and are not so in any other apostolic writing,) *Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last*

days scoffers, walking after their own lusts. From all these premises considered, it is abundantly clear, that if there be truth in this Epistle, (which they that acknowledge it a place in the canon, and only question its being written by St. Peter, cannot well be allowed to doubt of,) or if St. Jude say true, then St. Peter was the author of it: for there are not greater and surer evidences of any epistle's being written by the acknowledged author of it than are these forenamed—the title of *Simon Peter*, the addition of *an apostle of Jesus Christ*, the mention of *a former Epistle*, the having been with Christ on mount Tabor, the being called *an apostle of Christ* by St. Jude; all which in all copies stand unmoved, to secure the authority of this Epistle, and to convince us of the author of it. As for the argument taken from the time of St. Peter's death before the destruction of Jerusalem, &c., it is void of all force. For, (to grant all the former parts of it—that St. Peter died under Nero—that that was before the destruction of Jerusalem—that all Christians expected that destruction before the end of the world,) first, it doth not follow, that if this Epistle were written by Symeon, it shall therefore fall to be after the destruction of Jerusalem; for James the first bishop was put to death, and so Symeon succeeded in that see, eight years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and five years before the death of St. Peter. Secondly, it is not true which is suggested in the argument, and on which one thing all the validity of it depends, that this Epistle was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. And for the only proof of that, taken from hence, that the author of this Epistle arms his readers with patience in expectation of the last day, that is as far from truth also, there being no word in this Epistle to that matter. One passage there is which refers to the end of the world, chap. iii. ver. 7, but not as approaching or conceived by any to approach: but the other passages, of the *coming of the day of the Lord as a thief*, and the like, belong all to that judgment on the Jews, expressed in like phrases by Christ, Matt. xxiv, and by the apostles in their Epistles, and not to the day of universal doom or destruction of the whole world, (see note [d] on chap. iii.) Having thus answered the pretensions against the author of this Epistle, it remains that we inquire of the time of writing it, which, by ch. i. 14, may justly be concluded to have been a little before his death, and that in the time of his last danger before his martyrdom, from the evident approach whereof, or revelation concerning it, he affirms himself to *know* that the *time of his putting off this his tabernacle*, that is, his death, *ταχὺν ἔστιν, is very suddenly to come, very near at hand.* That Peter and Paul, from several parts of their travels, came to Rome about the twelfth of Nero, to defend and comfort and confirm the church that was persecuted there, hath been reasonably concluded by chronologers. And in this year, A. C. 67, about the beginning of October, they are both thought to be cast into prison, and soon after put to death. And then this is the most probable time for the writing this Epistle; which being so near the war, on which followed the destruction of the Jews, it is evident what occasioned the writing of this Epistle, (and St. Jude's, which, being on the same subject, must be dated about the same time,) viz. the confirming the persecuted afflicted Christians in their expectation of that deliverance which they should now shortly meet with, by the destruction of their persecutors. The certainty of which he declares, as also the

reasons of its being thus long delayed, and the undiscernibleness when it comes, fortifying them also against the infusions of the Gnostics, who took advantage of the continuing of their persecutions so long, and much solicited and assaulted the constancy of the afflicted Christians; of whom he therefore warns them, and that by foretelling that they should be soon destroyed also, and all that were corrupted by them.

CHAP. I.

3. [a] *virtue*] The word ἀρετή, *virtue*, beside the ordinary known notion of it for *probity of manners* among men, as the generical word that contains all moral and Christian virtues under it, (in which sense it is used Phil. iv. 8,) doth in this chapter signify two things very distant from one another, and both of them differing from this. In this verse it signifies *the power* of God which he shewed in Christ, especially the miracles which he was enabled to work: and so it is here joined with the glory; whether the descent of the Holy Ghost on him and on the apostles, (which is ordinarily called *schekina*, and δόξα, *glory*, see note [c] on Matt. iii.) or whether the glory that shone in his works and doctrine be meant by it. So 1 Pet. ii. 9, ἀρίαι καλίσαντος, *the virtues* (in the plural) of him that called us out of darkness into this great light; that is, his miraculous power, divine actions and words together. But then in the 5th verse of this chapter the word seems to have yet a third notion, and belonging there evidently to men, not God, as here, it cannot yet be fitly interpreted by that word *virtue*, which is the general comprehensive title of all virtues; for many of them are after named, as *continence, patience, &c.*, and required to be superstructed upon this of ἀρετή, *virtue*, which would not be so proper: but it seems rather to signify, (in that notion wherein both the Greek ἀρετή and the Latin *virtus* are often used,) ἀνδριεσθαι, 1 Cor. xvi. 13, *manhood, courage, or fortitude*, in adhering to Christ, Matt. xvi. 24, which the Gnostics, against whom he arms them, would so fain rob them of now in time of persecutions; so as in those verses of κ Euripides,

Θάρσος δὲ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς μέγα σθίνει*

"Ἔστι καὶ πταίσαντ' ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι θανάτῳ.

"Fortitude is very useful against afflictions; a man may shew virtue in his death." For there *fortitude* and *virtue* are all one. And so to their *virtue* or *courage* they must add *knowledge*, that is, that true Christian knowledge, to which their ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις, *knowledge falsely so styled*, was opposed; and to that, *continence*, contrary to their *uncleanness* and *filthiness*; and to that, *perseverance, &c.*; just as, 2 Cor. vi. 6, after *patience in afflictions*, ver. 4, and *purity*, is γνῶσις, *knowledge*: which again that it is set opposite to that pretended of the Gnostics, see the context there, and note [a] on that chapter.

4. [b] *corruption*] φθείρεσθαι, *corrupti*, signifies sometimes *to be debauched to sin*, particularly, and in the most eminent manner, to those sins against nature, abominable heathen lusts: so, 2 Cor. vii. 2, οὐδὲνα ἐφείραμεν, *we have corrupted no man*, seems to relate to those *false teachers*, the Gnostics, among them, who did thus *corrupt* and *seduc*

their *disciples*. Agreeable to which is that speech of Heraclitus, in his Epistle to Hermodorus, *τίνι συμμοιχεύω; τίνι συμμαίφονω; τίνι συμμεθύω; τίνι συμφθείρομαι; οὐ φθείρω, οὐκ ἀδικῶ, and οὐδένα τῶν ἀπάντων*, "With whom have I accompanied in adultery, in murder, in drunkenness, in corruption, or pollution? I corrupt, I wrong no man of them all." Thus was Socrates accused *ὡς ἀπατεῶν, ὡς λυμεὼν, ὡς φθόρος τῶν νέων*, "as a deceiver, a debaucher, corrupter of youth;" and this the sum of his accusation, *ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους*, "he wrongs and corrupts the young men." So in a narration of Hippolytus in ¹ Palladius, of a Christian virgin put by the tyrannical judge into a brothel-house; the debauched young men straight came, *βουλόμενοι ταύτῃ πρὸς φθορὰν διελεῖν, to company with her for corruption*, that is, to commit all filthiness with her. And so after he that freed her from that house is said *τῆς ἀρίμου φθορᾶς ἀπαλλάξας, to have delivered her from this dishonourable or vile corruption*. And so ch. xi. 3. So perhaps *διαφθείροντες τὴν γῆν*, Rev. xi. 18, *corrupting the earth*, see note [c]. So Ephes. iv. 22, the old heathen condition is called *the old man, φθειρόμενος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης, corrupted according to those lusts of deceit*, that is, the unnatural lusts of the heathen world, then brought into the church by the false teachers, the Gnostics. So Jude 10, *ἐν τοῖς φθείρονται, in these they are corrupted*, noting their corrupt practices contrary to nature. Thus *οικοφθόροι* in Ignatius Epist. ad Ephes., is by the translator rendered *masculorum concubitores*, and by Hesychius *μοιχοί*, and so *παιδοφθόρος*, in the Epistle of Barnabas, in this sense, so vulgar in other authors. And thus it clearly signifies in this place, (and others of this Epistle,) having *ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ, in lust*, added to it, and *τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*, that is in the world, referring to those unnatural Gentile practices. So *φθορὰ, corruption*, ch. ii. 12, is all unnatural filthiness; see note on Rom. viii. 1, and note [d] on 2 Pet. ii.

5. [c] *knowledge*] The true notion of the word *γνώσις, knowledge*, in this and many other places, will be best discerned by observing that the word is used 1 Cor. xii. 8, as a peculiar *χάρισμα, or gift*, of the Spirit, (see note [c] on 1 Cor. i, and note [c] on 1 Pet. iii,) and signifies the understanding of the word of God, that is, the scriptures, in the diviner and more mysterious sublime sense, such as the Judaizing Gnostics pretended to have an abstract of, Rom. ii. 20, called there *μρόφωσις γνώσεως*, such as to which the Jews pretend in their Cabala. So again, ch. xiii. 2, where *πᾶσα γνώσις, all knowledge*, is the same with *εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια, know mysteries*, precedent, and differs from *πᾶσα πίστις, all faith*, in this, that *πᾶσα γνώσις, all knowledge*, is that more subtle mysterious understanding of the Old Testament; and *πᾶσα πίστις, all faith*, is all kind of Christian faith, even that that hath the gift of miracles annexed to it. So again, ver. 8, where it is mentioned as an extraordinary gift, and joined with *tongues and prophecies*: so ch. xiv. 6, *revelation, knowledge, tongues, prophecy*: and from thence it comes to signify *κοινῶς*, the more exquisite knowledge of Christ and the mysteries of the gospel, as Col. ii. 3, *the hidden treasures of knowledge*; which is also intimated by *κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως, the key of knowledge*, Luke xi. 52, that knowledge which is locked up. So Rom. xi. 33, *γνώσις Θεοῦ, the knowledge of God*, of which there was such a *βάθος, pro-*

¹ Launiac. in Hint. κεφ. ρημ'.

fundity; and chap. xv. 14, *πᾶσα γνώσις, the knowledge of all mysteries*. That this is it that is spoken of 1 Cor. viii. 1, appears by that which is affirmed of it, that it doth *φυσιοῦν, puff up*, for so knowledge of mysteries is of all things most apt to do. So ver. 10, that knowledge which another looks on in thee with that reverence, and on occasion of which he, being not able to discern so subtilly, comes to sin and *perish* by reason of thy having and using it, ver. 11. So 2 Cor. iv. 6, *the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ*, that is, the understanding of that great mystery wherein God exhibited himself to us in the person of Christ incarnate. So when we read *ὑπερβάλλουσαν, abounding*, or *ὑπερέχον, excelling*, joined with it, Ephes. iii. 19 and Phil. iii. 8. From these notions of the word it is that the Gnostics of those times took their names, pretending to all secret mysterious understanding of the Old Testament, and grounding all the filthy passages of their doctrine upon several places so interpreted by them after their own polluted fancies, as may be seen in Epiphanius. This is mentioned by the apostle under the title of *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις, knowledge falsely so called*, 1 Tim. vi. 20, by them called *γνώσις, knowledge*, and the *γνωστικοί, knowing* persons, but, saith he, *ψευδώνυμος, very falsely* so styled by them; and so it is acknowledged by Theophylact. And according to this it is that the apostle Barnabas in his Epistle, (those fragments of it that are come to us,) setting himself distinctly against these Gnostics, that out of the mystical interpretation of the Old Testament brought in many damnable doctrines, (not only the necessity of continuing circumcision, &c. but the lawfulness of all abominable unnatural filthiness, and withal the denying of Christ's coming really in the flesh,) sets up another *γνώσις*, or mystical exposition of the Old Testament, and in that whole Epistle interprets many places of scripture to the maintaining of Christianity against them. And hence I conceive it is that in this Epistle, which is so wholly designed as an antidote against the Gnostics, (as the Epistle of St. Jude also is,) and particularly against their abominable filthy practices, the word *γνώσις, knowledge*, is used, not for that *χάρισμα, or gift* of mysterious knowledge, but for the true saving Christian knowledge, in opposition to that pretended to by the Gnostics, and therefore it is here encompassed with *virtue* on one side, meaning by it courage and constancy in the faith, (see note [a].) so opposite to their doctrine of compliances, and *εγκράτεια, continence*, on the other side; and the adding of these one to another, courage to their faith, and continence to their *γνώσις, knowledge*, is by him advised to, on purpose to testify and demonstrate their having forsaken the *φθορά ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ, ver. 4, those abominable lusts, ἐν κόσμῳ*, so used in the heathen world, and brought into Christianity by the Gnostics.

10. [d] *calling and election sure*] What is meant by *κλήσις, calling*, hath been said at large, note [c] on Matt. xx, the mercy of God in making them Christians; and so what by *ἐκλογή, election*, note [c] on 1 Pet. ii, that peculiar favour of being the remnant to whom the promises of deliverance belonged, and in whom they should be fulfilled, when the rest of that people, remaining obdurate in their sins, should be destroyed. All the difficulty remaining is to determine what is meant by *βεβαίαν ποιῆν, to make either or both these firm or sure*. And

first, that this refers not to the assuring ourselves of either, that is, to our being confident that we are called or elected, to our acquiring any certainty of belief or firmness of hope in our own minds that we are in the favour of God, which is ordinarily styled *certitudo subjecti*, "the certainty of the subject," may appear by this, that there is in this verse no mention of either faith or hope, or any thing in us, but only of *calling* and *election*, which are acts of God's favour without and concerning us. The king's MS. reads it indeed with some change, Διὰ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἑργῶν βεβαίαν ὑμῖν τὴν παράκλησιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ποιείσθαι, "By your good works to make consolation and election firm to you," where *consolation* doth more sound to that sense than *calling* could do. But of that reading it is observable, first, that the ancient Latin that appears to have read the first part of it as it is in the king's MS., διὰ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, *by good works*, doth not acknowledge the latter, but retains κλησιν, *calling*, with the other ordinary copies: secondly, that the word *calling* is oft in other places joined with *election*, but *consolation* never, which is a further prejudice against this reading: thirdly, that if παράκλησιν, *consolation*, were retained, yet it must necessarily signify that consolation as it is afforded by God, not as it is in us, his real goodness to us, not our apprehension of it, so that it may agree with ἐκλογὴν, *election*, which we know is God's electing or preferring of us, or the favour done to us by God, without any intimation of our apprehensions. Secondly, this phrase cannot refer to the promises of God, so as to signify our *making them sure* or *firm*, for they are certainly and immutably so already, and it is God, not we, that is to make them so, by performing them to us. It remains then that by this phrase βεβαίαν ποιείσθαι, *to make firm*, must be meant that which through the grace of God is in the Christian's power by care and diligence to do, viz. to qualify themselves with a capacity of receiving the benefit and fruit of these mercies and favours of Christ, to remove the hinderances which will keep them from being actually beneficial to us, and so to render them *firm*, that is, effectual to the good of our souls. And all the promises of God being conditional, and our performance of that condition being from us required, that the favours of God bestowed on us, his *calling* and *election*, may be effectually such to us, really for our advantage, not our woe, the only way to make them effectual to us is our discharging our parts, performing the condition; and to this it is that our diligence is here required, which cannot be available in any thing else. That this is the meaning of the words may appear by the like phrase, Rom. iv. 16, εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν παντὶ τῷ σπέρματι, *that the promise may be firm to all the people*, which no way refers or looks to their confidence or persuasion of it, nor to the firmness of the promise only, but to the benefit and fruit and effectualness of it to them: so Rom. xv. 8, *Christ became a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God*, that is, to make good God's promises to the Jews, εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων, *to make the promises of the fathers firm*, that is, effectual, to exhibit and perform them to them. So Heb. ii. 2, *If the word which was spoken by angels*, that is, the law given to Moses, *be firm*, that is, were performed, failed not of the effect, (without any reference to their persuasion of it, for so it is expressed by what follows, *and every transgression and*

disobedience received a just reward, that is, the breaches of that law were actually punished. And accordingly here their *diligence in making their calling and election firm*, is taking care that the mercies of God toward them in *calling*, and *choosing*, or *preferring* them before others, may prove effectual to them, that is, that they may obtain that benefit which was designed them by God in these mercies, and which they certainly shall obtain if they perform what is required of them. Thus, in a like phrase, *to apprehend*, or *lay hold on, eternal life*, 1 Tim. vi. 12, is but the interpretation of *fight the good fight*, going before, the only way to the obtaining of that *βραβεῖον* or reward (like that in the Olympic games) which is given to none but conquerors, being the contending *ρομίμωσ*, according to the laws of the *agones*, fighting and overcoming, which is expressed Phil. iii. 12, by *διώκω ἐλ καὶ καταλάβω*, *I pursue, or run, if so be I may obtain*.

16. [e] *coming of our Lord*] That *παρουσία Χριστοῦ*, *the coming of Christ*, signifies the remarkable destruction of the impenitent Jews, and deliverance of the believers among them, hath been often shewed, (see note [b] on Matt. xxiv.) and particularly that it is called his *coming with power*, Matt. xxiv. 30; that is, as a king or mighty person. Agreeably to that is here *the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*, *δύναμις καὶ παρουσία*, in this sense of his coming to discriminate between the persecutors and disciples, so that *one should be taken, and the other left*, Matt. xxiv. 40, the obstinate obdurate Jews to be utterly destroyed by the Roman eagles, as by Christ's executioners, and the faithful among them delivered out of that ruin. And to that doth the context here, and almost all the rest of this Epistle, direct those words; see ch. iii. 1 and 4. All the difficulty will be, how that which here immediately follows, *but were eyewitnesses of his majesty*, can belong to this particularly. To which I answer, that the word *μεγαλειότης* is there set to express that majesty which was by way of vision represented and instated on Christ at the time of his transfiguration on mount Tabor, at which Peter was present as an *αὐτόπτης* or *eyewitness*. This is clear from ver. 17, by *the voice* that came out unto him *from the magnificent glory*, (that is, from that *splendid cloud*, Matt. xvii. 5, Mark ix. 7, and Luke ix. 35, and that glorious appearance of angels, called *his glory*, Luke ix. 31, 32,) *This is my beloved Son*, &c., the very passage that is there mentioned. Now this transfiguration was meant by Christ to give Peter and John some image and shadow of (a kind of parable to express) this coming of Christ in this glorious manner against his crucifiers, and for the rescue of all persevering disciples. This appears by these two circumstances: first, by the passage immediately precedent, (with which the story of the transfiguration connects in all the three Gospels where it is mentioned,) viz. that *he that will save his life*, that is, forsake Christianity, to avoid the present pressures, *shall lose it*, that is, shall be destroyed in that *πανωλεθρία*; but *he that will lose his life for Christ's sake*, that is, venture the utmost danger rather than fall off from Christ, *shall find or save it*, that is, be thus delivered at Christ's coming to execute vengeance on those persecutors: which are the very words again used by Christ in the describing of that coming of his to the destruction of the Jews, Luke xvii. 33. And further, that *he that shall be ashamed of Christ, of him*

shall Christ be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and his Father's, and the holy angels; that is, when he comes in this kingdom of his (not only at the day of doom, but) peculiarly within the space of the life of some by-standers, as all the Gospels agree in that place, and as at another time, John xxi, Christ saith particularly of St. John, who lived to see it. Of which that he might give them some essay, he had three of them up to the mountain, and was transfigured before them, gave them some glimpse of that future glorious coming of his. The second circumstance to make this appear reasonable, is the business of the discourse which was betwixt Moses and Elias and Christ at that time, which appears by Matthew and Mark to be the approach of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, from that question of the disciples, Matt. xvii. 10 and Mark ix. 11, *Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?* who, saith Malachi, was to come before that great and dreadful day. This St. Luke more particularly mentions, ch. ix. 31, *Ἐλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ ἣν ἐμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. They spake of his exodus, which he was ready to perform at Jerusalem.* What this *ἔξοδος* was hath there been said, see note [b] on Luke ix, viz. Christ's going out of this world, as Moses went out of Egypt, Heb. xi. 22, (which one story gives that title of *Exodus* to that second book of Moses so called; and to this is that great day of the Lord resembled, Jude 5, being attended first with the destruction (as of the Egyptians there, the oppressors of him and the people of God, and after of the Israelites themselves that believed not, Jude 5, 20) of the Jews here, the crucifiers of Christ, and persecutors of Christians, and withal of all vicious abominable Christian professors, that *turn the gospel into licentiousness*: and, secondly, with the deliverance of God's people, as there of the children of Israel, so here of all the true Israelites, the faithful disciples of Christ, that stick close to him in despite of persecutors and seducers. In respect of which, as Moses was their *σωτήρ*, saviour or deliverer, and a God of vengeance to Pharaoh, &c., and as saviours are said to *judge*, Obad. 21, so is this *coming of Christ* the coming both of a King and of a Saviour, to destroy enemies and deliver friends. Which being the matter of Elias and Moses's discourse with Christ, at which St. Peter himself was present, (and by those very persons somewhat was adumbrated also, Elias being he that called for fire from heaven to consume, and Moses he that thus delivered the Israelites out of Egypt,) St. Peter here may very well mention it as a demonstrative evidence, by which he was able to make known unto them this power and *coming*, ver. 16, that is, this powerful regal coming of Christ that now we speak of.

17. [f] *received*] What is meant here by λαβὼν παρὰ Θεοῦ Πατρός τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν, *receiving from God the Father honour and glory*, will easily be guessed both by what hath been said, note [e], and especially by the μεγαλειότης, *majesty* of Christ, of which they are said to have been *eyewitnesses*. For this verse being by the γὰρ, *for*, annexed as a proof to the former, it must follow that the *honour* and *glory* which Christ received here, ver. 17, is that *majesty* which they saw, ver. 16. That surely signified the dignity royal that there, by way of vision or prophecy, he was instated in, this commission sent him from heaven, as it were by the hands of two great men, Moses and Elias, who also talked

with him on this subject, and told him what should befall him, first in his passage to this kingdom, and then how it should be exercised by him upon his crucifiers. And then this must be the meaning of his *receiving honour and glory* here, that is, this kingdom being thus (in vision) instated on him; a solemnity of which is that which follows, *φωνῆς ἐνεχθείσης τοιαύτης, this, or such a voice being brought to him, or delivered out of the magnificent glory*, that is, out of the *bright shining cloud*, (see note [c] on Matt. iii.) that appeared in that vision,) *This is my beloved Son*, &c., signifying God's purpose of ruling the world by him, devolving the government of all upon him. Some place of mistake here may be, by confounding together this solemnity and this majesty, from thence imagining that this *voice from heaven* was the *τιμὴ καὶ δόξα, honour and glory* which he received. But this is a mistake, it being first evident that there were two things here mentioned of this vision, one, the object of their sight, of which they were *αὐτόπται, eyewitnesses*, the other, of their *hearing*, or which *ἠκούσαμεν, they heard*. And the former of these was in several phrases, the *μεγαλειότης, majesty*, and *τιμὴ καὶ δόξα, honour and glory*, that was vested on him; the latter the proclamation, as it were, before him, when in vision he enters on this office; and of this it is said, ver. 18, *Καὶ ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, This voice also we heard*, as before they had seen the *majesty or honour and glory*, making these two disparate things, as the *lightning* and the *thunder*, the one to the eye, the other to the ear, but both proofs of the same matter, (the argument or subject here in hand,) the kingdom which Christ had at his resurrection entered on, and should now shortly actually exercise it in the destroying of his crucifiers. That *λαβὼν* here in the nominative hath no verb following to govern it, is after the manner of these Hebraizing writers, and in the construction must be set as if it were *λαβόντος*, the genitive taken absolutely.

19. [g] *day star*] The word *ἡμέρα, day*, for Christ's coming in vengeance on his crucifiers, hath been interpreted formerly; see note [a] on Heb. x. Rom. xiii. 12; and so most particularly here it signifies *ἡμέρα διαγάζουσα, the shining forth* of that *day* that had been before but obscurely prophesied of. Then for the word *φωσφόρος*, that is a known star, which, as a *δαδούχος* or *harbinger* to the day or sun, ushers him into our hemisphere. Proportionable to this are the particular remarkable passages which Christ foretold, as the immediate harbingers before this coming of his, such as are mentioned Luke xxi. 28, which when they begin to appear, then, saith he, *Lift up your heads, take comfort, διότι ἐγγίξει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν, for, or because, your redemption draweth near*. And so the *Lucifer* or *morning star* shall signify the immediate forerunners of this day, which till it come they must content themselves with the darker prophecies, and sustain themselves by that means. And if the addition of *ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, in your hearts*, wherein the *phosphorus* is said to *arise*, be thought to resist this interpretation, the account of that is ready: first, that the rising of the *phosphorus* here not being literally to be understood, was by this addition very fitly confined to the metaphorical notation, *in our hearts* being opposed to *in the heavens*; secondly, that our hearts being the seat of practical judgment, by which we ponder and consider, this

morning star, signifying the forerunners of that eminent famous day, will then be said to *arise in our hearts*, when we, by consideration of the predictions, come to take notice of them as such. As the faithful are in story said to have done, when seeing the Roman armies to have begirt Jerusalem, they from thence concluded, according to Christ's words, that *the destruction thereof was nigh*, and thereupon, as soon as they had the advantage of the siege being raised, they fled out of the city to Pella, and there continued.

20. [*h*] *interpretation*] Ἐπάλυσις here seems to be an agonistical word, to signify the *starting*, or *watchword*, or *sign*, upon which the racers set out or begin their course. The place from whence they set out is called ἀφετήρια, where, when they set out, they are said to be *let loose*, and this is literally ἐπιλύεσθαι. To this is the *sending* of prophets here compared, who are said to *run*, Jer. xxiii. 21, Ezek. xiii. 6, 7, *They run, and I sent them not*, that is, οὐκ ἐπέλυσα, *I gave them no watchword to run*; as in the Psalmist, *God gave the word, great was the company of preachers*. When any undertakes to prophesy without God's sending, this is *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως*, of his *own starting*, and this is here denied of the prophets of the Old Testament; for, as it follows, οὐ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἤνέχθη ποτέ, *it was never brought by the will of man*, that is, it was never *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως*, of their *own incitation*, but *holy men*, φερόμενοι ὑπὸ πνεύματος, *carried by the Spirit*, θεοφορούμενοι, *inspired and carried by God*, did prophesy, &c.

CHAP. II.

5. [*a*] *the eighth person*] Why the word ὀγδοος, *the eighth*, is here prefixed to the mention of Noah, might be matter of some inquiry, were it not so ordinary and proverbial among all writers, Jewish as well as heathens, to express the persons that were saved in the deluge by this style, *the eight*. Hence the very mountain whereon the ark rested is found to be expressed and called by this style, *Themanim*, that is, τῶν ὀκτῶ, *the mountain of the eight*. So Georgius Elmacinus, Hist. Saracen. l. i. c. 1, "Heraclius went thence," פִּי קִרִּית תְּמַנִּין, to the town so called *the town of the eight*, from תַּמְנִין, *octo*, which is here rendered *Themaninum*, "and ascending to the hill גִּרְדִּי," it should sure be read גִּרְדִּי, *Gordi*, (so those mountains are called promiscuously Cardiei, Cordyei, Cordueni, Gordi, Cordæi, Curdi,) "he saw the place of the ark, the highest of all that region." So ᵐ Geographus Nubiensis, *Mons יְמַנִּין Jemanin*) it should be תְּמַנִּין, *Themanin*) *idem qui Algotude* (it should be אֶלְגֹּרְדִּי, *Algordi*, that is, *Gordicius*) *in quo requievit navis illa, navis Noë, cui par*, "The hill *Themanin*, which is also called *Algordi*, on which the ark rested, the ark of Noah—". So ᵐ Agathias, Ἀμφὶ τὰ Καρδοῦχια ὄρη, εἰς κόμην Θαμανῶν, "About the Cardian mountains, at the town called *Themanin*," that is, "the eight."

12. [*b*] *made to be taken*] The word ἀλωσις, *catching*, is here in an active sense to *prey*, or *take*, or *catch*, and not *to be taken*; and γεγενημένα εἰς ἀλωσιν, *made for taking*, are creatures, beasts or birds of prey, vultures. So Job xxiv. 5, לִשְׂרָף (rendered by the Greek εἰς ἀλωσιν, *to catch*) is in the Chaldee Paraphrase expressed by *rising up early to their*

ᵐ Clim. 4. Par. 6.

ᵐ L. 4. p. 135.

prey. So *φθορά* is also here in an active sense, and so *εἰς φθοράν*, *to or for the corrupting, or defiling, or polluting* of others. In reference to which it is that the creatures which are caught and torn by wild beasts, the *θηρία*, are by the law counted unclean or polluted, Lev. xvii. 15, (see *Excerpta Gemaræ* tr. Sanhedr. c. 1. §. 7.) and ordinarily by the rabbins set to signify all forbidden meats; as if the lungs of any thing have a hole in them, they call it *שרץ*, that which is *torn by wild beasts*, saith Elias Levita in *Thisbi*, p. 139. And so these vicious, lustful, filthy Gnostics, that, like the Sodomites, force and corrupt all that come in their way, and by making them their prey, do also defile and pollute them, (as those creatures that are torn by wild beasts are accounted polluted, are here said to be *γεγενημένα εἰς ἀλῶσιν καὶ φθοράν*, like those land vultures, *born to take and pollute*, and nothing else, and I suppose are noted by *ἀπαιγες, forcers, snatchers, ravishers*, 1 Cor. v. 10. See note [h] on that chapter.

13. [c] *deceivings*] That which is read here *ἐν ἀπάταις*, *in deceits*, may not improbably be mistaken by the scribe for *ἐν ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν*, *in their Christian feasts*, instituted in order to maintaining of charity, but defiled by the luxury of carnal gospellers. Thus it is read in Jude, ver. 12, (which in most things is agreeable with this second of Peter,) and that verse in the other parts of it is directly parallel to this; there, *σπίλιδες, spots*, as here, *σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι, spots and blemishes*; there, *συνευχόμενοι, feasting together*, as here in the same word, and so probably also in this word, which differs so little from *ἀπάταις*, that it might be easily mistaken for it.

14. [d] *full of adultery*] *Μοιχαλὶς* signifies distinctly *an adulteress*, (not *adultery*), and the phrase of *having eyes full of her*, is very agreeable to that of the rhetorician cited by Plutarch *De Verecund.*, who, describing an impure unchaste person, (an *ἀναίσχυρος*, one *without shame*), rhetorically said of him, *οὐ κόρας ἀλλὰ πόρνas ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχει*, that “he had whores in his eyes instead of *κόρας*,” which is an equivocal word, and signifies both *a maid* (or *virgin*, opposite to *πόρνη, whore*) and the *pupilla oculi, the apple of the eye*, also, and is therefore made use of in that rhetor.

15. [e] *Bosor*] The name *Bosor* here is *Beor* in the Old Testament, the Hebrew being בעור, and the Chaldee pronouncing the *υ* by *s*; and accordingly the Arabic translation reads here *the son of Beor*, the same that (as here, so Jude 11, Rev. xi. 14.) is made use of to exemplify the heretics that were thus easily crept into the church, the Gnostics so often spoken of. As for the fitness of representing this heresy by *ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ Βαλαάμ, the way of Balaam*, three things may especially be observed. First, that he being a prophet of the true God did yet join in idol-worship with the king of Moab, Num. xxii. 41, being taken up with him into the *high places of Baal*, and, xxiii. 2, 14, 29, *building altars, and offering up sacrifices* there. And this was remarkable in the Gnostics, (whose whole divinity was a mixture of Christian and Jewish with heathen doctrine; they made no scruple, for the saving or gaining any thing to themselves, to join with those who offered sacrifice to idols. Secondly, that he complied and joined in faction with the Moabites and Midianites, the enemies of God’s people, was very willing to assist them to his uttermost; and when God permitted him not to *curse* Israel, yet he associated with the Midianites, as appears Num. xxxi. 8, where he

is found with them in the battle. And the same was signally observable of the Gnostics, who always complied with the persecutors of Christianity, whether Jews or heathens, and were the bitterest enemies the orthodox Christians had. Thirdly, that he gave counsel to the king of Moab how to corrupt and bring a curse upon the Israelites, by enticing them into uncleanness in the matter of Peor, Num. xxv. 1, and xxxi. 16. And the same did the Gnostics, corrupting all that could be wrought on by their unclean doctrines and practices: see note [f] on Jude. And as they were parallel in their sin, so were they in their ruin also. When the Midianites were destroyed by Israel, Num. xxxi, *Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword*, ver. 8; and so when the Jews were destroyed by the Romans, the Gnostics that complied with them were found among them, and destroyed also.

17. [f] *tempest*] Λαίλαψ is by Hesychius rendered καταγίς and ἀνέμου συστροφή. What καταγίς notes is by him best expressed elsewhere, ἐπιφορὰ ἀνέμου σφοδροῦ, *the violence of a strong wind*. To this Phavorinus adds, σκότος μετὰ συστροφῆς ἀνέμου, *darkness with a violent wind*: and so it is here fitly set to signify that black wind, as it were, of dark heathen errors and practices, by which these νεφέλαι, *clouds*, to which St. Jude adds ἀνυδροί, *empty, waterless clouds*, the Gnostics, are driven and carried about; to which therefore is apportioned ὁ ὄψος τοῦ σκότους, *the blackness of darkness for ever*, in the end of the verse.

22. [g] *sow that was washed*] The Hebrew word for a swine חזיר is deduced from חזר, *rediit, reversus est, returning*, to note this quality of the swine, taken notice of by this proverb, *of returning to the mire again*.

CHAP. III.

3. [a] *scoffers*] Ἐμπαίκτηι, *scorners*, here and Jude 18, is answerable to the Hebrew עֲצִיבִים, very frequent in the Old Testament, which denotes the highest degree of defection from and renouncing of piety: so psalm i. 1, of the three degrees of ungodly men the עֲצִיבִים, *irrisores, scoffers* or *scorners*, are the last. By these therefore are fitly here noted the Christians, which at this time in great numbers fell off to the Gnostic heresy, and by so doing complied and joined with the persecuting Jews, and fell into all the villany in the world, expressed here by κατὰ τὰς ἰδίαις αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίαις πορευόμενοι, *walking*, that is, going on habitually, as in a course, according to their own desires, or, (as when there was no king in Israel,) *every one doing that which was right in his own eyes*, without any restraint of law, of nature, or Christ, &c. Of these St. Jude saith, *that the apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ had foretold they should come in the last time*; by the last time, or days, meaning there and here, the time immediately preceding the destruction of the Jews, (as hath been often shewed.) And so, as Christ had foretold, Matt. xxiv. 11, that at that point of time *many false prophets should arise, and deceive many*; and again, that *many should be scandalized, or fall off from Christ*, ver. 10; and the love of many, that is, their zeal to the faith of Christ, *grow cold*, ver. 12: so the apostles of Christ, in their preachings and in their epistles, had also frequently foretold this, 2 Thess. ii. 3, that this *coming or day of Christ*, ver. 1, 2, was not to be ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον, *unless the apostasy first come*, this apostasy of the many Christians to the foul Gnostic heresy;

and, ver. 5, οὐ μνημονεύετε, *do you not remember that when I was with you I told you these things?* So 1 Tim. iv. 1, *the Spirit saith expressly*, that is, Christ and his apostles, by their prophetic spirit everywhere, *that in the last times ἀποστήσουνται τινες τῆς πίστεως, some should apostatize from the faith, προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνοις, giving ear to impostor spirits*, the very interpretation of Christ's *πλανήσουσι πολλούς*, that these *false teachers should deceive many*; and these described in the following words as those that had cast off all laws, *forbidding to marry*, &c., and so walking after their own unnatural lusts. And to these he refers again, 2 Tim. iii. 1, *But know this*, &c. By all which it appears, that these that were thus foreseen that they should fall off at this time, and so mentioned here, ver. 2, were the Gnostic heretics, and those that were seduced by them; and so this weight there will be in the word *πρῶτον*, *first*, that as these were to apostatize thus before that coming of Christ to the destruction of the Jews, so now in the discourse of it, begun purposely, ver. 2, this was the first thing to be set down; and that is the full meaning of *Τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες, Knowing this first*.

4. [b] *since* 'Αφ' ἧς, *a qua*, or *a quo*, may be taken in respect of time, as an epocha from whence the writer takes his rise, from such or such a time, excluding what was before, and including all since. But it may also refer to matters as well as to time, and then it notes no more than the excluding or excepting that which is named, and including all that is not named, and will then best be rendered *unless it be*, or *except that*. That this must be the notion of it here, and not the former, is evident by what follows, that *all things remain in the same manner from the beginning of the creation*, where the creation is an epocha of a far longer date than that of the death of the fathers. Besides it would be hard to define what *fathers* are here meant, if that were the meaning of it: for it cannot be applicable so to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the fathers of the people of the Jews; for to confute this speech of these *scoffers*, the apostle draws his proof from the times of the flood, which was long before them, which would not be a good way of arguing against them, if they had dated their observation no farther than the times of Abraham; for they might well acknowledge a change in the deluge, though none since Abraham. But in the other notion the matter is clear, *From the creation of the world*, say they, there hath been no change in any material thing, so as to be fit to deter men from complying with the Jews, for the avoiding of persecutions, so as to make men fear that Christ will now come in any eminent manner to destroy the Jews or Gnostics, or to persevere in hope that he will deliver the persecuted Christians out of their hands. One change they acknowledge there hath been in the world; some men have slept with their fathers, and others have lived in their stead, a succession of fathers and sons to replenish the world; men have not been immortal, the fathers have died, and given way to their children: but except this, (which is an unconsiderable matter, not pertinent to the point in hand,) all things else, say they, have continued in the ordinary constant course, without any discernible interposing of God's providence to punish one, or to relieve another. This sure is the atheist's objection, occasioned by the delay of Christ's coming to destroy the Jews. And this it is which is punctually confuted in the following

verses ; and so that must in all reason be the notation of ἀφ' ἧς, which is most reconcilable with this.

5. [c] *willingly*] The word θέλοντες seems here to be taken in a sense not ordinary in other places, for *being of opinion* or *affirming*, perhaps with this addition of asserting it magisterially, without any reason rendered for it, but a *Sic volo*, &c., *So I will—I command—my will is my reason*. Thus in Latin we are wont to use it, *Qui hoc volunt, They that will this*, for, *They that are of this opinion* ; and thus ἀ βούλομαι, 2 Cor. i. 17, *the things that I will*, that is, which I teach or affirm. See note [c] on that chapter. And so τοῦτο θέλοντες, *they that will this*, are they that are of this mind, that affirm this.

[d] *earth standing out of the water*] The meaning of this fifth verse will be best discerned by considering it as preparative to the sixth : for the one thing that was here to be affirmed and proved for the confuting of that atheistical aphorism, ver. 4. that there was no such thing as punishment inflicted on wicked men, or deliverance for the godly, to be expected from any overruling power of heaven, all things going on in a constant course from the beginning of the world to that time, was this, that the whole world was once drowned for the sins of the inhabitants ; and that is said, ver. 6. But to prepare for this, here is, in this verse, a description of the frame of this lower world in the first creation, as it was formed τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγῳ, *by the word of God*, that word by which he said, *Let there be light, and there was light ; Let there be a firmament, and there was so ; and God saw that it was good*, that is, all that he did was designed for such uses as he in his wisdom thought agreeable. And that is thus described, οὐρανοὶ ἦσαν ἔκπαλαι, *there were heavens from of old*, that is, *in the beginning the heavens were created*, and so *the earth* also, Gen. i. 1, the earth so formed that, whensoever God pleased, it might be drowned without creating any new thing. For thus it was framed : the very globe of the earth consisted of a great quantity of waters, called *the abyss* or *deep*, Gen. i. 1, so great as to *cover the face of the earth*, till God put it into *one place, that dry land might appear*, Gen. i. 9. And this is it that now makes the whole body of the ocean, and all other rivers in the world, and besides great quantities of water in the bowels of the earth, breaking forth in fountains, that flow perpetually, and maintaining with supplies all the rivers and seas in the world. And this may fitly own the expression that is here used of the globe of the earth, that it is ἐξ ὕδατος συνεστῶσα, *made up of water*, hath abundance of water in its compass, which is the water which, Gen. i. 7, is called *the water under the* ἔκπρ or *expansion*, that is, under the body of the air, and so makes up, as the philosophers say, one globe with the earth. And so this part of the frame of the earth did competently prepare it for drowning, it being evident that there was so much water in that globe of the earth as, till it was put into receptacles and cavities, it *covered the face of the earth*, no *dry land appeared*, Gen. i. 9. But beside this, there was great store of waters in the clouds, which is called *the waters above the expansion*, Gen. i. 7, the lower region of the air being between them and the earth ; and when God is pleased to loosen those clouds, which is called *opening the windows of heaven*, then the rain falls, and adds to that store of waters which was in the globe of the earth already. And these clouds encompassing the earth on every side, the *earth* is here also said to be

συνεστῶσα δι' ὕδατος, *placed in the midst of the waters*, for so the preposition διὰ, *by*, is set to render the בְּתוֹךְ, *in the midst*; and so it is used by this author, 1 Pet. iii. 20, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος, *they were saved in the midst of water*; and so σωθήσεται ὡς διὰ πυρός, *he shall be saved, but so as in the midst of fire*, 1 Cor. iii. 15. So in Herodotus, διὰ νήσων *is among, or in the midst of, islands*. And so this part of the frame being added to the former, the clouds and cataracts encompassing the earth, and impendent over it, the earth was ascertained to be drowned and swallowed up whensoever God should let loose these cataracts upon it, as in the deluge he did, Gen. vii. 11; and so there is the foundation of the δι' ἧς, *by which*, ver. 6, this frame and disposition of God's, that the earth should have so much water in its own bosom, and such clouds of water encompassing it, was the means by which *the old world being drowned by water perished*: and so this is the clear meaning of the place.

7. [e] *the heavens and the earth*] The phrase οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ, *the heavens and the earth*, are here set to signify the whole compages of this sublunary world, and all the creatures that are in it, all that was destroyed by the flood, and is now secured from perishing so again, and is *reserved for fire*, by which it is (by perpetual tradition) believed that the world shall finally be destroyed. The Hebrews have no one word to signify this, but ordinarily use שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ, *the heavens and earth*. And so *the heavens*, and *elements*, and *earth*, vv. 10 and 12, which would literally denote the world, signify figuratively the whole city of Jerusalem, temple and palace, towers and buildings of the city, not one signified by one, another by another, but all by all together, and proportionably to that the *new heavens and new earth* are a Christian people, ver. 13. And so it is ordinary in other expressions in that language; as, *his body, his flesh, and his bones*, Eph. v. 30, signifies him, and no more: and so in other authors, *the body and the soul* are set severally, when yet they signify nothing distinct, but the whole man together. See A. Gellius, l. 3. c. 1. And so *the evening and the morning* signify the natural day: see note [n] on Matt. xii. So *the elders, high priests, and scribes*, everywhere in the Gospels signify *the sanhedrim*; and so in like manner the phrase *father and mother, and wives and children, and fields*, &c., signifies this one thing, possessions or comforts of life, and must so be rendered in the gross, and not in the retail, or else the true meaning of some places in the New Testament will not be intelligible. As Mark x. 30, when it is said that *he that leaves father and mother, &c., shall receive an hundred-fold more in this life, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers*: for it is clear enough that he shall not receive an hundred mothers; but as all these severals put together denote the comforts and possessions of this life, so it is to be expected that the promise of God will be performed to those that part with any thing for Christ's sake. See note [h] on Ephes. v. and note [c] on Col. i.

10. [f] *with a great noise*] Ποίξει, διώκει, ὀρμῇ, τρέχει' ῥοιζήδον, σφοδρῶς, μετὰ ἤχου, saith Phavorinus: so that it signifies *swiftly* as well as *with a noise*. And that the former is the meaning of it here, is probable, because it is added to the *coming of that day as a thief*, unexpectedly, and in order to that is this of *swiftness*, not that other notion of μετὰ ἤχου, *with noise*; for thieves in the night do not willingly do

so, or if they do, lose the advantage of the night, that is, the secrecy of it.

[g] *melt with fervent heat*] The destruction of Judæa is here, vv. 10 and 12, described by *dissolution*, or *consumption*, by *fire*; and so Isa. ix. 5, and lxvi. 15, 16, and Mal. iv. 1, and Joel ii. 3, 30, where that destruction is described; so 2 Thess. i. 8, in *flaming fire taking vengeance*; (which that it belongs to that matter, see the context of that place, and note [b]); so Heb. x. 27, πυρός ζήλος, *a burning of fire to consume the ἀντικείμενοι*, all that obdurately stand out against Christ, and that belonging to this matter also, as will appear by comparing verses 25 and 37; see note [a] on that chapter; and so perhaps 1 Cor. iii. 13, 15. And this either, first, figuratively, after the manner of prophetic style, wherein *fire*, and *burning*, and *melting* signifies destruction and utter desolation: or else, secondly, in relation to the zealots, and that πύρωσις raised by them, the fearful *combustion* and *conflagration* within the nation and city, the fire of sedition and contention, which was so great an instrument of destruction among them, killing vast multitudes at once, Joseph. de Bel. Jud. lib. 7. c. 14, rifling the palace and all the wealth of the city, (being at that time carried thither,) and many other particulars of that kind in that story: or else, thirdly, in reference to the exact truth of the fact, (of which this is a literal description,) the burning of Jerusalem, mentioned by Josephus, lib. 7. c. 14, where it is said of the Romans that they fired all unto Siloa; and again in the same chapter that the Sicarii, the other faction in the city, contrary to the zealots, got into vaults, from whence they fired the city more than the Romans, and murdered them that, escaping the flames, fled into the caves: and again, c. 16, "The Romans being entered fired houses, and," saith he, "many things that were fired were quenched with the blood of the slain, with which the streets of the city flowed:" and again, "All the night long the fire increased, and in the morning, Sept. 8th, all was on fire;" and, c. 17, "They fired the outward parts of the city." Then for the burning of the temple particularly, that is set down lib. 3. c. 9, first of the doors, where the silver plate being melted first, the flame quickly fired the wood, and from thence increased to the next porch; and that day and all the next night the fire increased, till Titus caused the army to quench it: but, as it follows, "the sentence of God had already determined that it should be consumed with fire;" and so it was on August 10; of which he pronounceth, "Now the fatal day was come after many years," the phrase so usual in the New Testament, *the day*, and *the coming of that day*. And, c. 10, "a soldier without command cast a firebrand into the golden gate," and presently it set a flaming; and when Titus came violently in to quench it, nobody would hear him, but cried the more to set it on fire; and neither his commands nor entreaties would serve turn, but it was (absolutely against his will) burnt down, and no help for it, saith he, because the destinies had so determined, that is, the counsel and decree of God, testified by predictions. What is here thus expressed by St. Peter is ordinarily conceived to belong to the end of the world, and by others applied to the end of this world, and the beginning of the millennium or thousand years. And so, as St. Peter here saith, ver. 16, many other places, in St. Paul's Epistles and in the Gospel, especially Matt. xxiv, are mistaken

and wrested. That it doth not belong to either of those, but to this fatal day of the Jews, sufficiently appears by the purport of the whole Epistle, (see note [a] on the title of it, and notes [e] and [g] on ch. i.) which is to arm them with constancy and perseverance till that day come, and particularly in this chapter, to confute them who object against the truth of Christ's predictions, and resolve it should not come at all; against whom he here opposes the certainty, the speediness, and terribleness of its coming. That which hath given occasion to those other common mistakes, is especially the hideousness of those judgments which fell upon that people of the Jews, beyond all that ever before are related to have fallen on them, or indeed on any other people; which made it necessary for the prophets which were to describe it, (and who use tropes and figures, and not plain expressions, to set down their predictions,) to express it by these high phrases of *the passing away and dissolving of heaven and earth and elements*, &c., which sounding very tragically are mistaken for the great, final dissolution of the world. What is first literally and then figuratively meant by *the heavens and earth* hath been said note [d]. As for the addition of the στοιχεῖα, *elements*, annexed to *the heavens*, that is no more than will bear due proportion to the ἔργα ἐν αὐτῇ, *the works therein*, which are joined with ἡ γῆ, *the earth*. By one is meant all that is in the earth, the creatures that inhabit there; and by the other is meant all that is in the heavens, צבאם, *the host of them*, Gen. ii. 1, for so the Hebrew word, coming from צבא, a military word for *standing*, or *moving, in rank and order*, is answerable to the Greek στοιχεῖα, which comes from στοιχεῶ, which bears the same sense. And so Wisdom vii. 17, στοιχεῖα, *elements*, are in the Chaldee cited by ^oRabbi Moses ben Nachman, מולות, *planets or signs in heaven*, which are ordinarily called *the host of heaven*; and so Justin Martyr, Apol. 1, uses οὐράνια στοιχεῖα for the sun, moon, &c., which are appointed by God for the increase of fruits, and changes of seasons. So in Theophilus ad Autol. the sun and moon, &c. are oft called στοιχεῖα, *elements*: only the word *heavens* being an equivocal word, used either for the superior heavens, whether empyreal or ethereal, or for the sublunary heavens, the air, (as the word *world* is either the whole *compages* of the superior and inferior, or else only of the sublunary lower world,) we may here resolve, that the οὐρανοὶ and στοιχεῖα, *heavens*, and *host or elements* thereof, are literally the sublunary aerial heavens, and all that is therein, clouds and meteors, &c., fowls and flying creatures; and so fit to join with *the earth*, and *the works that are therein*, &c.; and both together prophetically or figuratively to signify the whole people of the Jews, which are sometimes called οἰκουμένη, *the habitable world*, Isa. x. 23, (compared with Rom. ix. 28,) and xiii. 5, 9, and xxiv. 1, and Luke xxi. 26, and Rom. x. 18, and, which is all one, *the heavens and earth*, Hagg. ii. 6, 21, Isa. li. 15, 16, and ch. xxxiv. 2, 4, 5. See note [d]. Or if it be understood of the ethereal heavens, and the planets or signs therein, it will then be parallel to the sun, moon, and stars, Matt. xxiv. 29, (agreeable to the prophetic style, Isa. xiii. 10 and xxxiv. 4, Ezek. xxxii. 7, Joel ii. 10, 31, and iii. 15,) and so again will fitly express the city and temple, the civil and ecclesiastical state of the Jews, or the ruling part of both,

the priests and the sanhedrin, as the people are deciphered by ἡ γῆ, *the earth, and the works therein*; and all these together are the whole nation, the πανολοθρεία, or *total final destruction* whereof is here described.

16. [A] *in which* In this place the king's MS. reading ἐν αἰς, *in which*, in the feminine gender, (which if it be true, then it must refer to the epistles forementioned,) but other copies, and the printed ones generally reading ἐν οἷς in the neuter, which cannot agree with *epistles*, but with περὶ τούτων, *of these things*, it is not certain which reading must be adhered to. That which seems to me most probable is, that the ordinary reading should be retained, ἐν οἷς, &c., and that rendered *among which things some are hard to be understood*, &c. If this be the sense, then St. Peter doth not at all give this character of any parts of St. Paul's epistles, that they are δυσνόητα, *hard to be understood*, but that *among those things*, (of which St. Peter is now a treating, and of which, saith he, St. Paul hath written in all his epistles, and generally the prophets of the Old and the apostles of the New Testament, ver. 2,) ἐστὶ δυσνόητά τινα, *some are hard to be understood*, &c. What the things here spoken of are hath been cleared by the paraphrase of this and the former epistle, viz. in general *the coming of Christ* to destroy his crucifiers, and deliver the pious Christians out of their persecutions. This is apparently spoken of by the prophets, and by Christ, and by the apostles, both in their preaching (see note [a] on the title of the Epistle to the Romans) and in their epistles, written but a little before it was to come. That it was so long deferred was matter of some trouble to some, and objection against the truth of these predictions, ver. 4; to which this apostle here answers, ver. 9, that the reason why God doth make some stay in this matter is, that men may have time to repent, and reform, and escape this vengeance, which when it comes will come so suddenly and unexpectedly as to surprise many that look not for it, ver. 10; and that he repeats again, ver. 15, bidding them *count the long suffering of the Lord* (that is, this deferring his judgments) *salvation*, that is, a means designed by God to bring men to repentance. And for this particular it is that he cites St. Paul as concurring with him in this account of the reason of Christ's delaying his coming, adding only this of St. Paul, that in all his epistles he hath *spoken of these things*, that is, said a great deal concerning this coming of Christ. Having gone thus far, he passeth his observation of the then present temper of men, and behaviour in this matter, that there were some giddy, unsettled Christians, which upon occasion of some things not so clearly revealed by those that have foretold this coming of Christ, have fallen into pernicious errors. What things those were which are here said to be δυσνόητα, *hard to be understood*, and what dangerous errors drawn from thence, will perhaps be hardly defined by us at this distance. That Cerinthus, by misunderstanding some of these predictions, came to think that Christ should have a temporal kingdom upon earth, where men should enjoy all carnality, see note [a] on Rev. ii; and he and his followers may be thought to be these ἀστήμκτοι here, the unstable Christians that distorted these predictions. Or because it is added of the same men, that they do *distort other scriptures also to their own destruction*, it will not so fitly be restrained to Cerinthus, but more generally be spoken of the Gnostics, who by a

strange liberty which they used in expounding the scriptures of the Old Testament, (calling it *γνώσις*, *knowledge of mystical senses*,) brought in most *damnable doctrines* of uncleanness, &c. And these sure are the men here spoken of, called *unstable*, because they fell off from the truth, and *ἐμπαίκαται*, *scoffers*, ver. 3, as that notes apostates, (see note on Jude 18.) And having thus discovered who the men were, it will be more possible by the same clue to discover what the things were which are by St. Peter called *δυσνόητα*, *hard to be understood*. I shall here offer my conjecture. Our Saviour, when he foretells this his coming very particularly, Matt. xxiv, and defines the time so far, that it shall be certainly within the compass of that *generation*, ver. 34, (and in the lifetime of some that were there *present*, Matt. xvi. 28,) yet for the precise time of it, *the day and hour*, he pronounceth clearly that *no man, nor angel*, ver. 36, (*no nor the Son himself*, Mark xiii. 32,) knows of that, that is, none but the Father. Accordingly he answers the apostles, (Acts i. 7, demanding whether he would *then* (after his resurrection) *restore the kingdom to Israel*, *It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath kept in his own power*; that is, *the day and hour* in Matthew, the punctual time of this kingdom of God, this coming of Christ, God the Father had kept secret, revealed it neither to man nor angel, neither should it be revealed to any. This I suppose is the meaning of 1 Thess. v. 1, 2, that of *the times and seasons*, that is, of the very time which God in his wisdom had chosen for this remarkable coming of Christ upon his crucifiers, he *needed not write*, it being sufficiently known that it was to come *as a thief in the night*, that is, not to be discerned beforehand. In which place, that which is *χρονὸι καὶ καιροί*, *times and seasons*, ver. 1, is *ἡμέρα Κυρίου*, *the day of the Lord*, ver. 2, just as, Acts i. 7, *the times and seasons* are all one with *the day and hour*, Matt. xxiv. 36; and so instead of *no man's knowing* of it, Matt. xxiv, and God's reserving it in his own power, so that it is not for them to know it, Acts i. 7, is there, *the coming of that day as a thief in the night*; by which may be concluded, that that phrase of that *day's coming as a thief in the night*, is set to signify the uncertainty when that day would be. And so Christ explains that phrase, *if the good man of the house knew in what watch the thief would come*, &c.; intimating that the coming of a thief is supposed to be unknown to him that is to be robbed by him. Now it is apparent that this saying of Christ's, in this sense, is here laid as the foundation of the discourse and words which here we are endeavouring to explicate, *But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night*, ver. 10, that is, but the punctual time of this coming is unknown, upon which he builds all *watching*, and *caution*, and continual *expectance*, ver. 12. And having added what advantage the faithful Christians shall receive by this means, peaceable days of serving Christ, expressed by *new heavens* and *new earth*, that is, a new world, wherein *dwelleth righteousness*, which therefore he adviseth all to wait for, (for that is the meaning of *προσδοκῶμεν*, not *προσδοκοῦμεν*, *let us* (not *we do*) *expect* them, and depend on them according to his promise,) he then gives them an account why it is thus long deferred, and adviseth all to make the right use of it, make it their *season of repentance*, ver. 15; which being confirmed by St. Paul's authority, he hath no more to add on this matter

but this, that the objection of the apostates, ver. 3, against the truth of Christ's *promise of coming* in this manner was founded only in the obscurity and unknownness of some particulars in this matter, which very probably signifies that professed unintelligibleness of the punctual time of Christ's coming, which because nobody would or could tell them when it would be, therefore they will not wait for it in purity and sobriety, and practice of such Christian virtues as were required to prepare them for it when it should come, but *walk after their own lusts*, ver. 3, follow their own sensual courses, and persuade themselves that it will never come, that no such judgment is likely to come at all upon them, and so *that day comes upon them unawares*, and they perish in it with the crucifiers; and so are fitly said to *detort* these *δυσνόητα*, the uncertainty of the punctual time (and some other such particulars) *to their own destruction*, to perish remarkably by this means. This is no improbable meaning of these words, compared with ver. 3, from whence the rise of this discourse was taken. And if it be here objected, that this particular of *the day and hour* was more than *δυσνόητον*, *hard to be understood*, God having kept it a perfect secret to himself, and so that this cannot be it which is here spoken of; I answer, that words of this nature are not so strictly to be taken as to be thought to signify no more than hard. For when it is said of him *that trusts in riches*, that *it is hard for him to enter into the kingdom of God*, that which is expressed by *δύσκολον*, *hard*, Mark x. 24, is presently interpreted to be *impossible*, not only by the matter which is such, but also by the similitude of the *camel entering through the eye of a needle*, ver. 25. So when the disciples complain of an *hard saying*, John vi. 60, it follows, *who can hear it?* that is, no man can possibly be supposed to *eat the Son of man's flesh*, and so *hard* is *impossible* there also, that is, morally so, that which cannot be done without great impiety: and so *δυσνόητα* here in the forementioned interpretation are not absolutely impossible to be known, because God may, though he will not, reveal it; but which could not be understood, supposing that God (as Christ had said) would *keep it in his own power*, and reveal it to no man.

THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF JOHN.

OF the author of this Epistle, that it was John the *beloved disciple*, the same that wrote the Gospel and the Revelation, there hath never been any question in the church of God, which hath from all times *ἀναμφισβήτητος*, *without any doubt*, received it into the canon. That he begins not, as the other apostles (all save only the author to the Hebrews) had done all their Epistles, with his name, and expression of those to whom he wrote by way of salutation, may most fitly be interpreted by his customary practice in his other writings, who in the Gospel scarce ever names himself, but chooses to use some circumlo-

cution, as, *he that saw—the disciple whom Jesus loved—he that lay leaning on Jesus' bosom*, and the like, and begins his discourse without one word of formality, or title, or preface, which all the other evangelists had used. In what year of Christ this Epistle was written, is no otherwise certain than by what may be collected from some passages in it; as ch. ii. 18, where it seems to have been a little before the great destruction which befell the Jews, called by other apostles *the day of the Lord*, and *the last day*, but by him *ἡ ὥρα ἡ τελευταία*, *the last hour*, or part of that day; and again, *the true light already shining*, ch. ii. 8, that is, the Christian bright state turning out the Mosaical shadows, or typical services, which was finally to be done at the destruction of the temple, and now already was done in some part. And the same again appears by the *Ἀντίχριστοι*, many *counterfeit Christs* and *false prophets*, that, in that ver. 18, he saith were then among them, such as Christ tells us were to be the immediate forerunners of that destruction, Matt. xxiv. And accordingly the whole business of the Epistle is to encourage them, ch. i. 4, to confirm the faith and constancy of the Christian professors, who were now solicited vehemently by these seducers, and the church torn asunder in every place by the Gnostics, (the followers of Simon,) who now denied the reality of Christ's *coming in the flesh*, and would no longer confess a crucified Christ, or venture any persecutions for that confession. That it was called anciently the Epistle to the Parthians, is affirmed by St. Augustine, meaning thereby those converted Jews which lived beyond Euphrates, of which there were great multitudes, saith Josephus, Ant. l. 18. c. 12. And to them it is not improbable it was written.

CHAP. I.

5. [a] *light*] The word *φῶς*, *light*, is a figurative expression to signify the most perfect, immaculate purity; and *σκότος*, *darkness*, is directly the contrary, mixture of all impurity: the affirming of which concerning God, that he is perfect purity, without any mixture of impurity, is no such strange thing as that the apostle should introduce it with so much ceremony as here we see made use of, *That which we have heard and seen, which we have looked on, and our hands have felt*, ver. 1; *What we have seen, we declare*, ver. 3; and, *This is that message which we declare*, ver. 5. That which all this solemnity was thought fit to introduce was certainly somewhat either doubted of and questioned by the doctrines, or opposed and resisted by the lives of those to whom he writes. And that which seems most probable to be the full importance of it, is in the general to denote the great perfection of purity which is now commanded in the Christian law, and more particularly the great obligation that lies upon Christians not to make that profession a pretence or excuse for the favouring themselves in any degree of liberty or impurity. Christ came certainly from God to declare his will unto us; that God a God of all purity, and consequently his commandments which Christ came to reveal (like himself) made up of severe rules of purity: and then how contrary to all piety and Christianity must the Gnostic infusions necessarily be, which allow and practise all impurities, and make them a special part of their religion, and call themselves *τέλειοι* and *γνωστικοί*, *perfect* and *knowing*

men, beyond all others, and living in a sink of all uncleanness, *say they have not sinned* for all this ! ver. 10.

10. [b] *make him a liar*] What it is to *make God a liar* hath no great difficulty in it ; it is certainly to deny the truth of that which God hath somewhere affirmed ; and so it is used ch. v. 10. The greater question is, wherein the truth of this affirmation here is founded, that *if we say we have not sinned*, we thus deny the truth of what God hath affirmed, or give God the lie. The best way of deciding this will sure be taken from the context, where, ver. 6, the foundation of this speech is laid. There it is, *If we say we have fellowship or partnership with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth*. There certainly we may discern who are the *we* that are here spoken of, viz. not the apostle, and the pious Christians, (for the first person doth not always signify so, but is used to personate any other that the apostle would speak of, see note [d] on Rom. vii.) but those that are supposed to *walk in darkness*, that is, to go on in unchristian sins, and yet to *pretend partnership with God*, that is, to a state of great innocence and perfection. These are certainly the Gnostic heretics, whose character that is, to live in all carnality and uncharitableness, &c., and yet to pretend themselves to be the most perfect men : of those he there saith, that they lie notoriously, their foul actions and pretensions to perfection are very contrary, and they *do not the truth* ; they live contrary to that rule of life which as Christians they have received to live by. To these same persons he proceeds, ver. 7, to tell the positive truth, contrary to their lie, that if they *walk in the light*, that is, live Christian lives of purity and charity, then they may truly be said to have *partnership with him*, (as the king's MS. seems to have read αὐτοῦ, and not ἀλλήλων, and as is most agreeable with ver. 6,) that is, to be blameless, pious, perfect men ; and then for any frailties or forsaken sins, *the blood of Christ* is accepted as a sacrifice of expiation for such. This is again said, (both in the former and latter part of it, ver. 8, 9,) but with some little change of the phrase, which must be interpreted by analogy with the former. If we say ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, *we have not sin*, that is all one with the precedent, *we have partnership with him* ; for sinlessness is that property of God's which they pretended to be communicated to them : and then though there be nothing in that verse answerable to their *walking in darkness*, ver. 6, yet the persons being still supposed the same that are spoken of in both verses, the impious carnal Gnostics, this of their wicked lives is supposed in the 8th verse, having been already, ver. 6, sufficiently expressed : and so as of them, whose lives of carnality and pretensions of perfection were so contrary, it had been affirmed, ver. 6, that *they lie, and do not the truth* ; so in that 8th verse, it is said with little change, *they deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them*, which only adds to the former the consideration of their danger that they thus brought upon themselves, they flattered themselves to their ruin ; whereas, ver. 9, *if they would acknowledge their sins* and danger, and forsake them, and fly to God for pardon upon repentance, he having promised it to such, would be *faithful and just to forgive them their sins*, would deal with them according to his promise. And then follows, ver. 10, *If we say that we have not sinned*, (which is directly all one with *we have not sin*, ver. 8, (see note [a] on ch. iii.)

that is, if these men thus live, pretend still that they are the perfect, (as of their followers in Irenæus we read that they called themselves *the spiritual*, and affirmed that all the foulest actions did no more pollute them than gold was polluted by being in the mire, or the sunbeams by shining on a dunghill,) *they make God a liar*, (which is an addition to their *lying* first, ver. 6, and then *deceiving themselves*, ver. 8, and so frees these repetitions from tautology,) that is, directly give God the lie, who hath everywhere declared such actions as these men practised confidently (abominable pollutions, &c.) to be most vile and most punishable sins. And so this appears to be the full meaning of this verse, and being so, leaves no place of disputing from hence, whether of any regenerate man it can be said at any time, that *he hath not sinned*, (in that notion which belongs to that phrase in these Epistles of St. John, and is explained note [a] on ch. iii, to belong to wilful, advised, deliberate sin,) for sure these Gnostic foul livers were far from regenerate men. That this is the full meaning of the place will farther appear by the words immediately subsequent, ch. ii. 1, *These things I write unto you that ye sin not*, which are very fitly adapted to this purpose: for there is no such way to persuade men not to fall off into those foul sins that now solicited them, as this of undeceiving them in this point, and assuring them that if they lived Gnostic lives, they should never be deemed perfect men, which as long as they entertained themselves with any hopes of, nothing could convince them of the necessity of forsaking them. Whereas any other way of understanding the place would not tend to that end of exhorting and warning them not to sin. For if it were to be understood of all the best men's being guilty of sin, how could that be a way of enforcing on them their duty of not sinning? Many more arguments might be used by refuting all other imaginable interpretations of this place to confirm this, but this one of the context may be sufficient, which accordingly in the next chapter pursues the same subject more expressly; *Hereby we know that we have known him*, that we are true Gnostics indeed, (and not those that falsely assume that name,) truly perfect men, such as Christianity was designed to make us, *if we keep his commandments*, ver. 3, practise those virtues of purity and charity which Christ commandeth: and then, ver. 4, just as here in this chapter, but more largely and explicitly than in this verse, *He that saith, I have known him*, that is, calls himself a Gnostic, perfect man, and *keepeth not his commandments*, lives so contrary to the rules of piety and purity, and all Christian virtue, as these pretended Gnostics do, *ψεύστης ἐστὶ, is a liar*, (just as, ch. i. 6, *we lie*.) and *the truth is not in him*, as, ch. i. 8, *the truth is not in us*. *But whoso keepeth his word*, ver. 5 that is, lives according to the strict commands of Christ, *ἀληθὺς ἐν τούτῳ, in this man hath the love of God been truly perfected*; he may on some grounds of truth pretend to perfection of charity toward God, to which these Gnostics falsely pretended, and so was the occasion of all this discourse of pretended perfection, when men live in vile sins, as after of that *perfect love*, which, if truly such, *casteth out fear*, ch. iv. 1.

CHAP. II.

7. [a] *from the beginning*] There be in these two verses, which seem perspicuous, very many difficulties, which it will be fit to explicate.

1. What is meant by *the beginning*, and so by the *old commandment, which they had heard from thence*. It hath been conceived by others that the *old commandment* was that given to the Israelites by Moses, and then *the beginning* must be the beginning of the Jewish church under Moses; and so there may be truth in it, that *the commandment* which this apostle now gives them, (whether more generally, that they that profess God should not *fall* into those black heathen sins, ch. i. 6, 8, 10, and ch. ii. 1, 3, 4, or more particularly, that profession of piety must carry charity to our brethren along with it, which is the precept immediately subjoined, vv. 9, 10, 11,) was the very doctrine and commandment of Moses, whom the Judaizers so zealously adhered to, and therefore they were not to look upon it as any new or strange doctrine brought in by Christ. But it must be remembered, that those whom this apostle here writes to, being those which had formerly by his preaching received the Christian faith, and the end of this Epistle being to confirm their constancy against the seducers that were now amongst them, it might be to them a sufficient argument to receive what now he said to them, that it was no more than he had taught them, and they had absolutely believed and entertained at the first preaching of the gospel unto them. For the Gnostics pretending to be perfect, and so that whatsoever they did they sinned not, (see note [δ] on ch. i.) that which the apostle here from the beginning of the chapter desires to impress upon them is the unreasonableness of this, the obeying the commands of God being the one thing wherein true perfection consisted, ver. 5, and the living of Christian lives after Christ's pattern the only way to approve themselves Christians, ver. 6. And to this it will be most pertinent to apply these words of the apostle, ver. 7, following immediately upon those; and then *from the beginning* must signify from the beginning of the apostle's preaching, and their receiving the faith of Christ, thus, that what he now saith unto them they had once received for granted, when they first embraced the faith; and therefore why should they now be led unto other persuasions, think they may live unchristian lives, and yet be perfect men, good Christians? That this is the meaning of *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, from the beginning*, may be concluded from 2 John 5 and 6, where the same phrase is twice used, *I write no new commandment to thee, but that which we had from the beginning*, (and that in the same matter, specified here against uncharitableness, ver. 9.) *that we love one another*; and, ver. 6, *This is the commandment, that according as ye have heard from the beginning ye should walk in it*. That this belongs to the true, pure, Christian doctrine, taught them at the first planting of the faith among them, (and not to the precepts given to the Jews by Moses,) and that in opposition to the new, heretical doctrines, lately brought into the church of Christ by the Gnostics, may appear both by the antecedents and consequents there. In the antecedents, ver. 4, *I rejoiced greatly that I found of thy children walking in the truth*, that is, according to the pure Christian doctrine of charity, &c., *as we have received commandment*

from the Father, referring to that voice of God's in mount Tabor, in the hearing of this and two other apostles, that all were to *hear Christ*, that is, practise what he had commanded: and upon that it follows, *And now I beseech thee, not as writing a new commandment, but that which we had* (that is, we apostles had) *from the beginning*, when Christ first preached to us, *that we love one another*, that of charity being the precept that Christ most early and most earnestly impressed on his disciples, *By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you love one another*. So likewise appears by the consequents, the mention of the *many deceivers entered into the world*, ver. 7, as the reason why he inculcates that *commandment* which they *had had from the beginning*. For many deceivers, &c. This concludes that the doctrine which he thus inculcates was it which they had believed before these deceivers came, and so fitly belongs to that doctrine which from the beginning of their Christianity they had entertained, and were now in danger to be seduced out of it, if they did not take care to make good their constancy. By this interpretation of the like phrases there, it is all reason to interpret them so here also, and then that whole seventh verse will be very plain: These seducers bring you new doctrine; that which I bring you is not so, but the very doctrine that you received at the first preaching the gospel to you; and that which you did receive so deserves sure to be looked on, not with suspicion, as novel, but with security, as an *old commandment*, which you can no more mistake in adhering to than you can think you did in your first receiving of the faith. And so that may be the most significant rendering of the last words of the verse, *Ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ παλαιὰ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος ὃν ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, either in the order wherein they lie, *An old commandment it is, the word which you heard from the beginning*; or else, making *ὁ λόγος* the subject of the proposition, *the word which ye heard from the beginning* (which ye received and believed when the faith was first preached to you) *is the old* (sure no novel) *commandment*. This difficulty being thus explained, a second follows, ver. 8, what is meant by a *new commandment*. The phrase sure refers to the words of Christ, John xiii. 34. *A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another; as I have loved you, that you accordingly love one another*. Where the duty of charity to our brethren, though it had been commanded by Moses' law, yet was now elevated to an higher pitch by Christ's example, and precept founded therein, even to *loving enemies*, and *laying down* or *venturing our very lives* for the spiritual advantages of other men. In which respect this degree of charity now required by Christ is by him styled *a new commandment*; and so it is here by this apostle: and being said to the Jewish Christians, he foresees some possible prejudice that may lie upon it, by being thus *new*, a superaddition to Moses' law, (it being the Gnostics' endeavour to comply with the Jewish zealots, and to maintain Judaism against Christianity itself;) and therefore to vindicate it from this, he adds, *ὃ ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, or ἡμῖν*, as the king's MS. reads, *which thing is true in itself, and in you, or us*, that is. This superaddition to the Mosaical law in this point, of charity to other men, which makes it capable of the style of a *new commandment*, is *in itself true*, that is, it is most certainly true that Christ made it, and in himself exemplified it to us; and therefore though it be in

some respect *new*, yet all Christians are obliged to receive it: and beside that, it is *true in you or in us*, that is, hath a special considerable truth in it to us at this time; and the reason of that last is rendered in the ensuing words, ὅτι ἡ σκοτία (or as the king's MS. reads, σκιά) παρ-
 γεται, καὶ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἤδη φαίνει, *because the darkness, or the shadow, passeth, and the true light already shineth*. What is the meaning of these phrases is yet a farther difficulty, but by analogy with other the like in these books may be explained. Christ is called *the true light*, John i. 9; *light* in respect of his doctrine, which was the direction of every man's life, and *true light* in respect of the more imperfect shadows that had been before under the law. Thus, when it is said, *Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ*, and that *the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth*, *truth* denotes the substance in opposition to *shadows*, the substantial worship in opposition to the rudiments of the law. And this sense is much favoured here by the king's MS., which reads, not *σκοτία, darkness*, but *σκιά, shadow*, which is used of the law, Col. ii. 17, Heb. x. 1; and so the word παρ-
 γεται, *passeth*, doth incline; for that is oft applied to a shadow, (*my time passeth like a shadow*, &c.) but not so to darkness. And indeed as *light* is opposed to *darkness*, so *true light*, which is somewhat more, that in which is no mixture of darkness, is most fitly opposed to a *shadow*, in which there is some of that mixture. It is true indeed, vv. 9 and 11, we read *σκοτία, darkness*, which may make it probable that it should be *σκοτία, not σκιά, darkness, not shadow*, here. But that argument is of little force, because there the opposition being betwixt that and *light* simply, *σκοτία, darkness*, was necessarily to be used; and by that is meant the darkness of sin in both places, the *hating the brother*: but here it being not simply *light*, but with this addition, *the true light*, *shadow* is it to which that is most properly opposed. And it need not seem strange that both these oppositions should here be used so near one to the other, it being evident that the *doctrine* of Christ, which is opposed to *sin*, and so to *darkness*, which denotes that, is opposed also to the *law of Moses*, as a more perfect to that which was less perfect, an *higher* degree of charity now exemplified and required by Christ, to a lower and more imperfect degree of it before required by Moses. As for the *passing of the shadow*, and *shining of the true light*, that evidently signifies the abolition of the Mosaical law, and the Christian law taking place, prevailing over it. Which this apostle, which knew that to be *the last hour*, and so the destruction of the Jewish temple (and consequently service) so suddenly to approach, could not but know that it was now at hand. And indeed the apostles having received revelations to that purpose, (see note [a] on Rom. vii.) it is here truly said, ἤδη φαίνει, *this true light already shineth*, the law was already abolished, and only the Christian doctrine in force already. And so this is a most commodious, efficacious reason to prove and press the matter in hand, that if this were a *new commandment* which here he speaks of, and no *old* Judaical one, yet it was part of the doctrine of Christ, and that was now in full force over the world, the Judaical law being already abrogated, and the destruction of their whole policy very near at hand, ver. 18.

18. [b] *the last time*] That ἐσχάτη ὥρα here signifies that famous

period, the destruction of the Jews, will not only appear by comparing that phrase with many other of that kind in these books, the τέλος, *end*, and συντέλεια, *consummation* of the age, and ἑσχάται ἡμέραι, *the last days*, but also by the whole context in this place; for the ἠκούσατε, (here following) *ye have heard*, being a form of citing, must necessarily refer us to some prediction that had before been delivered of the matter here spoken of, viz. the *coming of antichrist*. This prediction was certainly that of Christ's, Matt. xxiv, where, before this fatal day, in three stages of his discourse, three several times he toucheth on this matter: first, ver. 5, *There shall come many in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many*; then, ver. 11, *Many pseudo-prophets* (that is, that pretend a mission when they have it not) *shall arise, and deceive many*; then, ver. 23, *If any shall say, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe them not. For there shall rise pseudo-Christ's, and pseudo-prophets, and shall shew many signs and wonders; so that they shall deceive, if possible, even the elect. Behold, I have told you before*. Of the first sort are those counterfeit Christs, who pretended soon after Christ's ascension; of which it is therefore said, οὐπω ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος, *the end is not yet*; they were to be some years before this destruction. Of this sort was Theudas, not he which is mentioned Acts v. 36, 37, as ancienter than Judas Galilæus, but another mentioned by Josephus, under Claudius's reign, when Fadus was procurator of Judæa, who, saith Eusebius, l. 2. c. 1. a, out of Joseph. Ant. l. 20. c. 5, ἡπάτησε πολλοὺς, *deceived many*. Of this sort was the Egyptian, Acts xxi. 38, mentioned also by Eusebius, l. 2. c. κ', out of Josephus. And so also Dositheus, or Dosthes, in Origen cont. Cels. l. 1, and in Hegesippus apud Euseb. l. 4. c. κβ'; and divers others who undertook to be deliverers of the people, which is in effect to be Christs, as a *Christ* is defined by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 21, μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, *he that should redeem Israel*. So again, in the last place, the *false Christs* and *false prophets* are the like to these, differing from them only in the time wherein they should shew themselves, viz. after the besieging of Jerusalem, ver. 15, when, upon the sudden raising of it again by Cestius Gallus, the Christians fled out of Judæa, ver. 16; for then was it an opportunity for false Christs to attempt to gather followers, and undertake deliverances, if any would be deceived by them. But the deceivers that especially belong to this place are those of the second or middle stage, Matt. xxiv. 11, called there πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, *many pseudo-prophets*, immediately before the *standing* of the *abomination of desolation in the holy place*, that is, (as St. Luke interprets it,) before Jerusalem was *encompassed with armies*, that is, besieged, as here the *many antichrists* among them is a proof that it was *the last hour*. Of that point of time five things are there foretold by Christ, which are so exactly fulfilled in this time wherein St. John writes, that the very reciting them is almost the sum of this Epistle. First, that the Jews should be very cruel in persecuting the Christians, Matt. xxiv. 9. Secondly, that many Christians *should be scandalized* by this means, that is, renounce the faith to comply with the persecutors, ver. 10. Thirdly, that they that did thus renounce the faith to comply with the persecutors, (viz. the Gnostic heretics,) should persecute those that stuck fast to Christ, and deliver them up to the *persecutors*, ver. 10. Fourthly, that *pseudo-prophets* should rise, and, upon this advantage of ridding men from

persecution, *seduce many*, ver. 11. Lastly, that upon this increase of persecutions upon the orthodox Christians, both from the Jews and Gnostics, called *the increasing of iniquity*, the orthodox themselves should begin to faint, their *love to Christ grow cold*, ver. 12. After which it soon follows, ver. 14, *And then shall the end come*. By the accordance of all which passages there and here, it is manifest who are these *antichrists* here set down as the immediate forerunners of the siege of Jerusalem, viz. those *false prophets*, 2 Pet. ii. 1, who there are said to have *denied the Lord that bought them*, and here, ch. iv. 3, to *deny Christ to have come in the flesh*, and so were *antichrists* properly so called, professed enemies to Christ, and withal the most cruel enemies and persecutors of the Christians, that is, the Gnostics particularly, a sect of unclean abominable Christians, which being followers of Simon Magus, laboured to *deceive many* by rehearsing the miracles which he did, and by their doctrines of the lawfulness of renouncing Christ in time of persecution, gathered many to them, who were first willing to escape persecuting, and then hated and themselves persecuted all others. And to this it is clear that this whole chapter belongs; first asserting the doctrine of Christ, which these had perverted and *denied*, ver. 1; then the necessity of Christian practice, vv. 3, 4, 5, 6, against these most unchristian livers; then particularly the doctrine of Christian charity, against their *hating* and *persecuting* other Christians, vv. 9, 10, 11; then the *contempt* of the *world*, and *bearing* of the *cross*, and of all hardship for Christ's sake, ver. 15; and then in this ver. 18, having told them that (according to Christ's prediction) this was the season to expect such *deceivers*, he comes particularly to them, ver. 19, that they *went out* from the Christians, but *were not of them*, that is, were not true, but equivocal, and only nominal Christians, and now were separated from them, as a sect that brake off and went out of the church, and so were no longer to be counted Christians, ver. 21, especially when they denied Jesus to be the Christ, as the Gnostics did. And so he concludes that he had written to them of those that *deceive* them, ver. 26. That this place, and peculiarly ver. 19, belongs to the Gnostics particularly, see Cyrill of Jerusalem, Cat. 6. p. 134, where, speaking of Simon Magus, he saith, Περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν, *Of whom it is written, They went out from us, but they were not of us*: and, as the Barocian MS. adds, Εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν, μεμενηκασιν ἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν, *If they had been of us, they would have remained with us*: which is that whole 19th verse applied to Simon and his followers, whom, p. 137, he names Cerinthus, (and in the Barocian copy καὶ Μένανδρος,) Menander, Carpocrates, Ebion, and Marcion; and again, Basilides and Valentinus. Before him see Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, p. 20, in these words, Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθῆναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστι, καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστί· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγῃ μῆτε ἀνάστασιν μῆτε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὗτος πρωτόκοκός ἐστι τοῦ Σατάνα, "Every one that doth not confess that Jesus Christ came in the flesh, is antichrist; and whosoever confesseth not the martyrdom, or testimony, of the cross," (that is, that doth not confess Christ when danger attends that confession,) "is of the devil: and whosoever converts the oracles of God to his own lusts, and saith that there is neither resurrection nor judgment,

he is the first-born of Satan," (which is in the ancients generally the title of Simon Magus.) And accordingly in the Epistle of Ignatius, the primitive martyr, especially that to the Smyrneans, he fortifies them against this doctrine of the Gnostics, that Christ did not suffer, nor was born, nor rose again, *ἀληθῶς ἐν σαρκί, truly in the flesh*, but only *τῷ δοκεῖν, in appearance*.

[c] *many antichrists* Who the πολλοὶ ἀντίχριστοι were, ver. 18, hath been at large deduced, note [b], the whole sect of Gnostic heretics. One mistake only this matter may be farther liable to, by thinking the ὁ ἀντίχριστος, *the antichrist*, here, to be some peculiar person, distinct from the *many antichrists* there. If there were any convincing reasons to conclude this, it would soon be decided who it was; those first-fruits of Satan, Simon Magus, who may well be supposed alive at the writing of this Epistle, being affirmed by the ancients to have contended with St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, and that most probably at their coming thither, before their martyrdom, that is, about the twelfth of Nero, very little before the Jewish war, which brought that ruin upon them. See Arnobius, l. 2. advers. Gentes, Sulpicius Severus Hist. Sacr. l. 2. Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. 6. Isidore Pelusiot. Ep. 13. All relating that contention between those apostles and him, and that, saith Cyril, after the error of the Gnostics had spread itself over the church, and so made it necessary for the apostles to oppose him publicly. Beside him other particular persons there were also capable of this title, Cerinthus, opposed by this apostle St. John particularly, and Carpocrates, and Saturnilus, and others. And accordingly ὁ Ἱππολύτης the martyr, in his book, Περὶ συντελ. κόσ. καὶ Ἀντιχρ. interprets the place, *Many shall say, I am Christ*, of Simon Magus and others, Ἀνίστησάν τινες λέγοντες, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός, καθὼς ὁ Σίμων ὁ Μάγος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, ὧν οὐκ ἔστι καιρὸς ἄρτι τὰ ὀνόματα μνημονεύσαι, "Some rose and said, I am Christ; as Simon Magus and the rest, whose names it is not seasonable to rehearse." So Hegesippus, in that eminent passage set down from him in ὁ Εὐσεβίος, having named the several heresies that were come into the church in his time, the followers of Simon, Cleobius, Dositheus, Gorthæus, Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, and Saturnilus, concludes, Ἀπὸ τούτων, ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφῆται, ψευδαπόστολοι, "From these were the false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, which divided the unity of the church with pestilent doctrines against God and his Christ." But there is no reason thus to affix the title, the ὁ ἀντίχριστος, *the antichrist* here being visibly of the same importance with the same word, ver. 18, and that there, either all one with, or contained under the *many antichrists* that follow. For so the words must import, that the prophecy which had foretold that *antichrist comes* in the *last hour*, was fulfilled in the *many antichrists* that were then come; which could not be, if that *antichrist* foretold were another from those *many antichrists*. And besides it hath already appeared that the *coming* of that *antichrist* foretold, was the *arising* of *false prophets*, Matt. xxiv. 11; and then though the word be here in the singular number, yet must it be all one with those ψευδοπροφῆται, *false prophets*, in the plural. And it is ordinary for a word in the singular to be a *complexum*, and so to signify a whole sort or

sect of people, as it is apparent $\delta \psiεύστης$, *the liar*, here, ver. 22, denotes all those *false prophets*, that is, heretical false teachers, that deny Jesus to be the Messiah, and not some singular person that did so. By all which it appears, that what is here said both of the *antichrist*, and the *many false Christs*, belongs equally to the times before the destruction of Jerusalem, and denotes the Gnostics to be them, and cannot duly be applied to any other. And if it be here objected that there is a difference between *false prophets* and *antichrists*, and so that the *antichrist* here will not be the *false prophets*, Matt. xxiv, I answer, first, that here appears not the least difference in the importance of the words literally taken, (and accordingly, ch. iv. 1, they that are here called *many antichrists*, and there, ver. 3, *the antichrist*, are πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, *many false prophets*, as appears also by comparing the characters of them, ver. 2, with what is here said of them :) for, first, *Christ* and *prophet* are all one; the word *Christ* denoting that divine unction or commission to that great prophetic office which Christ exercised here on earth; and accordingly we know that Moses foretells his coming in that style, *A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you*: and so, secondly, the words ἀντί and ψευδο in composition are oft all one, as in ἀντιποιεῖν, and the like; as when we use the word counterpart of one thing made like another, which yet is not it, and so counterfeit, one which pretends and looks like another which he is not. And so ἀντίχριστος will be (most literally) rendered a *counter-Christ*, and that is a *pseudo-Christ*, or *false Christ*. So *Palladius expressly useth the word. For speaking of the devil, σχηματίζων ἑαυτὸν εἰς Σωτήρα, “transforming himself into the shape of our Saviour,” and so adored by Valens, he saith, ἀντίχριστον πεισὼν προσεκύνησεν, “he fell down and worshipped antichrist,” or this counterfeit Christ, that is, the devil in this shape of Christ. And such it is certain was Simon Magus, who professed himself to be Christ Jesus, who appeared to converse among the Jews. See Cyril of Jerusalem in Catech. περὶ αἱρέσεων. If this be not sufficient, then, secondly, I answer, that the Gnostics, or followers of Simon, as they were false teachers, and so might be called ψευδοπροφῆται in that respect, so they were bitter opposers of Christ and all the orthodox Christians, *denied Christ* to be *come in the flesh*, and persecuted all that asserted it; and in that respect it is as visible that they were ἀντίχριστοι, as ἀντί signifies *opposition*, or *contrariety*, *antichrists*, beyond all that ever any Christians were, or can be imagined to be. And then though *antichrists* are somewhat more than *pseudo-prophets*, because all false prophets or false teachers do not thus deny or oppose Christ and the fundamental articles of our redemption, yet still *the greater contains the less under it*; and so that prediction that foretold there should *come false prophets before the besieging of Jerusalem*, was abundantly fulfilled in these *false teachers*, which were over and above *antichrists*, professed opposers of Christ and Christians.

23. [d] *hath not the Father*] To *have the Father* is to be expounded by analogy with *having grace*, Heb. xii. 28, that is, retaining it, holding it fast, or making use of it, as in the parable of the talents, *he that hath* is he that makes use of and improves the talents by so doing;

ἔχει for *κατέχει*. Thus here to *have the Father* is to retain and hold fast his doctrine, not to forsake or depart from it, which every one must be said to do (and so here *οὐκ ἔχει Πατέρα, not to have the Father*) who denieth Christ to be the Messiah, of whom God hath so positively testified that he is so. So again in the end of the verse the phrase is used, and so ch. v. 12. *He that hath the Son*, is he that adheres and continues in the faith of Christ. So 2 John 9, *He that abides not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God*, that is, forsakes and apostatizeth from him; but *he that continueth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son*, by adhering to Christ, and that doctrine which he hath revealed from his Father, adheres to God also.

CHAP. III.

8. [a] *committeth sin*] *Ἀμαρτάνειν, to sin*, and *ἀμαρτίαν ποιεῖν, to do, or commit, sin*, which appear to be directly the same by comparing vv. 6 and 8, and so *ἀμαρτίαν ἔχειν, ch. i. 8, to have sin*, all one with *having sinned*, ver. 10, have a special energy in the writings of this apostle, to denote a deliberate, presumptuous commission of sin; not every sin of ignorance, incogitance, frailty, but, after deliberation, an advised commission of it. This is here affirmed to be *ποιεῖν ἀνομίαν*, the *committing transgression*, where *ἀνομία* signifies *opposition*, or *contrariety*, to Christ's law. Justinian renders the word *iniquitatem*, (Institut. 4. *de injur. Iniquitas et injustitia, quam Græci ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν vocant.*) and *iniquitas* is this opposition or irregularity to the will of God, viz. that will of his revealed to us by Christ, to which we now profess obedience. It is here made matter of some question, whether these phrases, *ἀμαρτάνειν* and *ποιεῖν ἀμαρτίαν, to sin, and to commit sin*, are to be interpreted only of an habit of such deliberate sin, or belong to one single act of it. But the resolution is easy, that though he that lives impenitently in any habit of known sin, be most eminently said to *sin* and *commit sin*, yet he that is guilty of any one deliberate act is here primarily meant by these phrases. This appears by the use of the words in some of the places, where it must necessarily denote an act, and not only an habit; as ch. ii. 1, *These things I write unto you, ἵνα μὴ ἀμάρτητε, that ye may not sin*, where it would be unreasonable to think that the holy apostle designed his Epistle to keep them from habits only, and not also from each act of deliberate sin. This is again evident in this place: for not only he that lives habitually in sin, but he that commits any one deliberate act of it, *ἀνομίαν ποιεῖ, committeth a transgression of the law*, opposeth and doth contrary to the law of Christ, which severely forbiddeth such single commissions, and not only the habits of them: and so ver. 5, when it is said that *Christ appeared that he might take away our sins*, and that *there is no sin in him*, it is evident that he came to take away our acts as well as our habits, and that there was no act as well as no habit of sin in him: and so in all that follows, vv. 6, 8, 9, one act of sin is contrary to *abiding in Christ*, that is, to adhering to him, to *seeing* and *knowing*, that is, to obeying him; one act is *of, or from, the devil*; one act as contrary to that *seed*, that purity, that principle of filiation, that is in him that is *born of God*, and not only an habit of it.

9. [b] *born of God*] What *γεννησθαι ἐκ Θεοῦ, being born of God*, signifies, hath been noted, note [b] on John i, to have received some

special influence from God, and by the help and power of that, to be raised to a pious life. Agreeably, *γεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *he that hath been born of God*, is literally he that hath had such a blessed change wrought in him by the operation of God's Spirit in his heart, as to be *translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of his dear Son, transformed in the spirit of his mind*, that is, sincerely changed from all evil to all good, from *obedience to the flesh*, &c., to an *obedience to God*. Only it is here to be noted, that the phrase is not so to be taken as to denote only the act of this change, the first impression of this virtue on the patient, the single transient act of regeneration or reformation, and that, as in the preter tense, now past, but rather a continued course, a permanent state, so as a *regenerate man* and a *child of God* are all one, and signify him that lives a pious and godly life, and continues to do so. For so that phrase of being *υἱὸς* or *τέκνον*, a *child* or *son* of any kind of father, signifies a resemblance or similitude of inclinations and actions, as a *child of the devil* is one that commits (and so continues to do) Satanical wicked practices; and so *sons of Belial* are vicious persons; and so our Saviour interprets the phrase, *If ye were the children of Abraham, ye would do the works of Abraham; but you are of your father the devil*, that is, you do those things which are imitations of him, such things as he doth. And so generally in this Epistle, he that is *born of God* signifies a man truly pious, an obedient servant of God: and such is the subject of this proposition here, when of such an one it is said, *he cannot sin*.

[*c*] *cannot sin*] What is meant by *οὐ δύναται*, *cannot*, here, will best appear by what St. Chrysostom, on Rom. viii, saith of the tree in the gospel, where it is said, *A corrupt tree cannot bear good fruit, nor a good tree corrupt fruit*: "He," saith he, "that saith a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit, *οὐ κωλύει τὴν ἀπὸ κακίας εἰς ἀρετὴν μεταβολὴν*, forbids not a change from vice to virtue," (denies not that to be possible,) "but affirms, that *ἡ ἐν τῇ κακίᾳ διατριβή*, the continuance in wickedness cannot bring forth good fruit; for," saith he, "he said not that an ill tree cannot become good, but that remaining evil it cannot bear good fruit." So when, Rom. viii. 7, it is said, that *the carnal mind cannot be subject to God*, Theophylact interprets it, *ὥς ἂν μὲν τοιοῦτον*, *it cannot whilst it remains such*; *οὐχ ὅτι ἀδύνατος ἡ μεταβολή*, *not that the change is impossible*; and so again, ver. 8, when it is said, *they cannot please God*, *ὥς ἂν ὧσι τοιοῦτοι*, *they cannot whilst they are such*. And so sure the affirming here of *the child of God*, the regenerate pious convert, that he *cannot sin*, is not the affirming that he cannot cease to be what he is, cannot fall off from the performance of his duty, (against which the many warnings and exhortations that are given to pious men, ch. ii. 1, 1 Cor. x. 12, Heb. iii. 12, 2 Pet. iii. 17, are evidences of the possibility of it,) but that remaining thus, a pious follower, imitator, and so *child of God*, that in his actions resembles him, he cannot yield deliberately to any kind of sin. To which purpose saith Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, *Hæc non admittet omnino qui natus e Deo fuerit, non futurus Dei filius si admiserit*, "He that is born of God will not at all admit such sins as these; he shall not be the child of God if he do admit or commit them." And Lactantius, *Virtus sine ulla intermissione perpetua est, nec discedere ab ea potest qui semel eam cepit: nam si habeat intervallum, si quando ea carere possumus, redeunt protinus peccata, quæ vir-*

tutem semper impugnant, "Virtue is that which is perpetual without any intermission: he that hath once undertaken it cannot depart from it. For if it have any interval (of sin) if we can want, or be without it, sins presently return, which always impugn virtue." And so St. Hierom, on Matt. vii. 18, *Bona arbor non fert malos fructus quamdiu in bonitatis studio perseverat*, "A good tree bears not ill fruit as long as it perseveres in the study or love of goodness." And so St. Augustine, serm. 29, de Verb. Apost. *Talia non facit bonæ fidei et spei Christianus*, "A Christian of a good faith and hope doth not such things" as these, that is, homicide, adultery, &c. In the same sense as ^t Menander saith of the just man,

Δίκαιος ἀδικεῖν οὐκ ἐπίσταται τρόπος,

"A just disposition knows not how to be unjust." In this sense is *οὐ δύναται*, *he cannot*, used by Ignatius, *οἱ σαρκικοί τὰ πνευματικά πράττειν οὐ δύνανται*, "carnal men cannot do spiritual things." It will not farther be pertinent to inquire, whether the *sinning* here (so unreconcilable with a regenerate state) be an act only of wilful sin, or an habit, because those apostate Gnostics, to whom this place is opposed, and all that went over to them, were guilty of more than single acts, even of the foulest habits of impurity and persecuting the Christians, ver. 10.

10. [*d*] *is not of God* *Εἶναι ἐκ Θεοῦ*, *to be of God*, here, (and chap. iv. 6, and v. 19, and 3 John 11,) is a phrase to signify one that lives as God requires and approves of, *a child of God* in the beginning of the verse, *born of God*, ver. 9, a sincere acceptable servant of his, that *imitates the good*, 3 John 11, or, in brief, a good Christian; and that not only upon this ground, because all Christian virtue is of God, but especially because it is agreeable to his will, an imitation of that which is most eminently and originally in him. And so, on the contrary, ungodly living is expressed by the phrase *to be of the devil*, John viii. 44, explained by what follows, *θέλετε ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ*, *doing*, or *delighting to do his desires*, and *his works*, ver. 41, and so *to be of the world*. To this purpose many the like phrases there be observable in scripture, which are set to signify this; as, *being in God*, 1 John ii. 5, and v. 20, *seeing God*, 3 John 11, that is, having considered and observed God in his actions, in order to imitating of them; for so to *imitate* is expressed, John viii. 38, by *doing what they have seen with their Father*. So again, having *known* God or Christ, 1 John ii. 3, 13, that is, so as to imitate or transcribe what we see in him; an evidence of which is, as it follows there, the *keeping his commandments*, and, ch. iv. 6, *he that knows God*, and *he that is of God*, are set as directly the same; and so ver. 7, 8, and very often in this writer. So *seeing*, and *knowing* him, together, 1 John iii. 6, and especially, John v. 37, *to hear his voice*, and *see his appearance*, for that is there all one with having his word abiding in them. So to be *the sons of God*, John xi. 52, *the sons of God that are scattered abroad*, that is, all that are or shall be pious faithful servants of his all the world over, that are qualified aright for the receiving of Christ when he preacheth to them, (such as are called *the children of the kingdom*, Matt. xiii. 38,) and so oft in these epistles, 1 John iii. 2, 10; and *to be born of God*, 1 John

^t In Stobæo, p. 100.

iii. 9, and v. 4, 18, (contrary to which are *generation of vipers*, and *children of darkness*, or *Belial, of the devil, of the wicked one*, in an extreme degree, and *born of blood*, &c. John i. 13, in a more moderate degree,) signifying, not any act of spiritual birth, but a state of pious life, of resemblance unto God. So those that are *given to Christ* by God, the pious virtuous-minded men, being the only persons that are by the promises and grace of the gospel really attracted and brought to receive Christ, John vi. 37, those whom *the Father hath drawn*, ver. 44, whom the promises have effectually wrought on, which work only on pious men; so those that are *taught of God*, or are docile, teachable by him. So they *whose heart God hath opened*, Acts xvi. 14, that is, whom God hath affected with the love of virtue or Christianity. So to *abide*, or *dwell*, in God, 1 John iii. 6, and in the *love of Christ*, John xv. 9, and *God in him*, 1 John iii. 24 and iv. 15, to *walk in light*, ch. i. 7, to *abide in light*, ch. ii. 10, to *walk as he walks*, ch. ii. 6, to *walk worthy of the gospel*, Philipp. i. 27, of *our vocation*, Ephes. iv. 1, to *pass our sojourning in fear*, 1 Pet. i. 17, to *walk in good works*, Eph. ii. 10, to *have his word abiding in us*, 1 John ii. 24.

19. [e] *assure our hearts*] What *πειθὲν καρδίας*, to *persuade hearts*, doth fully import, will appear, first, by the use of the phrase *πείσομεν αὐτόν*, Matt. xxviii. 14, *we will pacify him*; and so in proportion it signifies to render our hearts peaceable and tame: secondly, by two other phrases that follow here, first, *παρρησίαν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, ver. 21, *having confidence toward God*, to *have boldness*, to dare appear before God, to be such as dare on good grounds have confidence to pray to him; secondly, *λαμβάνειν ἀ αἰτοῦμεν*, ver. 22, to have our prayers heard by God, which he that can challenge, and so *προσεγγίζειν τῷ Θεῷ*, *draw near unto God* in confidence in prayer, is said *τελειοῦσθαι κατὰ συνείδησιν*, Heb. ix. 9, to *be perfected*, or *consecrated, according to conscience*, viz. by having the *conscience purged*, to be made such priests as may with *boldness draw nigh to God*, which is the prerogative of every true Christian that doth that which is *pleasing in God's sight*, ver. 22, the *worshipper of God* which *doth his will*, John ix. 31.

CHAP. IV.

17. [a] *boldness in the day*—] *Παρρησία* is *bold* and *public speaking*, confession of Christ before men, especially when we have discouragements from doing so, *ἄδεια fearlessness*, saith Hesychius. So *παρρησίᾳ περιπαρεῖν*, John xi. 54, is to *walk publicly* and *fearlessly*, which Christ did not, because of their *consultation to kill him*, ver. 53. So in many other places, particularly Heb. x. 35, where *παρρησία ὑμῶν* is their *constant confession of Christ*, to which all that chapter had exhorted them, (and that in despite of persecutions,) explained by *ὑπομονή*, ver. 36, *patience* or *constancy in suffering*, and opposed to *ὑποστολή*, *cowardly withdrawing*, ver. 38, 39, (see note [a] on John vii.) And so here being joined with *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως*, in the *day of judgment*, not the final judgment of God, but the day or time when we shall for the name of Christ be brought before any earthly tribunal, to be sentenced even to death itself. And so it is said of Ignatius, in the story of his martyrdom, that he conceived that he could never come *ad dilectionem Dei in plenum*, "to the full love of God," *neque perfectum ordinem doctrinæ obtinere*, "nor to the perfection of Christian doctrine," nisi

per martyrii factam confessionem Domino appropinquaret, “ unless he came near unto God by martyrdom.” And so the meaning will be plain, that the ἀγάπη μεθ’ ἡμῶν, the love or charity toward God which is to be in, or among, us Christians, ἐν τούτῳ τετελειώται, is perfected in this, ἵνα παρρησίαν ἔχωμεν, that we have this constancy in confessing him in the time of the greatest danger. And this yet farther appears, first, by the explication that follows, that as he is, so we are in this world; that is, that as Christ laid down his life in confession of the truth, so we do the same when occasion serves: and, secondly, by the confirmation which follows, ver. 18, *There is no fear in love*, fear being indeed the contrary to this boldness and constancy, wherein the perfection of our love consists. Thus hath Tertullian interpreted the place in his *Scorpiacum*, or Antidote against the Gnostics, *Johannes negat timorem esse in dilectione*, “ John denies fear to be in love.” *Quem timorem intelligi præstat, nisi negationis authorem?* “ What fear must we here understand, but that which is the author of denying?” *Quam dilectionem perfectam, nisi fugatricem timoris, et animatricem confessionis?* “ What perfect love, but that which puts fear to flight, and animates men to confess Christ?” And so that which follows, *For fear hath punishment*, he thus interprets, *Quam pœnam timore puniat* (sure it should be, *qua pœna timorem puniat*) *nisi quam negator relaturus est, cum corpore et anima occidendus in Gehennam?* “ What is the punishment which fear hath, or with which he punishes fear, but that which he that denies Christ shall receive, when he is killed body and soul and cast into hell,” Matt. x. 28, or “ which,” saith he, “ is threatened to the cowardly, among” (yea before) “ the other reprobates, in the lake of fire?” Rev. xxi. 8. See Tertull. cont. Gnost. cap. 12, and De Fuga in Persecut. cap. 9. In these last words, ὁ φόβος κολασιν ἔχει, *fear hath punishment*, the posthumous Notes of the learned H. Grotius have attempted an emendation, and read κολουσιν for κολασιν, rendering κολουσιν out of the Glossaries, *mutilation, imperfection*, κολουῶ, ἀτελῇ ποιῶ. For this interpretation of that unusual word Hesychius may be consulted; Κολουῶει, saith he, (it should be certainly κολουῶει) κωλύει, ἐμποδίζει, κολοβοί, and Κολουῖται, ἐλαττοῦται, and Κολουῖσθαι, κολοβοῦσθαι, and Κολουῖσματα, κλάσματα. To this the context would very well agree, the next words being, *he that fears is not made perfect in love*: where yet the same Annotations would turn ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος, *he that fears*, into ὁ δὲ κολουόμενος, *he that is mutilated*. But to impose so remote an emendation without any authority of any copy to avow it, is too adventurous an attempt; or, if it were not so, perhaps the substituting of κῶλυσιν, *impediment, hinderance*, might be a more tolerable emendation; thus, *for fear hath hinderance*, it stops and encumbers love from doing such perfect acts as it ought, or would otherwise be apt to do; *he that feareth* is by this encumbrance kept back, *is not made perfect in love*. But as these or the like emendations ought never to be admitted without great necessity, so there appears no pretence of that in this place. For, first, it may thus be rendered, *Fear hath pain or torment*, a kind of rack in it, which always keeps men in awe, as the apostle saith, Heb. ii. 15, that *through fear of death* some are *all their lifetime subject to bondage or slavery*, never dare do any thing of virtue, or duty, or heroic action, (and so 2 Tim. i. 7, the *spirit of fear or cowardice* is set opposite to *power and love*.) and consequently never come to any per-

fection of love to God, or constancy of confession, to suffer any thing for his sake, as love doth, 1 Cor. xiii. 7; and accordingly it follows, *he that feareth is not made perfect in love*. Or else, secondly, it may be set after Tertullian's way; the constant love of God is a most rewardable perfection, whereas fear of worldly dangers will be sure to bring destruction of body and soul along with it, and therefore must be cast out from having any thing to interpose when the *perfecting*, or, as τελειοῦσθαι signifies, the *crowning* or *rewarding* of love, is spoken of. Fearfulness is so unreconcilable with perfect love, that it is the most detestable forsaking of God: the coward is all one with the apostate. Either of these senses will accord very well with the context, and with the literal importance of the words, but especially the former of them.

CHAP. V.

6. [a] *came by water and blood*] What ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος, *he that came by water and blood*, here signifies, will appear by considering the context, and the relation of these to the former words. There the belief that *Jesus is the Son of God*, is the means of *victory over the temptations of the world*, the baits then offered by the Gnostics, carnal pleasures on one side, and immunity from persecutions on the other. And to that this belief is a very proper instrument. For considering wherein Christ's sonship was exercised here on earth, his innocence and his sufferings, and that if we will behave ourselves as *sons of God*, we must imitate him, and that our faith in him consists in thus transcribing these his filial qualifications, the conclusion hence follows, that he that is such a *child of God*, ver. 4, that is, *that believes that Jesus is the Son of God*, ver. 5, *doth, or will, overcome the world*. This then being the force of the apostle's arguing, it must follow that these words, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος, *this is he that came by water and blood*, must be the description of Christ, as that sonship of his is expressed for our imitation in this matter, that is, as he approved his innocence, faultlessness to God on one side, and his patience, and (in spite of temptations, even of death itself) perseverance on the other side. And this is here figuratively expressed, and the figure fetched from an eminent passage in the story of Christ, particularly considered and related by St. John, and that with a special weight laid on it, both for the truth and the considerableness of it, viz. the *water* and *blood* that at his crucifixion came out of his side at the piercing of it, the *water* being a most proper emblem of his innocence, and the *blood* of his patience and constancy; and then the ἐλθὼν διὰ, his having *come by* these two, is no more than the having had these two emblems, and the things signified by them, most eminently observable in the discharge of his office here on earth. For we know that *being sent*, or *coming*, are the words that refer to discharge of office. Christ is said to be *sent* by God, and, which is all one, to *come*, and is proverbially styled ὁ ἐρχόμενος, *he that cometh*, and *he that cometh into the world*, that is, the great Prophet sent by God for the discharge of this office, which as *Son of God*, Matt. iii. 17, he was ordained to, and for which he *came into the world*, and which he did with perfect singleness, and *resisting unto blood*, suffering death in the cause: and those two were expressed by that joint emblem at his death, the *water* and *blood*, which John saw flow from him. In this matter also it is that the *Spirit* is

also joined as a testifier, (that is the meaning of ἐν τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ, *is testifying*.) viz. of the innocence of Christ, (which being granted, the constancy and sufferings were sufficiently known and proved by that ἀπαθαρσύνῃς, *flowing out of water and blood*, which was an evidence of the wounding and piercing him to the heart.) For, first, the *Spirit's* descending on him at his baptism, and lighting on him as a dove, was one testimony of his perfect innocence and acceptableness in the sight of his Father. And, secondly, by that *Spirit's* descent being instated on his prophetic office, he is also furnished with the gift of miracles, &c., which were sure testimonies that what he preached was God's message, that he was no sinner, no seducer, no false prophet, seeing, as the Jews confessed, he did such miracles. Thirdly, the coming down of that Spirit upon the apostles, and that according to the promise of Christ, was a testimony of the truth of what else he said, and by this descent the Spirit became a *Paraclete* or *Advocate* of Christ, and so testified and convinced the world, as of their sin in crucifying him, so of his righteousness, in that, after his crucifixion, he was raised and taken up to the Father. All this being thus said in this verse, as it is the proving of what went before, by these *three witnesses*, so doth it introduce what follows, vv. 7, 8, which is but the saying the same again, and joining a parallel with it; for so I suppose the following words are to be understood, *For there are three that bear witness in heaven*, &c., not that that is a reason of what went immediately before, (for it would be hard to shew how thus the seventh verse could be a reason of ver. 6, how the *trinity of witnesses in heaven* should be a proof that the *water*, and *blood*, and *spirit*, do witness, ver. 6,) but that it is a parallel to illustrate it by, and might in sense be best expressed thus, *As there be three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one: so also there are three that testify on the earth, the Spirit, and water, and blood; and these three, though they are not one by any kind of unity of nature, as the former three are, yet they agree in one*, that is, in one testimony, evidently confirming the same thing which they were brought to testify, ver. 6. Of such like idioms of speech we have formerly noted many, in note [d] on Matt. ix. By this means, as this whole place is competently explained, and freed from all difficulty, so is it vindicated from a first misinterpretation which some late writers have fastened on it, interpreting the ἐν εἰσι, ver. 7, *are one*, by εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι, *they agree in one*. But of this, first, there can be no evidence, nor indeed any reason assigned that the phrase should be so suddenly altered, ver. 8, if the same thing were meant which was (so immediately before, ver. 7,) so differently expressed. If ἐν εἰσι, *are one*, had signified no more but *agree in one testimony*, ver. 7, is it imaginable that of those other *three*, which had so lately been affirmed to testify the same, ver. 6, this would have been affirmed in other (so much plainer) words, εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι, *are to one purpose*, or *agree in one*? If there had been any reason thus to vary the phrase, it would probably have been by applying the obscurer phrase to those three, of whom it had been before sufficiently affirmed, and the more perspicuous and explicit to the *three in heaven*, of whom it had not been formerly affirmed, and not so directly contrary as here we find it is. Secondly, the only reason pretended why ἐν εἰσι, *are one*,

should not infer really, as literally it doth, the unity of the Trinity, being this, because *εἰς ἓν εἰσι*, *agree in one*, is attributed to the *three on earth*. That argument is of no kind of force; for the parallel here held between those *in heaven* and those *on earth* being only in respect of the testimonies, and of the number of the testifiers, there is no necessity that the apostle or we should extend it to all other circumstances; or if there were, it would be as reasonable to interpret the latter by the former, the *εἰς ἓν εἰσι*, *they are to one purpose*, by the *ἓν εἰσι*, *they are one*, (which were absurd, and is not imagined,) as the former by the latter; indeed no reason for either of them. But on the other side, having to the mention of the *three witnesses in heaven*, annexed, out of the Christian doctrine, the *οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι*, *these three are one*, it was reasonable, when he came to the other three, of whom that could not be affirmed, to affirm of them as much as the matter would bear, that is, that they are *εἰς ἓν*, testifiers to the same purpose, though not *ἓν* of *one* and the *same nature*. Lastly, if it were granted that *ἓν εἰσι*, *are one*, did note (as *εἰς ἓν* doth) the according of their testimonies, yet that no way excludes the unity of the testifiers, because both those senses may belong to the place and be true, the unity of the testifiers necessarily inferring the according of their testimonies, though the according of the testimonies infer not the unity of the testifiers. And then both these being so consequent one to the other, and so pertinent to the apostle's purpose, (*viz.* the consent of all witnesses to the truth he had to prove,) and the words being in themselves so clear for the asserting of the unity, there can be no pretence or reason to doubt but this is the importance of them. One thing only is here needful to be added, that in the king's MS. (and many other copies) a great part of these two verses is left out, and instead of them no more read but this, *Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα*, *For there are three that bear witness, the spirit, and the water, and the blood*. But of this it must first be observed, that the ordinary reading hath the authority of many ancient, and all, but one, printed copies; secondly, that the omission may have been casual, by the error of some scribe, who having transcribed in the copy before him as far as *ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες*, his eye might by error pass to ver. 8, where the same words are again repeated, and so leap over what is in the midst, and immediately subjoin what there immediately follows after, *μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν*. Many examples of visible omissions on this occasion are observable in this and most other MSS., as might largely be evidenced; and it is that to which the haste of transcribers, and the necessity of taking off the eye from the copy, renders them very liable: which error being once committed in one copy, he that should come after, and transcribe that, might, upon judgment and reason, omit somewhat more, *viz.* *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, and *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς ἓν εἰσι*, because those two parts of the verse being set distinctly by way of opposition to two former, *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, and *οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι*, the former verse, in which those two were, being once lost, these latter were by congruity to go after them, and to be left out also. To which purpose it is observable, that (as to these two phrases,) there is yet a greater variety in the copies, the Syriac and Arabic having the *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι*, or *εἰς ἓν εἰσι*, and these three are

one, or to one purpose, and many copies having ἐν τῇ γῇ, on the earth, which yet have not the former verse; which shews that the former casual error was first committed before this other, which was taken up on judgment, and that all that followed the one, where there was no place of choice, did not, where there was choice, choose to follow the other. Thirdly, that it is not imaginable how, if this of the king's MS. and those others were the right reading, this which is now in the ordinary copies should get in, unless it were by gross fraud and forgery: for to the infirmities of a scribe (to which omissions may) these additions cannot be imputable. Fourthly, that if the addition be thought imputable to a fraud on one side, the leaving it out may much more reasonably be imputed to a fraud on the other side. For, first, supposing it thus far equal, that as the omission was useful to the Arians and Anti-trinitarians, so the addition was of advantage to the catholics or orthodox; yet it is presently visible, that the interest of those that were condemned in the church as heretics was far greater, and the necessity more pressing on their part, (that I mention not the greater likelihood of heretics adventuring to make use of such a forgery,) to leave out the words and commit this fraud, than that of the catholics was to put them in. For if the words be once acknowledged to be the words of scripture, it gives a conclusion to all the heretics' pretensions; and it necessarily follows, first, that they that deny the Trinity most diametrically oppose the plain words of scripture, the οἱ τοι οὗτοι, *these three*, here; and, secondly, that they that deny the Unity contradict distinctly St. John's affirmation of τὴν εἰς, *these three are one*; thirdly, that they that deny the *Holy Ghost* to be God, and yet do not affirm him to be a creature, and consequently conclude him to be nothing but the virtue and efficacy of God, do oppose the plain words here, which distinguish the *Holy Ghost* from the *Word*, and from the *Father*, as much, and in the same manner, as the *Word*, or second *hypostasis*, from the *Father* on one side, or from the *Holy Ghost* on the other. And so as long as these words stand in force, it is not possible for the heretics' doctrines to be maintained, (and therefore it is that Socinus and his followers find it necessary to affirm that these words are certainly supposititious.) But for the catholics, that maintain the doctrine asserted by the first great general councils, against the heretics of the church, they had no such need of inserting and forging these words: their cause might be otherwise maintained, if these words were expunged, and put out of the canon, first, by the form of baptism, Matt. xxviii. 19, instituted by Christ; which, first, clears the distinction of the *Father*, the *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, as fully as this; and, secondly, by making them the object of our faith, supposeth each to be God, as well as any, the *Holy Ghost*, and the *Son*, as well as the *Father*; which being supposed, the Unity may from thence be collected also, by force of Eph. iv. 5, where, parallel to the *one baptism*, is added *one God and Father of all*, noting the one form of Christian baptism, *In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, to be the entering of us into the faith and name of the *one God*. Secondly, by the express words of Christ, *I and my Father are one*, John x. 30, which affirming the unity of the *Father* and the *Son*, leaves no place to doubt of the like unity of the *Holy Ghost* also. Thirdly,

by the apostles swearing by Christ, and (which is all one) *calling to witness the Holy Ghost*, Rom. ix. 1, which is an act of divine worship appropriated to God, by whom only we are to swear. Fourthly, by the apostle's *praying to our Lord Jesus Christ for his grace*, to the *Holy Ghost for his communication*, or liberal effusion of his *gifts*, as well as to *God the Father for his love*; which is become the solemn form of apostolical benediction at the end of the epistles. Fifthly, (as far as concerns the Holy Ghost,) by Acts v, where *deceiving or robbing the Holy Ghost*, ver. 3, is *lying to God*, ver. 4; and 1 Cor. xii. 11, where the *Spirit*, as a person, is said to *work*, and to *divide to every one according as he will*. Lastly, (as far as concerns Christ, who hath been most eminently opposed by all sorts of heretics, from the Gnostics to the Arians and Photinians,) by the frequent *doxologies*, or forms of *giving glory* to Christ, in the very same style as the Jews, (from whom those forms are taken,) customarily and solemnly made use of, to acknowledge the God of Israel to be the eternal God, (see note [c] on Rom. ix.) By all which, and much more, it appears how impertinent and unnecessary it was for the orthodox to feign and forge these words, and withal how easy for their enemies to have disproved them, and detected their forgery, if they had attempted it; and how much more temptation there was on the heretics' side to free themselves from the importunity of this place, by rasing that out of their Bibles which could not otherwise be persuaded to comply with their pretensions. And accordingly, as in St. Cyprian, (who wrote before Arius was born, and consequently before the time in which there could be any motive to have made this insertion,) the words are distinctly found, l. De Unit. Eccles. *Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus, et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est, Et hi tres unum sunt*, "The Lord saith, *I and my Father are one*; and again of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it is written, *And these three are one*." And in like manner Tertullian contra Praxeam, *Qui tres unum sunt*, "Which three are one." So it is confessed of St. Hierom, that he asserted the truth of our reading from the Greek copies which he had, and defended it against all, publicly complaining, and contesting it, that in those copies where it was wanting, it was omitted or rased out by the fraud of heretics: and so St. Ambrose saith that the heretics did erase that place. And this was so far from yielding matter of recrimination against the orthodox in those days, that some learned men, who have expressed their opinion that the addition of these words is supposititious, have laid that to the Arians' charge also, who, say they, from thence desired to conclude, that the *Father, Son, and Spirit are one* only by consent in this testimony, as the *water and blood and spirit* are said to be. But with how little reason this is suspected, appears already by what hath before been said, and needs no farther answer or refuting. It were here easy to deduce the doctrine of this verse, as it is most largely set down, from the tradition of the church through all times. I shall only affix some few testimonies before the time of the first council of Nice, since which there can be no place of dispute. In the first age, that of Clemens Romanus, is observable, *Ζῆ ὁ Θεός, καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, "God lives, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost." A testimony produced out of him by St. Basil

the Great, c. 29, *Περὶ ἁγ. πνεύμ.*, where, speaking of the Doxology, as one especial apostolical tradition, and reckoning up the ancients from whom it was derived, he urgeth this saying of Clemens for the use of it. In the second century we have Justin Martyr, *Apol. 2*, pro Christianis, who, having mentioned the *Father of righteousness*, he adds, 'Ἄλλ' ἐκείνόν τε καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, πνεῦμα τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, " Him, and the Son coming from him, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore." A tract also there is cited by Leontius Hierosol. and by Euthymius, owned as Justin's, *Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος*, "Of the holy and coessential Trinity," which, if genuine, will clear the whole matter; for there we have, 'Ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων Θεὸς ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι γνωριζόμενος, "The God of all, who is known in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:" and of them all, Τὰ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μιᾶς οὐσίας μετέχοντα, τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μιᾶς θεότητος ἡξίωνται, "These three partake of one and the same essence, have one and the same divinity:" and, τὰ τρία πρόσωπα, *three persons*, asserted and cited from St. Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 13, and from Christ, Matt. xxviii. 19: and, Μόνος ἐν Τριάδι νοεῖται, καὶ Τριάς ἐν μονάδι γνωρίζεται, "Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." So again the author of the *Questions and Answers ad Orthodoxos*, under Justin's name, resp. ad Quæst. 139, Εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ συνυπάρξει τῶν τριῶν θείων ὑποστάσεων τῶν διαφερουσῶν ἀλλήλων, οὐ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόποις, "There is one God in the coexistence of three divine subsistences, differing from one another not in essence but in the manner of existence." So Athenagoras, in his *Ambassy for the Christians*, who were by the heathens looked on as atheists; Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι λέγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν Θεόν, καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, δεικνύντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους; "Who would not wonder to hear them called atheists, who acknowledge God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and demonstrate their power in the union, and their distinction in the order?" So Clemens Alexand., in the conclusion of his *Pædagogus*, Τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ—σὺν καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, πάντα τῷ ἐνὶ—"To the only Father and Son—with the Holy Ghost, one in all things," &c. So in the third century Origen is by St. Basil, *Περὶ Πνεύματ.* Ἀγ., reckoned among the assertors of this tradition, l. 6, Comm. in Johan., Τῇ θεότητι τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, "The Deity of the Trinity, which is to be adored;" and on the Romans, Καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος θεότητος, "The Deity of the Holy Ghost." So Dionysius bishop of Rome, cited by Athanasius in *Epist. de Decret. Synod. Nic.*, Οὗτοι γὰρ Τριάδα μὲν κηρυττομένην ὑπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς σαφῶς ἐπίστανται, τρεῖς δὲ θεοὺς οὔτε παλαιὰν οὔτε καινὴν διαθήκην κηρύττουσαν, "These," that is, the true disciples of Christ, "evidently know that the Trinity is preached by divine scripture, but that three Gods are not preached by the Old or New Testament." So Tertullian against Praxeas, *Deum unicum quidem, sed cum æconomia, esse credendum: expavescent ad æconomiam, numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis divisionem credunt Unitatis, quando Unitas ex semetipso derivans Trinitatem non destruat ab illa, sed administretur*, "We are to believe one God, but with the economy, or administration: they are affrighted at the economy, and think the number and order of the Trinity is the division of the Unity, when indeed the Unity deriving the Trinity from itself, is not destroyed by it, but administered." And, *Ecce dico alium*

esse Patrem, alium Filium, alium Spiritum sanctum; non tamen diversitate alium, sed distributione, nec divisione alium, sed distinctione, "Lo, I affirm the Father to be another, the Son another, the Holy Ghost another; yet not another by diversity, but by distribution; nor another by division, but distinction." And, *Qui tres unum sunt, non unus, Quomodo dictum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus, ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem,* "These three are one (nature) not one (person) as it was said, *I and my Father are one*, for the unity of the substance, not the singularity of the number." The like place out of St. Cyprian was before produced, and this text from 1 John v. made use of for the asserting it. And so we see the truth of what we find in the debates of the first Nicene council, on which their decrees are founded, *Christum consubstantialem Filium Patri—juxta olim traditam ecclesiæ apostolicam fidem expressis testimoniis demonstrantes*, that "the" doctrine of the "consubstantiality of Christ the Son to the Father—is by express testimonies demonstrated to be according to the apostolic faith of old delivered to the church:" and that of Hosius in the name of the council, *Trinitatem individuum, ineffabilem, unam divinitatem, et eandem ipsius essentiam esse credentes; et eandem confitemur juxta nobis ab initio traditam ipsius fidei dogmatum integritatem a Domino per sanctos ejus apostolos, et a sanctis ejus apostolis, et a sanctis antiquis nostris patribus qui apostolorum sanctam fidem illibatam conservaverunt*, "We believe the individual Trinity, the ineffable, one Godhead, and that the essence thereof is the same; and we confess it the same according to the integrity of the doctrines of the faith from the beginning delivered to us from our Saviour by his holy apostles, and from his holy apostles, and from our holy ancient fathers, who conserved the holy faith of the apostles entire." So in ^a Athanasius's Epistle to the Africans, telling them of the acts of the council, and of the decree of adding *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱόν*, the "consubstantiality of the Son with the Father," he adds, *Οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς εὐρόντες τὰς λέξεις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἔχοντες τὴν μαρτυρίαν, οὕτως ἔγραψαν. Ἐπίσκοποι γὰρ ἦσαν ἀρχαῖοι πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑγγύς που ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα τῆς τε μεγάλης Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, οἱ ἡτιάσαντο τοὺς ποιήμα λόγοντας τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, "The bishops" in the council "did not invent these words for themselves; but having testimony from their fathers, thus they wrote. For there were ancient bishops about one hundred and thirty years," before that council, "both of Rome and of this city, who reprehended those who affirmed the Son to be a creature, and not consubstantial with the Father." Καὶ τοῦτο, saith he, ἐγνώσκεν Εὐσέβιος ὁ γινώμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καισαρείας, πρότερον μὲν συντρέχων τῇ Ἀρειανῇ ἀπρίσει, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπογράφας τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ, ἔγραψε καὶ τοῖς ἰδίῳ διαβεβαιούμενος, ὅτι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινας λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφείας εὑρομέν, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ θεότητος τῷ τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου χρησαμένους ὀνόματι,* "And this Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, acknowledged, who, having formerly gone on in the Arian heresy, but afterward subscribed to the council of Nice, wrote and confirmed it with his own words, saying, We have found some of the ancients, considerable persons, and eminent bishops and writers, which concerning the divinity of the Father and the Son used the word *consubstantial*."

^a See Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 7.

And these words of Eusebius are at length to be seen in his Epistle in Theodoret, l. i. c. 11. All which being evidences of the doctrine of the church before the council of Nice, are of full force to demonstrate that which I have now in hand, viz. that the catholics in their controversy against the Arians had no occasion to insert these words, and that this was the doctrine of the church before that council of Nice, Much more might be added on this subject. This I have chosen to say, on so great an occasion, once for all.

14. [b] *ask any thing according to his will*] Αἰτεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, *asking according to God's will*, seems to comprehend two things: the first in respect of the matter of his prayer, that that be *according to God's will*; and the second in respect of the disposition of the petitioner, that he duly behave himself in asking *according to God's will*. For the former of these, the matter of the prayer, that must be *according to the will of God*: and so it may be two ways; first, by being not only perfectly lawful, and so not contrary to his will, (for so is every indifferent thing, which we have no reason to be confident that God will grant us upon our demand,) but also good and acceptable in the sight of God: such is the gift of his Spirit, Luke xi. 13, such the *increase of faith*, which the disciples prayed for, meaning thereby God's gift of grace, so far as to enable them thus to grow and increase; not the habit, or degrees of the habit of that virtue, for those are regularly to be acquired by our acts or exercises of that strength which God bestows, our making use of that talent intrusted to us, to which his promise of *more grace* is confined, whilst from him that *lays it up in a napkin* he *takes away that which he hath*; nor again the acts of that virtue, for those are no otherwise given us by God than as he gives us strength to perform them, which the apostle expresses by ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνεργεῖν, Phil. ii. 13, his *working in us to work or do*, upon which the exhortation is founded of the κατεργάζεσθε, *working, and working out our own salvation*. Secondly, it may be *according to his will*, by being agreeable to his wisdom, which always bounds and limits and determines his will. And thus a thing may be supposed to be three ways; first, when that which is prayed for is not contrary to any decree of God, which being an act of his will, is also an efflux of his (incomprehensible) wisdom. This decree of God is to us expressed by *God's oath* passed on any thing, which makes it *immutable*, Heb. vi. 17, as when of the *provokers*, Heb. iii. 18, *God sware that they should not enter into Canaan*: for in that case it was certain that neither Moses's prayers for them, nor their own for themselves, should prevail to reverse it, though that others, who did not thus *provoke*, should thus *enter*, was perfectly acceptable to God, agreeable to his will and wisdom. And so when the iniquity of the people is grown to such a pitch that God decrees their excision, (and the same may be said of any particular man that hath so *filled up his measure*,) though *Noah, Daniel, and Job* should *intercede*, they shall not prevail for them. Secondly, when that which is prayed for is not foreseen by God to be inconvenient or hurtful for him that prayeth for it; for if it be, in that case God's denying to grant the prayer is a greater mercy than the granting of it; he were an enemy if he would thus hear us to our ruin.

Evertere urbes totas optantibus ipsis

Dii faciles :—

The heathens could charge it on their gods as too great a *facileness* to *destroy whole cities* by this means of *granting men their wishes*. Thirdly, when although that which is prayed for be good for the petitioners, yet somewhat else is better, and really more desirable to them. And then thus to deny what is asked, and thus to exceed their asking, what is that but the divinest and most advantageous way of granting it? And in that case God, that knows what we really most want, what is most truly agreeable to our desires, being able to choose for us better than we for ourselves, when he grants not our prayers in the kind, yet he grants them by way (not only of equivalence, but) of running over, denies us what we demand, and gives us what is more for our advantage; denies us what is good, but grants us that which is much better for us. Thus when Christ *prayed* for the *departure* of that *cup*, his prayer was not heard, but instead of it the *angels* sent to *strengthen* him, and enable him to drink it up, as that which was more for his and the world's advantage. And thus when St. Paul *prayed thrice* that the *thorn in the flesh* should *depart from him*, that prayer was not granted, but instead of it that grace given which was *sufficient* to enable him to support that affliction; and that was better to him than the other; for *God's strength* was *perfected* and *magnified* in him through that *weakness* or *affliction*, viz. by his Christian bearing of it. The second thing, that which respects the disposition or qualifications of the petitioner, may be reduced to these three branches: first, that he be such as to whom God's promises do belong, such an one as performs his part of the covenant of mercy, the pious Christian liver, he that is a *worshipper of God, and doth his will*; for otherwise God, which is a hearer of prayers indefinitely, is not the hearer of his; *we know that God heareth not sinners; if they incline to iniquity in their heart, the Lord will not hear them*; when *they make their long prayers, the Lord will hide his face, their hands are full of blood*; they must wash and make them clean before they have any title to God's hearing or answering their prayers. Secondly, that in that particular for which he prays, he apply himself only to God, and such means as he knows to be acceptable to him. This is it which is called in St. James *asking in faith*, ch. i. note [b], and is opposed to *wavering*, (that is, doubting and demurring whether God's ways or his own are to be adhered to for the obtaining his end,) and to the *ἀνὴρ διψυχος*, *double-minded man*, ver. 8, who sending one mind, one will unto God in prayer, hath another for the most ungodly instruments, makes a secret address unto them, which renders him there *ἀκατάστατος*, *unsettled* and *various*, one while in the ways of God, and another while of the devil; and, *Let not such an one think*, saith the apostle, *that he shall receive any thing of the Lord*, ver. 7. Thirdly, that his asking be joined with importunity; for to that qualification of our prayers the promise is expressly made, in the parable of the widow and the unjust judge, and in the joining together of *asking, seeking, knocking*, to which the *having, finding, opening unto*, are promised by Christ; by this *importunity* meaning a continuance and perseverance in our prayers for that which we want; and when at the first asking the mercy is not conferred, repeating and reinforcing the request, *waiting upon the Lord which hideth his face*, and never giving over the importunity until the request be graciously answered by God. All these being thus set down, are the

several ingredients to make up the entire qualification signified hereby, *praying according to God's will*; and to them that are thus qualified in each branch this confidence here belongs, that *whatsoever they shall thus ask, God will hear them*. By which it appears in what sense it may be deemed to be required of the petitioner to believe that his petition shall be granted, viz. only according to the importance of these words thus explicated. It being certain that no man is bound to believe that which is not true, or to believe that absolutely which depends upon so many conditions, upon performing of which, as he lawfully may, nay (as a duty of faith to God's promises) is obliged, and must believe that what he thus prays shall be granted; so if he perform them not, he is not obliged to believe that his prayers shall be granted him: and if, through a great measure of humility and undervaluing his own performances, he chance to err, and think himself unqualified when he is not unqualified, and consequently want this confidence toward God, that he will hear his prayers, when he hath (if he knew it) due grounds for that confidence, it is not to be imagined that the want of that confidence, or the excess of that humility, which is so acceptable in the sight of God, should render him or his prayers unacceptable and ineffectual to him. And accordingly *αἰτεῖτω ἐν πίστει, let him ask in faith*, in St. James, chap. i. 6, must no otherwise be interpreted.

16. [c] *sin unto death*] What is meant by *ἀμαρτία εἰς θάνατον, a sin unto death*, may, I suppose, be best learned from what we read in the law, of him that *sins contemptuously*, to whom *death without mercy* was prescribed. This was described, Heb. x. 28, *Ἀθετήσας τὸν νόμον Μωσέως, He that set at nought Moses's law died without mercy*, upon a sufficient proof of it. And so he that is guilty of that, and, proportionably to him, he that useth the Son of God, now under the gospel, after that manner, *καταπατήσας, treading or trampling upon the Son of God*, ver. 29, setting his commands and terrors at nought, as there he is *thought worthy of sorer punishment*, so here his *sin* may fitly be said to be *εἰς θάνατον, unto death*. What this contempt is, may appear by the second council of Nice, which expounds the *sin unto death* by *ἀδιόρθωτον μένειν, to continue unreformed and incorrigible* after all the admonitions and censures of the church; of which, as there were several degrees, so he that did not reform upon the first was, within some time, to be put under the second, or higher; and not reforming then, was to fall under the third, which was wont to be called by the Jews *schammatha*, which signifies *there is death*, a punishment proportioned to this sin, and from the title thereof this seems to be called here *a sin unto death*. Not that every deliberate or wilful sin is here so styled, (though that also be mortiferous without repentance,) for of this sort is *ἀμαρτία, sin*, (indefinitely taken, according to the use of this writer, see note [a] on ch. iii.) and according to that which follows, ver. 17, *πᾶσα ἀδικία ἀμαρτία ἐστίν, every iniquity is sin*, and yet *every* such, as it there follows, is not *εἰς θάνατον, unto death*, in this sense; but the phrase peculiarly belongs to a wilful sin, (to which, without repentance or reformation, eternal perdition is denounced,) heightened and aggravated farther with the addition of obstinacy against all persuasions and means of melting, which renders him hopeless and owned to ruin; and there is nothing left for him *but a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries, τοὺς ἑναντίους*, these that walk thus

contrary to God, resist his admonitions, his grace, all his methods of reducing them. Of these the apostle here saith, οὐ λέγω ἵνα ἐρωτήσῃ, *I say not that he, that is, the Christian brother, shall pray for such an one: which words may seem very cautiously set; not that he forbids, but only doth not command to pray for them, or doth not promise any good success to the prayers that are offered up for such an one. Agreeably to what is said of the ἐκουσίως ἀμαρτάνοντες, ch. x. 26, those that sin wilfully after the receiving the knowledge of the truth, (where the wilfulness is added to the ἀμαρτάνειν, the sinning deliberately, and denotes the contumacious continuing in any such ἀμαρτία, or deliberate sin,) that οὐκ ἔτι ἀπολείπεται θυσία, there remains no longer any sacrifice, περὶ ἀμαρτιῶν, for such sins so wilfully continued in, noting thereby the suspension of the prayers of the church, (or the inefficaciousness of them,) which are answerable to the sacrifices of old time; as when of obdurate sinners it is said, that if Noah, Daniel, and Job, the three great examples of powerful intercession, were there a praying for them, they should not be available for the pardon of such. That such as these were deprived of the benefit of the prayers of the church, and out of mere pity delivered up to Satan, as the only remaining charitable method, by that means to rouse and awake them out of sin, is sufficiently known in the ancient canons. And it is the advice of Clemens Alexandrinus, Str. l. 7, concerning such insensate, incorrigible sinners, that we should pray to God for some temporal punishments upon them, as the only reserve behind to make impression on them. And that was done in the anathema or cherem, where they used execrations upon them, not as an act of hatred, but kindness toward them, εἰς ἀλεθρον σαρκὸς, to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. Where still it is not defined unlawful to pray for such, either for their pardon, or for their repentance to qualify them for it, but they are only looked on as excommunicate persons, that must not be encouraged with admission to the public prayers of the church or the privileges of Christians, but marked out and branded and shamed to reformation.*

21. [d] *idols*] The *idols* that are here mentioned are sure those that the Gnostics used. To which purpose there is an eminent place in Eusebius: Οἱ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν μετιόντες αἵρεσιν, τὴν Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, ἥς μὲν ἔδοξαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα δεισιδαιμονίας, οὐδὲν ἦντον αὐθις ἐπιλαμβάνονταί, καταπίπτοντες ἐπὶ γραφῆς καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Σίμωνος, καὶ τῆς αὐτῷ δηλωθείσης Ἑλένης, θυμῶμασί τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ σπονδαῖς τούτους θρησκεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες. Τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀπορρητότερα.—“Those that were of the heresy of Simon Magus pretended to be of the Christian religion, and to have forsaken the superstition of the heathens in worshipping of idols, and yet came back again to that which they pretended to have forsaken, falling down to the pictures and statues of Simon and Helene, and by sacrifice and incense and drink offerings doing adoration to them. And besides these, many abominable impurities, not fit to be named, there were among them.” All which together may well be the εἰδῶλα, *idols*, which the Christians are here warned to beware of.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF JOHN.

[A] THAT this *second* (and so likewise the *third*) Epistle of John was not written by John the apostle, is conjectured in the Posthumous Annotations of the learned Hugo Grotius, and that much more tolerably than what hath been mentioned concerning the second Epistle of Peter. There many changes were to be made in the text to make the conjecture passable; but here all circumstances of the text do fitly enough concur to make it possible that John, which was by St. John the apostle made bishop of the Jewish Christians at Ephesus, should be the author of these Epistles. Of that John the ancient author of the Constit. l. 7. c. 45 makes mention, that as Timothy was made bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul, (that is, bishop of the Gentile Christians there by the apostle of the Gentiles,) so Ἰωάννης ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου, *John was ordained by John*, that is, a second John made bishop of the Jewish church there by John the apostle of the circumcision, Gal. ii. 9, who planted the Jewish church at Ephesus. That this second John, the bishop of Ephesus, was the writer of these Epistles, the chief argument that is produced is that from the title, ὁ πρεσβύτερος, *the elder*, by which this writer calls himself, and not Ἀπόστολος, *Apostle*. A second from the incomplete reception that these Epistles had in the first ages, being not acknowledged by some churches for a while. A third from Diotrephes's *opposing* this author, 3 Ep. 9, which it is thought strange that any Christian should do to an apostle. But these arguments have very small force in them toward the inferring the conclusion. For, first, πρεσβύτερος, *elder*, being a word of honour and dignity, and belonging, in the New Testament, to the supreme ruler of any church, (and to none else that we can discern, see note [δ] on Acts xi,) it may very fitly belong to an apostle residing and presiding in any church, (as it is certain St. John had done at Ephesus for some time,) and the rather, being ὁ πρεσβύτερος, *the elder*, by way of eminence. And this will be more probable, if it be considered what account hath formerly been given (note on title of I. John) of the character of this apostle's style, who useth not in his Gospel (and accordingly it is in his former Epistle, which is acknowledged to be his) to name or mention himself, unless it be by some circumlocution. And such is the ὁ πρεσβύτερος, *the elder*, here. Nay, secondly, the persecutions which were at this time against the church, and wherein St. John was peculiarly involved, might make it prudent thus to conceal his name, and disguise it under this title. Or, thirdly, whatsoever was the reason of wholly omitting his name or title in the first Epistle, may here be of force for his omitting it thus far here. And this will be a ground of answer to the second reason also. For though those churches, whither these Epistles were sent, knew from whom they came, and accordingly never denied them reception, yet having not so public a character upon them as others had, and being not owned by the author in the title, as all St. Paul's (unless that to the Hebrews) were, this might well be the cause that they had not so universal a reception at first, which notwithstanding it yet appears that soon after it was received into the canon,

and this inscription prefixed to it by the church, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Ἐπιστολὴ Καθολικὴ δευτέρα, *The second Catholic Epistle of John the Apostle*. As for the third reason, that of this author's being *opposed* by Diotrephes, which is thought to be a proof that he was not an apostle, this is of no validity, because the heretics of those times, the Gnostics, are known to have opposed and rejected the apostles themselves. So of Alexander St. Paul saith, *he hath greatly withstood our words*, 2 Tim. iv. 15. So of the Gnostics we read, Jude 11, that they were guilty of the *gainsaying of Core*, and that, we know, consisted in their opposing Moses and Aaron, and so in the parallel must denote the opposing the apostles, or governors of the church, sent immediately by Christ; and that that is the meaning of the βλασφημοῦσι δόξας, *speaking evil of glories*, Jude 8, and 2 Pet. ii. 10, as of Alexander's blaspheming, 1 Tim. i. 20, see note [d] on Jude. To the same purpose also it is that St. Paul, having spoken of the Gnostics, 1 Cor. viii, through the whole chapter, proceeds immediately, ch. ix, to the vindicating his apostleship, and the privileges thereof; and so, Gal. 1; and speaking to Titus of these *deceivers*, he calls them ἀνυποτάκτους, Tit. i. 10, *refractory, disobedient*. Of these it is Ignatius's affirmation, that they took upon them to know more than their bishops, Εἰ τις γνωσθῇ πλεόν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἰφθαρται, "If any know more than the bishop, he is corrupted," Ep. ad Polycarp. And not only so, but of Marcus's followers, (a progeny of these Gnostics,) Irenæus plainly affirms, l. 1. c. 9, (and from him Epiphanius, l. 1. hæc. 14 and 34.) that they were so arrogant that they contemned the apostles themselves; and l. 3. c. 2, *dicentes se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam apostolis existentes sapientiores*, "saying they were wiser, not only than the presbyters, or bishops, but even than the apostles" themselves. Which takes away all force from this argument. And then nothing hinders but that the inscription of this Epistle may be true, and John the apostle be determined to be the author of it. And that will be more probable if we observe how agreeable the matter of this is to the former Epistle, fortifying them *in the truth*, ver. 4, in the practice of *charity*, ver. 5, and warning them of the Gnostic *deceivers*, or *antichrists*, ver. 7.

[B] How these Epistles should be called Καθολικαὶ may perhaps be questioned, being not, as that of St. James and St. Peter appeared to be, addressed to the Jews of the dispersion universally or indefinitely, but one of them ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, ordinarily rendered, *to the elect lady*, and the other to Gaius, a particular person. But to this it may be said, first, that it is not certain that these are two particular persons to whom these Epistles belong, (see note [a] on this Epistle.) Secondly, that to whomsoever they were first addressed, they were yet designed to be transcribed by them and sent to others also, and that is the meaning of *catholic*, (the same that of ἐγκύκλιοι ἐπιστολαί,) viz. that these Epistles were designed to go from one church unto another, and were not confined unto any, (see note [b] on the title of St. James.) But then, thirdly, another notion of καθολικὴ, *catholic*, there may possibly be, to signify the universal reception of these Epistles in the church. At the first, beside those Epistles which carry St. Paul's name in the front of them, there were but few that had an universal reception,

only the first of Peter, and the first of John; the rest were not so universally received into the canon of scripture. Hereupon those two so received might at the first be called *catholic*, (and so *κατολικάι*, *canonical* also,) in opposition to those others which were not so catholicly or universally entertained. And then, when upon farther evidence made to the church these others were without contradiction received also, this word *καθολική* might in like manner by the church be added to their inscriptions, to signify that now they were universally received also, that is, accepted into the canon.

1. [*a*] *elect*] That *ἐκλεκτή* signifies a church, and that *συνεκλεκτή* is used in that sense for another, or *sister church*, in the same manner as here, ver. 13, *ἀδελφὴ ἐκλεκτή*, hath been said note [*d*] on 1 Pet. v. 13, to which I shall add the testimony of St. Jerome, Epist. 11, ad Agerrachiam, where, having mentioned the text in the Canticles, ch. vi, *Una est columba mea, perfecta mea, una est matri suæ, electa genitrici suæ*, "My dove is one, my perfect one is the only daughter of her mother, the elect to her that brought her forth," he adds, *ad quam scribit Johannes Epistolam, Senior electæ dominæ et filiis ejus*, "to whom John writes an Epistle, The elder to the elect lady and her children." Now for *κύρια*, it may fitly be set to signify no more than *τῇ δαίνα*, an appellation fit to be used when the name is either unknown or concealed; for in that case, and not only as a title of honour and dignity, it is ordinary to say *κύριε*, (which probably is grown to be in English *cyr* or *syr*.) So John xx. 15, the woman taking Christ for the gardener, and addressing her speech to him as one whose name was not known to her, begins with *Κύριε*, *Syr*. But beside this, it is observable that both *κύρια* among the Athenians, and *curia* among the Romans, signifies the very same that *ἐκκλησία* and *ecclesia* doth, that is, the *assembly*, both as that signifies the persons congregated either for civil or sacred uses, and the place where they thus meet. See the worthy sir Henry Spelman's Glossary, p. 195. And then the words will be best rendered *the elect church or congregation*, some which here is not thought fit to be mentioned by name, or particularly. That he names not this church, may be for the same reason for which among others he names not himself, any otherwise than *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*, *the elder*, viz. because of the persecutions that were then abroad in the world. And indeed that both this and the third Epistle were designed to be sent clancularly, and purposely avoided the eyes of men, appears by the close, common to both, that he had *many things to write*, but would not *commit them to paper and ink*, 2 John xii, and 3 John xiii, in respect of the hazard that that might bring either on them or him, in case they were intercepted, or fell into other hands than those to which he designed them. Agreeable to this it is that we here have mention of the *τέκνα αὐτῆς*, *her children*, ver. 1, and in the like manner, ver. 13; by which phrase the Christians of any church are fitly signified, the title of *mother* being so proper for a church, and so used, Gal. iv. 26, *the mother of us all*. But what church it is that was here designed, or what that other, ver. 13, we have no means to define, any further than by remembering that all Asia being (as far as the Jewish Christians there) the special charge and province of St. John,

and there being seven chief churches or metropolitical sees in that circuit, enumerated Rev. i. 11, it is most probable that St. John being in one of these churches at this time, he wrote unto the other. And if Ephesus were that to which he wrote, (from thence to be communicated to the rest,) there will then be another ground of calling it *κύρια*, as that literally signifies *chief* in power or authority, Ephesus being indeed the chief metropolis of all Asia.

10. [*b*] *neither bid him God speed*] This form of interdict here is an imitation of the practice of the Jews in their *חרם* or *anathema* against the *מומרים* or *apostates*, who were to be excluded not only from commerce, but from the smallest kind of ordinary salutation.

THE THIRD EPISTLE OF JOHN.

1. [*a*] *Gaius*] Who this Gaius was cannot certainly be affirmed. That it is the same that is mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 23, may seem probable by that which is there said of him, that he was *ξίρος μου*, the person that *entertained Paul and the whole church*, or generality of Christians, in like manner as here, ver. 5. Gaius is said to have been very kind *to the brethren and to the strangers*, and to have *furnished them for their journey* in a very liberal manner. But one circumstance there is which is of force against this. This Gaius, Rom. xvi, appears to be a Corinthian, and so to be mentioned there (from whence St. Paul writes that Epistle) as his *host*, and so as an inhabitant, not a *stranger* there. And then there is little reason to doubt but that this is he that is mentioned 1 Cor. i. 14, as one that was there converted to the faith, *and baptized by Paul*, whereas the Gaius here is by St. John called *his son* or *τέκνον*, ver. 4, which signifies him to have been *begotten in the faith*, that is, converted by St. John. Another of that name there is mentioned Acts xix. 39, of whom it is said that he was *συνέκδημος τοῦ Παύλου*, *fellow traveller of Paul*, and this was a Macedonian, and of the city of Derbe, Acts xx. 4, and so distinct from him of Corinth also, and probably from him that is mentioned here, who could not have been so fit for the employment, ver. 5, of *entertaining the brethren and strangers*, if he were employed in preaching the gospel, as a *fellow traveller* of St. Paul. It remains therefore that this Gaius here be some third person, of a Roman name, (Gaius and Caius being all one, and a very common and vulgar name, of which therefore it is not strange that there should be three distinct persons mentioned in the New Testament,) and so some Gentile Christian, an eminent member of that church, ver. 9, to which St. John seems to have written his second Epistle, (see note [*a*] on 2 John,) no where else but in this place mentioned in the New Testament.

7. [*b*] *went forth*] The word *ἐξῆλθον*, *went out*, is capable of two notions. First, it may signify a voluntary going out, and then *ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ*, *for the name of Christ*, must signify their preaching and

propagating the gospel, for which they took their travel from their own country. But *ἐξέρχασθαι* may signify also a violent ejection. So Matt. xvii. 21, speaking of the *ejection* or *casting out* of a devil, the like phrase is used, *τοῦτο γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται*, *this kind goeth not out, by going out* meaning *ejection*. Thus *ܩܕܝܢ* signifies in Syriac *to go out*, and *to be cast out* also; and accordingly, Matt. viii. 12, the Syriac hath *ܩܕܝܢܐܢܐ*, *exibunt, they shall go out*, but the Greek *ἐκβληθήσονται*, *they shall be cast out*. According to which it is that *ἐκβάλλειν* and *ἐκπέμπειν*, *to cast out* and *send out*, are used promiscuously the one for the other: see note [i] on Matt. ix. And then *going out for Christ's name*, is being banished or cast out of their country for the profession of the faith of Christ, which we know the Jewish Christians were, Acts viii. 1, and xi. 19.

9. [c] *Diotrephes*] This Diotrephes was a Christian that from Gentilism received the faith in that church to which Gaius belonged, and to which the apostle seems to have written the former Epistle *commendatory of the brethren*, ver. 9. From hence appears that which was intimated, Rom. xiv. 1, that the Gentile Christians were in part guilty of the breach betwixt the Jewish Christians and them, and not only the Jews. There it seems, as the Jewish *judged and condemned* the Gentile Christians for using their Christian liberty, so the Gentile Christians *despised and set at naught* the Jewish. Here it seems the matter was driven higher, that is, they did not so freely relieve the Jewish Christians that were driven out of their country for the faith, as they ought in Christian liberality to have done. That seems to be the meaning of ver. 7, that the Jewish Christians that were driven out of Judæa for the profession of the faith (see note [b]) were not now in this church of Asia so liberally and hospitably treated as the laws of Christian charity obliged, and as belonged to them as *strangers*, ver. 5, *to furnish them for their journey*, ver. 6. Secondly, they were, some of them, so far guilty in this matter, that when St. John wrote his *letters of commendation* for them, these were not effectual; Diotrephes rejected, or gave *no reception* or heed to his letters; and by this means the rest of the church also, being otherwise willing to have entertained them, were *detained* from doing it, ver. 10. Thirdly, he not only denied them that hospitable reception and relief, but utterly rejected them from their communion, *cast them out of the church*, ver. 10. Whether this Diotrephes were a bishop in this church it may be doubted, or whether only one that immoderately affected that dignity, or assumed it, not belonging to him. *Φιλοπρωτεύων* may signify one that *loves* and useth *immoderately* this dignity when he hath it, and one that seeks it inordinately, or assumeth it. It is possible that he was a bishop, and being so did *ἐκβάλλειν*, *cast out*, the Jewish Christians out of the church, and that in spite of St. John's *commendatory letters*, who had an apostolical power over him, and all other bishops of Asia. But it may also be very probable, that as the heretics of those times did contemn and affront the bishops and apostles themselves, so this Diotrephes might do, without having any real authority in the church, but only assuming it, as *αὐθάδης* and *τολμητής*, a *presumptuous, confident, bold* person.

THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JUDE.

[4] IT is but agreeable to the former conjectures in the Posthumous Annotations of the most learned H. Grotius, to determine here also, as in the second of Peter, and second and third of John, that the writer was not Jude, one of the twelve apostles, and accordingly to affix it to Jude a bishop of Jerusalem. But of this there is no proof offered, save only, first, that he calls himself δούλος, *a servant*, not ἀπόστολος, *apostle*, of *Jesus Christ*. Secondly, that it was not translated into all languages, and received into all churches. Thirdly, that in the catalogue of the bishops of Jerusalem, the fifteenth that is named is called Judas. To the first of these it may be sufficient to answer, that as ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ, *an apostle of Jesus*, signifies one sent upon the services of Christ with commission from him, so it is in effect all one with δούλος Ἰησοῦ, *a servant of Jesus*, and so the latter as proper a style of any apostle of Christ as the former. But then, secondly, in the title of the Epistle, which is the sense of the ancient church in this matter, it is Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, *of Jude the Apostle*; and in the text itself there is a mark as characteristic, ἀδελφός Ἰακώβου, *the brother of James*, which can belong to none but to Jude the apostle. To the second I answer, (as before to that of the second of Peter,) that this Epistle was not so universally known and undoubtedly received at first as other parts of the New Testament; which notwithstanding, it was yet soon after universally known, and translated, and received into the ancient canon, and the apostolicalness of the writing never so questioned by any as to assign it any other author, or to doubt of the truth of any thing contained in it. As for Jude, the fifteenth bishop of Jerusalem, that opinion of his being the author of it affixeth it to the time of Adrian, whereas this Epistle, by the subject of it, common to it with the second of Peter, and by the many passages of agreement, appears to have been written on the same occasion, and about the same time that the second of Peter was, which hath already appeared (see note [a] on title to 2 Peter) to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. And if that were indeed granted to be written by Simeon, the second bishop of Jerusalem, yet that would be a competent distance from Judas, the fifteenth bishop there. The whole business of this Epistle, as of St. Peter, is such as is fully applicable to the times foregoing the destruction of Jerusalem, and the ruin of the Jews, and Judaizing Christians, and Gnostics, involved in the same calamity, out of which only the constant Christians were to have *deliverance*, ver. 3. And so it may very reasonably be affirmed to be written by the apostle St. Jude, clearly defined to be *the brother of James*, (an argument of such force against all the contrary pretensions, that those which doubt of the apostolicalness of the Epistle are fain to leave out those words, but without the authority of any one copy to countenance them,) and that, as the Epistle of St. James, and those of St. Peter, addressed to the Jewish Christians in the dispersion, on purpose, to fortify them against the corruptions of the Gnostics, which had now broke in among them.

4. [a] *before of old ordained to this condemnation*] The way to interpret this, as almost any other difficulty in this Epistle, will be by comparing it with the second of Peter, which is almost perfectly parallel to this. There these men are spoken of, ch. ii. 3; and the passage that there seems parallel to *οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα*, is, *ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχυνὴν ἀπώλειαν*, ver. 1, *bringing on themselves swift destruction*; and, *οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαιαι οὐκ ἄργεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει, for whom judgment for some while lingereth not, and their destruction doth not nod*, ver. 3, which signifies in both places the certain and quick destruction that is likely to come upon those men, who, by complying with the Jews, and professing themselves to be such, to avoid their persecutions, are by the Roman destroyers taken for Jews, and so speedily (soon after this time) devoured. Only in this place is mentioned the *πάλαι προγράφεσθαι*, being *formerly set forth*, or *written of*; answerable to which is 2 Pet. ii. 1, *ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, among you shall be false teachers*, which being an affirmation that *there shall be*, must be grounded on some prophecy or prediction that there should. And that is clearly to be found in Christ's prediction of the destruction of the Jews, Matt. xxiv. 10, before which *there should come false prophets*, all one with the *false teachers* in St. Peter, (see 1 John ii. 6,) by which the Gnostics are certainly to be understood, (see note [d] on Matt. xxiv.) And therefore at the writing of St. Jude's Epistle, these being actually come in, he speaks not of them by way of prophecy that they *shall come*, but applies to them the former prophecy, that they are the men that were *before written* or *prophesied of* by Christ in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and so capable of that title. Instead of this, when St. John, 1 John ii. 18, speaks of this very matter, he saith, *καθὼς ἠκούσατε ὅτι ὁ ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται, καὶ νῦν πολλοὶ ἀντίχριστοι γέγονασιν, as ye have heard that antichrist cometh, so now there are many antichrists*; by which, saith he, *we know that it is the last hour*: just as St. Matthew had made it a prognostic of the coming of that *παρολεθρία* or *fatal period* of the Jews. By this it appears, first, that *πάλαι*, *formerly*, here refers to Christ's time, *προγεγραμμένοι*, *forewritten of*, to Matt. xxiv, or the passage there set down, and *τὸ κρίμα*, *judgment*, or *condemnation*, to that great destruction that should fall about that time upon all the obdurate unbelieving Jews, and false teachers, Gnostics, or other abominable Christians, whose sin is set down in the following words, *ἀσεβεῖς, impious*, &c., *their judgment or condemnation* in these. As for the word *προγράφεσθαι* itself, it signifies no more than *to be set forth*, or *exposed to public view*, (as *πρόγραμμα* is any thing pasted up upon a door to signify ought, *ἔκθεμα*, in Phavorinus,) and so we have it used, Gal. iii. 1, *οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς προεγράφη, to whom Christ hath been set forth before their eyes*; only by the *πάλαι* added to it, it is here made to signify *prophecy* or *prediction*, somewhat *formerly set forth* or *declared* of them. And that not only their sin, their false doctrine, and sly coming in was foretold, but their punishment and destruction also (by this famous coming of Christ to the destruction of his crucifiers) appears, 2 Thess. ii. 8, &c., where St. Paul, foretelling it, most probably refers to some prediction of Christ to this matter. And such is that of Matt. xvi. 25, that *they that will save their lives shall lose them*, and only they that hold out and continue constant in their con-

fession of Christ, shall escape this ruin, Matt. x. 22, and xxiv. 13. And so this is the full meaning of this phrase, *οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα*, men whose impostures first, and then their vengeance also, have been foretold by Christ. Unless we should further add to this, that the judgments that formerly fell on the like wicked men, and the denunciations of those judgments by Enoch, &c., ver. 14, should here be referred to also, as emblematical and typical predictions of the punishment that is sure to fall on these men, upon that principle of divine judgment, that they who are parallel in the sins shall be also in the punishment.

[*b*] *denying the only Lord God*—] The various readings in this place, some having, but the king's MS. leaving out, the word *Θεόν*, *God*, deserve to be considered. If *Θεόν*, *God*, be not read, then the whole period will belong to Jesus Christ alone, without any mention of God the Father, and affirm of him that he is our only *Master and Lord*, referring to his great work of our redemption, by which he thus purchased us unto himself to be his peculiar servants, so as any other false gods or devils, so as Simon Magus, that now set up against him, must never have any part of our honour, or worship, or obedience from him. But if *Θεόν*, *God*, be read, then it will be doubtful which of these two senses is to be affixed to it. For, 1, it may be thus rendered, *τὸν μόνον δεσπότην Θεόν καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*, *Our only Master, God and Lord, Jesus Christ*, making those three the several attributes of Jesus Christ; viz. that he is, first, *our only Master*, secondly, *our only God*, and thirdly, *our only Lord*. And this, understood in the catholic sense of the ancient fathers and councils, is a most divine truth, that Christ is our *Master* by title of redemption, and our *only Master*, not excluding God the Father and God the Holy Ghost, (for as *he* and his *Father are one*, so *he* and the *Holy Ghost are one* also,) but all other pretenders, such as Simon, that thus assumed to himself to be that truly which Christ, said he, appeared to be here on earth; and so in like manner, in the same way of interpretation, that Christ is our *only God* and *only Lord*. And this interpretation proceeds upon that way of punctuation which is ordinarily retained in our copies, no comma after *Θεόν*, *God*, but all read in one coherent sense, *τὸν μόνον δεσπότην Θεόν καὶ Κύριον*, *our only Master God and Lord Jesus Christ*. A second rendering may also possibly belong to it, in case there were, or ought to be, a comma after *Θεόν*, *God*. For then *Θεόν*, *God*, being separated from that which follows, would denote *God the Father*, and consequently *τὸν μόνον δεσπότην*, *the only Master*, must belong to him; which if it do, then it must be affirmed of these Gnostic heretics, the followers and worshippers of Simon, that they did *deny God the Father*, our *only Master*, as well as *they denied our Lord Jesus Christ*. And so indeed we read of him, that he assumed to be that God who appeared to Moses in mount Sinai, and accordingly the statue was erected to him at Rome: and that is the meaning of *exalting himself above all that is called God*, 2 Thess. ii. 4, and of what Irenæus saith of him, that he affirmed himself to be *sublimissimam virtutem, hoc est, eum qui sit super omnia Pater*, "the sublimest virtue, that is, him who is the Father above all things;" and that the Jews' God was one of his angels, and a great deal more. See note [e] on 2 Thess. ii.

7. [c] *eternal fire*] The phrase *αἰώνιον πῦρ*, in all other places, Matt. xviii. 8, and xxiv. 41, 48, signifying the *fire* wherein the damned are *tormented day and night for ever and ever*, Rev. xx. 10, it is yet thought probable that in this place, being applied to these cities of Sodom, &c. it should be taken in another notion, for an *utterly destroying fire*, such being the *fire and brimstone* that fell on those cities. But for this there appeareth no necessity; but on the other side there is a conjuncture of all circumstances of the context to persuade the understanding it here of the fire of hell, as in all the other places. For, first, it is evident, that *Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them*, signify in this place the inhabitants of those cities; for to those only, and not to the walls and buildings of the cities, belongs the *ἐκπορνεύσασαι, having given themselves over to fornication*. And then sure those that *suffer the vengeance of eternal hell*, (and therein are set forth for an example what we Christians, falling into the like courses, are to expect,) are not the walls but the inhabitants also. Now of these it is here affirmed in the present tense, *πρόκειται δῆγμα*, *they that thus formerly sinned are set forth a pattern, or an example*, (as men which are punished are,) *πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι, suffering or undergoing* (at the present, when Jude writes it) *the vengeance of eternal fire*. Of the *unbelieving Israelites* he had affirmed, ver. 5, that *God, ἀπόλεσεν* (in the aorist) *destroyed them*; of the *angels*, ver. 6, that *μὴ τηρήσαντας ἀλλὰ ἀπολειπόντας, having not kept but forsaken their principality, τετήρηκεν*, in the preter tense, *he hath kept them under darkness in everlasting chains unto the judgment of the great day*; and so of these cities in the aorist, *ἐκπορνεύσασαι, having given themselves over to fornication, καὶ ἀπελθούσαι, and having gone*— But now in the latter part of the verse it is only in the present tense; they *are proposed or set forth a pattern or an example, ὑπέχουσαι*, in the present, *undergoing, or suffering, the vengeance of eternal fire*; either not at all referring by those words to their long ago past destruction by fire and brimstone, which was notorious in sacred story, and so sufficiently intimated in the very mention precedent of Sodom and Gomorrah; or if he did, yet withal considering it as a judgment still continued, then begun as an essay significative of what followed, but still protracted without any release, they *still suffer, or undergo, that vengeance of fire*, which *fire* is withal *αἰώνιον, never likely to have an end*. And this is the exactest and properest notion of these words, which I therefore prefer before any other.

8. [d] *dignities*] What the word *δόξαι* signifies in this place, and the parallel of St. Peter, 2 Pet. ii. 10, is a little uncertain. Though it be literally rendered *glories*, in the abstract, yet there is no doubt but that it denotes the persons (the subjects of that *glory or greatness*) in the concrete, as *ἐξουσίαι, powers*, Rom. xiii. 1, signifies rulers, or men in *power and authority*; and *κυριότης*, 2 Pet. ii. 10, those in whom *dominion* is vested. But whether these be men or angels, is not so clear. That they are angels is made probable by these arguments: first, because the appearance of angels in the Old Testament is ordinarily expressed by *δόξα Κυρίου, the glory of the Lord*, the appearances of them being visible in bright shining clouds, as hath oft been said. And so agreeably angels in the plural, or the order or hierarchy of angels considered together, may be called *δόξαι, glories*, that is, those glorious creatures

that attend and wait on God. Secondly, it is observable, Col. ii. 8, that the apostle, speaking of angels, useth the phrase ἀ μὴ ἑώρακεν, *which he*, that is, man, *hath not seen*, expressing the angels by that periphrasis, those that are invisible spirits, never seen, nor consequently particularly known by any man, creatures above us, out of our reach. And so in like manner this apostle here speaking more of these δόξαι, *glories*, ver. 10, expresses them by ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἶδασι, *those things which they know not*; and 2 Pet. ii. 12, ἀ ἀγνοοῦσι, *those which they are ignorant of*, which is an expression directly parallel to that other used by St. Paul of angels. Thirdly, because of other dominions their contempt had been set down before, both in St. Peter and here, by the phrase ἀθετοῦσι καὶ καταφρονοῦσι, *setting at naught, making nothing of, and despising*, scornfully behaving themselves toward their superiors, and so needed not be repeated again in these words. But yet on the other side it must be said, that what was before said of their *setting dominion at naught*, may refer to their doctrine of Christian liberty, or their not being subject to any ruler or master, which is noted in them, 1 Tim. vi. 1; and then this of their practice superstructed on that doctrine, their *speaking contumeliously* of those that exercise that dominion, may be fit enough to be added to the former, and so may be set down in that phrase βλασφημοῦσι δόξαι, *they speak evil of glories*. And that it doth so signify is most probable: first, because we find not in any church writers that the heresy of the Gnostics had any thing in it of particular opposition or defiance to angels, but on the contrary the *æones*, noting the *angels*, make up a great part of their divinity. A second argument may be taken from the mention of the *gainsaying of Core*, whereby this sin of these Gnostics is exemplified, ver. 11, where, as ἀντιλογία, *contradicting*, and βλασφημία, *evil speaking*, are of the same importance, so we know the sin of Core consisted in the *murmuring and rebelling against Moses and Aaron*, that were by God set over them. And for thus doing the Gnostics are (2 Tim. iii.) distinctly compared to Jannes and Jambres, the Egyptian magicians, (and such was Simon and Menander, and the chief of these,) who by their sorceries reisted Moses coming in God's name to the Israelites and to Pharaoh, as these did the apostles of Christ. And so this will be the meaning of the phrase, *speaking ill of those that are set over them*, that is, contumelious usage of the apostles or governors of the church, (who are called δόξα Χριστοῦ, *the glory of Christ*, 1 Cor. viii. 23,) with whom particularly they had many controversies and disputations, (referred to, ver. 9,) in which those *contumelious speeches* on the Gnostics' part would be but effects of their great daring pride, (mentioned 2 Peter ii. 10, immediately before it,) and of their *discriminating themselves* from all others, ver. 19, and so is very probable to have been observable and accusable in them. See note [A] on the title of 2 John.

9. [e] *body of Moses*] What the *body of Moses* here signifies will easily be discerned by comparing it with the place from whence this controversy of the angel with the devil is here cited, and that is undoubtedly Zech. iii. 1. There we have *Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him, or dispute or plead against him, as the standing at the right hand* notes an accuser impleading another, (*Let Satan stand at his right*

hand, psalm cix.) And the only words which are there mentioned from the angel (under the name of *the Lord*) to Satan are these here set down, *The Lord rebuke thee*. Now the matter of controversy then between the angel and the devil, the good and bad angel, was (that which is the subject of that present vision) the reedifying of the temple, and restoring of the service of God among the Jews at Jerusalem. This is called *the body of the Jews*, 2 Macc. xv. 12, where we have *Onias praying for the whole body of the Jews*: and may as fitly be styled *the body of Moses*, in the same manner as the Christian church, or assembling of Christians for the service of Christ, is called *the body of Christ*, 1 Cor. xii. 20, 25, 27. Eph. i. 23, and iv. 12, 16. Col. i. 18. James iii. 2. The Judaical temple and worship and service depending upon Moses, as the lawgiver, or principal, or head under God, from whence it came; as Christ's being the lawgiver of the Christian church, and instituting apostles, &c., in it, is the reason why he is called *the head* of that, and the church *the body of Christ*, as on the other side, we know he calls his body *a temple*, *Destroy this temple*, &c., and the apostle of us, that *our bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost*. Agreeable hereunto it is, that all Christians, as they live together in public communion, congregating together in assemblies, are called (in reference to this notion of *body*) *members*, and *fellow-members*; and the restoring the congregations or ἐκκλησιασμοὶ αὐτῶν, is called *καταρτισμός*, (see note [c] on 2 Cor. xiii, and Ephes. iv. 12.) And so in Ignatius's Epistle to the church of Smyrna, he talks of congratulating with the church of Syria, because they are in peace, and ἀποκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον σωματεῖον, "their body is restored to them;" where their restitution to the free public service of God (such as here Joshua and Zerubbabel were foretold to labour for, and Satan to labour against, and the *archangel* to contend with him about it) is expressed by the *restoring of their own body*. One difficulty here still remaineth, how this example is proper to the point in hand, *speaking evil of glories, or dignities, or dominions*. And that which seems most reasonable is, that the devil here is the same that in other places is called *Beelzebub the prince of devils*, *the prince of the air*, and *prince of darkness*; and, Rev. ix. 11, in the ancient MS. in the king's library, ὁ ἀρχὼν τῆς ἀβύσσου, ὁ ἄγγελος, *the angel, the prince of the abyss, or pit*, who having been once a principal angel in heaven, having lost that dignity, is now the prince of hell, and elsewhere is noted by *principality or power*, he that hath power over the other devils. Now if Michael the archangel, in a quarrel with him about a matter of such weight as was the restitution of the service of God among the Jews, would not use any *bitterness or execration* against him, then how unreasonable is it for these Gnostics, how without all excuse, thus to demean themselves toward the apostles of Christ! That the devil is here looked on in this notion may be concluded by comparing it with 2 Pet. ii. 11, (which sure is parallel to this,) where *speaking evil* of them must needs refer to the δόξα, *glories or dignities*, ver. 10. And therefore if the devil be comprehended there under that phrase, (as here he is distinctly named,) it must follow that he is here looked on as a δόξα, or *dignity*, that is, as a prince, though it be of devils.

11. [f] *the error of Balaam*] This expression of St. Jude, τῇ πλάνῃ

τοῦ Βαλαὰμ μισθοῦ ἐξεχύθησαν, hath much of difficulty in it. What is meant by πλάνη, *error*, may appear by Rom. i. 27, where it is clearly set to signify their seduction to idolatry, of which the Gnostics were guilty, and whereby they fell into all those unnatural sins, *ἀρσενες ἐν ἀρσεσι*, contrary to the φυσικὴ χρῆσις τῆς θηλείας, in the beginning of that verse. Thus is the word πλάνη used, 1 Thess. ii. 3, not only for *seduction* in general, but particularly that of the Gnostics, being there joined with ἀκαθαρσία, *uncleanness*; and so perhaps, Eph. iv. 14, where the *cunning* of the *false teachers* is said to be used *eis* μεθοδίαν πλάνης, *for the contriving*, or *designing of deceit*, or *seduction*, that is, for the infusing this great corruption of the Gnostics, all manner of lust and filthiness: so it is clearly taken, 2 Pet. ii. 18, where πλάνη is interpreted by the ἐπιθυμία σαρκὸς and ἀσέλγειαι, *lusts of the flesh*, and *filthinesses*, preceding in that verse; and as clearly, 2 Pet. iii. 17, τῇ ἀδίσκμων πλάνῃ συναπαχθέντες, *led away with the deceit of unruly men*, referring to the seduction and abominable doctrines of the filthy Gnostics. For that this was the πλάνη τοῦ Βαλαὰμ, *the seduction* into which Balaam brought the Israelites by his counsel to Balak, (when, as the Jerusalem Targum reads, Numb. xxv. 14, he advised Balak in these words: *Veni nunc, consulam tibi quid populo huic facies: fac eos peccare*, "Come now, I will counsel thee what thou shalt do to this people: make them sin,") appears by Numb. xxv. 1, but especially by 2 Pet. ii. 15, and Rev. ii. 14, where this πλάνη is called in one ἡ ὁδός, in the other ἡ διδαχὴ Βαλαὰμ, *the way*, and, *the doctrine of Balaam*. Now for ἐξεχύθησαν, some probability there is by comparing it with that place of Rom. i. 27, (which hath much agreement with this passage,) that it should be a mistake in the copy for ἐξεκαύθησαν, *burning*, there, and denote burning in lust. And thus it is clear the Syriac read it, who render it ܢܪܬܫܡܐ, *exarserunt*, or, as the new Paris edition renders it, *libidinose exarserunt*, "they burnt libidinosously;" but the word as it is, is capable of a very commodious interpretation, so as to agree with the notion given of ἀνάγκη, 1 Pet. iv. 4, for those unnatural sins of uncleanness and confusion of sexes. Thus when the Gloss of Phavorinus (as the printed copies have it) renders ἐξεχύθησαν by nothing but ἡρανίσθησαν, *were destroyed*, and Hesychius by ἐφανίσθησαν, (which must needs be false printed,) that may very probably be a mistake of the copy for ἐπλανήθησαν, used instead of this word in the parallel place, 2 Pet. ii. 15. (So psalm xiii. 2, *παρ' ὀλίγον ἐξεχύθη*, *almost gone out of the way*,) noting here those great declinations and deviations from the right way, these transgressions of the law of nature. And so ἐξεχύθησαν will signify the breaking or running out (as a vessel, Luke v. 37.) into all confusion of lusts and base practices, such as wherein the Gnostics transcended and exceeded all the men in the world. Lastly, the word μισθοῦ hath difficulty and doubt in it, whether being used adverbially it be to be rendered ἀντὶ μισθοῦ, *by way of reward*, or else ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, *for reward's sake*. The parallel place, 2 Pet. ii. 15, inclines to the latter of these; for there, on the mention of Balaam, it is added, *ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἡγάπησεν*, *who loved the reward of unrighteousness*, noting that what he did by his counsel for the bringing the Israelites to these sins, he did out of covetousness, or μισθοῦ ἕνεκα, *to get reward* from Balak. But the other place, (which may pass for a parallel also,) Rom. i. 27, persuades the former: for

there all their *obduration of heart*, ver. 28, *God's delivering them up to the* νοῦς ἀδόκιμος, *reprobate mind*, in doing τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, going on senselessly in all their abominable sins, is said to be ἀντιμισθία πλάνης, *a retribution, or reward, or punishment*, proportioned to their *idolatrous practice*; and so here it will be true of the *seduction of Balaam*, or that Balaamitical filthiness, that the Gnostics were permitted to fall, or by God were delivered up to it without any restraints, as a punishment to their sin in converting Christianity into licentiousness. And this seems to be the more probable rendering of the place, thus, that they fell into those filthy libidinous burnings, or confusions of lusts, the same that Balaam seduced the Israelites into, and this *by way of reward or just punishment*, from God, who thus punished them with desertion, and tradition unto this stupid senseless continuing and multiplying of these sins. Thus when the Syriac renders it ובתר שעיותה בלעם באנרר אשתררר, the Latin interpreter reads *verbatim, Et post errorem Balaam in mercede exarserunt*, and the Latin Paris edition in *mercedem*, both joining the μισθοῦ to the ἐξεκαύθησαν, that they *by way of reward, or for their punishment and reward*, did thus fall into these libidinous burnings, not referring to that of Balaam's doing what he did in contemplation of reward.

12. [g] *trees whose fruit withereth*] Φθινόπωρον is a season of the year: τροπή μετὰ τὸ θέρος, saith Phavorinus, *the season after the summer*; and again, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς πέντε καὶ δεκάτης Αὐγούστου μηνός, *the season beginning from the fifteenth, or, say others, the 22d of August, continued to the same day of December*. Thus is the year divided in *Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathem.* l. 5. c. 1, Ἐν Κριῶ ἑαρινὴ γίνεται τροπή, ἐν Αἰγοκέρῳ δὲ χειμερινή, ἐν Καρκίνῳ δὲ θερινή, καὶ ἐν Ζυγῷ φθινοπωρινή, making this to winter as the spring is to summer. And Olympiodorus in *Meteor.* p. 20, Θέρος εἰς β' διαμερίζεται: εἰς θέρος, ὅταν ἡλιός ἐστιν ἐν Καρκίνῳ καὶ Παρθένῳ, καὶ εἰς ὁπώραν, ἥνικα ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος ἐν Λέοντι ὅταν ὁ Σείριος φαίνεται· ἡ δὲ ἐξῆς ὥρα Φθινόπωρον καλεῖται, ὡς ἂν μετὰ τὴν φθίσιν γενομένη. By which it appears that φθινόπωρον begins after both parts of summer are ended, θέρος and ὁπώρα, after the dog-star hath done shining, when it draweth toward winter, and the season, though it begins in August, on the 15th or 22d, yet reacheth out to Christmas, that is, to the sharpest and depth of winter, and is so called because it begins from the end of the season of ripe fruit, that is, φθινοῦσης ὁπώρας. In this sense of the substantive, φθινοπωρινός, the derivative adjective, must signify that which belongs to that time: and so the Arabic interpreter in the new Paris edition of the Bible reads קריספיה, *autumnales*, and so St. Hierome also; and so φθινοπωρινὰ δένδρα will be *trees* in that condition in which they use to be at that time of year, that is, bare, having lost their leaves, and having nothing desirable on them, (like the *waterless empty clouds* precedent.) So in C^c Cinnamus, after φθινοῦσης ἤδη τῆς ὥρας, which is the dissolving of the word φθινόπωρον, and description of this season, by the decaying of the beauty of trees, &c., it presently follows, ἅτε τοῦ ἀμφιλαφούς ἐπιλιπόντος ἤδη τοῖς δένδροις, "the leaves" or "shade" (ἀμφιλαφες, κατὰσκιον, saith Hesychius) "had now left the trees;" and this a direct emblem of the Gnostics, and quite contrary to the godly man described psalm i. 3, 4, *whose leaf doth not wither*: and then to these is fitly

added *ἀκαρπα*, *fruitless*, trees that have neither the verdure of leaves, nor profit of fruit on them; trees which, beside that they bear no fruit, are deprived and naked, and bare of leaves also; and such are those that are come to the denying of Christian profession itself, as we know the Gnostics did. Another signification seems to be followed by the Syriac, who read *רמופי מבחון*, *quarum fructus emarcuit*, or *defecit*, *whose fruit hath withered*, or *failed*, according to a notion of *φθόνωσιν*, for *ἡ νόσος*, *a disease*, in Phavorinus, that disease probably such as befalls fruit and trees, *φθίνοντα ὀνύρας*, a blast or aut, perhaps *ἑρπύλλη*, *æruge*, that spoils fruit and corn; for, saith Phavorinus and Hesychius, *φθίνα*, *ἡ ἑρπύλλη*, and then *δένδρα φθινοπωρινά* will be *blasted trees*: and this will also do well to signify these rotten putrid Gnostics, a blasted sort of Christians, withal *ἀκαρπα*, *without* any kind of *fruit* on them. But the former of these is most agreeable to the nature of the word, and so fittest to be adhered to.

14. [*h*] *cometh with ten thousand of his saints*] What the *coming of God* signifies hath oft been said, (see note [o] on Matt. xvi, and note [b] on Matt. xxiv.) executing vengeance upon wicked men; and that *coming of his μετ' ἀγγέλων*, *with his angels*, Matt. xvi. 27, those being the ministers and executioners of his vengeance, and withal his *sattelitium* or *guard*, whose presence in any place is the only thing to determine God's omnipresence to one place more than to another. And these are the *μυριάδες ἁγίων*, here, (not *myriads of saints or holy men*, but such as are mentioned Heb. xii. 22, *μυριάδες ἀγγέλων*, *myriads of angels*, or, as the Targum on Deut. xxxiii. 2, *myriades angelorum sanctorum*, where we read only *saints*, from the Hebrew which reads of *holy ones*, that is, angels, but I say) his *holy myriads*, or *hosts*, of *angels*, with *ten thousands* in each, which makes his coming so solemn and so formidable a thing. And thus in the prophecy of Zachary, chap. xiv. 5, where we read, *The Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with thee*, it is to be read from the Hebrew *with all his holy ones*, that is, with his guard of angels, and that (it seemeth) here, *ποιῆσαι κρίσιμ*, *to execute judgment, and rebuke*, &c. That Enoch thus prophesied in his time of these Gnostics under Christ, we are not told; but that he prophesied to them, that is, that his prophecy concerning the excision of the old world, for such sins as these are now guilty of, is very pertinent to them, and fit to be considered by them. Thus we see St. Peter, Ep. 2. ch. ii, applies to them all the judgments that had ever befallen sinners, particularly that in Noah's time, of which that Enoch prophesied there is no question, and we have these remains of it. First, the name of his son *Methuselah*. *שֵׁלַח*, *Sela* in Hebrew signifies *mission*, *sending* or *pouring out waters on the earth*, Job v. 10, *שֵׁלַח מַיִם*, *he sends out waters on the fields*; to which, saith Bochart, Arphaxad related when he called his first-born *Sela*, in memory of the deluge, two years after which Arphaxad was born, Gen. xi. 6. And so in like manner Enoch, that prophesied of this destruction, and foresaw by the Spirit that it would soon follow the death of this his son, he called his name *שֵׁלַח*, *his death, emission*. To this it is considerable what we find in ^dStephanus Byzant. in the word *ἑλόντων*, where, mentioning Enoch, or Hanoth, he saith of him, that he "lived 300

years and above," and that the inhabitants asked the Oracle how long he should live, ἐδόθη δὲ χρησμός οὗτος τοῦτου τελευτήσαντος πάντες διαφθαρήσονται, "and the Oracle answered, that when he was dead all men should be destroyed," (or, as the word will bear, *corrupted*, in that sense in which we find Gen. vi. 2, soon after Enoch's death, *the earth was corrupt before God*, which how it belongs to filthy lusts hath oft been shewed,) which he applies to Deucalion's flood, and the universal destruction there, and adds, that the news of this Oracle was so sadly received by the inhabitants, that ἐπὶ Ἀννακοῦ (perhaps it should be Ἀννακός, for so he hath it before in the genitive case) κλαύσειν, *to wail for Enoch*, is proverbially used, ἐπὶ τῶν λίαν οἰκτιζομένων, *for those that mourn excessively*. Here it is possible that the confounding the two stories of Enoch and Methuselah made up this relation: for as to the latter part, of the flood following his death, that may best belong to the son Methuselah, whose name was thus prophetic; but for the years of his life, those seem to belong to Enoch, for he lived 365 years. Suidas, lightly mistaking his name, calls him Nannac, who, saith he, is reported to be a king before the flood; and foreseeing the approach thereof, he assembled all men to the temple, and with tears, ἰκέτευσε, *prayed* to avert it: and Erasmus out of Hermogenes makes the same relation, and cites the proverb, τὰ Καννάκου κλαύσω, out of Herodes, the Iambic writer, rendering it *Cannace more plore*, as if it referred to his tears for averting the deluge, when it more probably refers to the people's lamenting, forecited from Stephanus. See Eupolemus in Eusebius Præpar. l. 9, who, speaking of Methuselah, Enoch's son, saith, "that he knew all by the angels of God," and (Enoch being all one with Atlas) "by these all astrology came to the Greeks."

16. [i] *great swelling words*] What is meant by the λαλεῖν ὑπέρβογα, here, may best be guessed by comparing it with Dan. xi. 36, where we have the same phrase, λαλήσει ὑπέρβογα. There the context will sufficiently interpret it: *The king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak (marvellous, we render) high swoln things against the God of gods.* There *doing according to his will* is casting off all fear or care of laws or justice; his *exalting and magnifying himself above every god* is his atheistical despising of all religion, whether the true or the false, the Jewish or heathen worship; and his *speaking the high swoln things against the God of gods* is undervaluing the God of Israel, the only true God, and setting up somebody else, as superior to him; the same that is said of the Gnostic heresy, and their leader Simon, 2 Thess. ii. 4, *that he opposeth, and exalteth himself over, or against, all that is called God, or worship.* The same phrase is again used, Dan. vii. 8, στόμα ὑπέρβογα λαλοῦν, *a mouth speaking great, or swelling, or lofty things.* To one or both these passages of Daniel this place of St. Jude seems to relate, joining these two together, *walking after their own lusts, and their mouth speaketh, ὑπέρβογα, high swoln words*, as Dan. xi. *doing according to his will, and speaking high swoln words, &c.* And therefore we have here reason to take it in the same sense that there it appeareth to be used in; and though here be not mention of the *God of gods*, against whom these *stout things* are spoken, yet to supply it

from thence; and so it will agree most perfectly to the character of the Gnostics, 2 Thess. ii. 4, who certainly are the persons here described, For of them it is evident (see note [e] on 2 Thess. ii.) that they attributed divinity unto Simon, made him the *uppermost god*, and the *God of Israel* but a part of his creation, worshipped him and Helena his whore with sacrifices, &c., and so did the very thing that there is said of the king in Daniel. And whereas St. Peter, in setting this down, 2 Pet. ii. 18, adds unto it, *ματαιόγητος, of vanity*, that may fitly be accorded with this in the notion of *vanity* for idolatry, (see note [A] on Rom. viii.) for such was their worship of Simon. See note [b].

19. [k] *sensual*] *Ψυχικός* signifies here those that have no taste of any higher principle in them but of the sensitive soul, that suffer those affections to carry them away, to rule and have dominion over them. Contrary to these are the *πνευματικοί, spiritual*, they that move by an higher principle, that having the assistance of God's Spirit, and divine revelation, do act and move accordingly. From hence it is that heretics, that pretend to greater purity than other men, and so separate from all others also, have generally desired to discriminate themselves from all others by calling themselves *πνευματικοί, the spiritual*, and all others *ψυχικοί, animals*. And so particularly did the Gnostics and their followers in Irenæus; they forsooth were the *spiritual, φύσει πνευματικοί, naturally spiritual*, and had no need of any of those graces and gracious actions which were required to other men, and by their *ἀπολύτρωσις*, a kind of baptism they had, became invisible to the judge; and all the sins they could commit could no more pollute them than the sunbeams could be defiled by shining on a dunghill, or gold by being in a kennel, the very character (a little improved) of these here, ver. 18, *walking after their godless lusts*.

20. [l] *praying in the Holy Ghost*] It is sufficiently known that the apostles, and those that were by the Holy Ghost set apart for the planting of the church, had many miraculous gifts, especially *χαρίσματα* or *graces*; not every one all, but one one, another another. Among these, saith St. Chrysostom, there was in these first times *χάρισμα εὐχῆς, the gift of prayer*, as also the *gift of healing, of singing, prophesying*, &c., 1 Cor. xiv. 26, (see note [g] on Ephes. vi.) This, saith he, was bestowed *εἰς ἓνα τινὰ, upon some one*, who did pray for the rest, and ask those things which were useful for them, and teach others how to form prayers. Some of these special prayers thus conceived, and frequently used by them, which were fit for the common perpetual use of all Christians, were received and kept by those whom they thus taught, and are they which the ancients mean by the *liturgies of St. James*, &c., which, or some other in that disguise, (or rather those with some other later mixtures,) are still used by the Greek church on solemn days. These extraordinary *χαρίσματα*, as long as they lasted, are here called (as other special gifts of the Spirit also are) *Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, the Holy Ghost*, and *Πνεῦμα, Spirit*, Ephes. vi. 18, the immediate moderator, as it were, of all the petitions of the church at that time. But when those extraordinary *χαρίσματα* ceased, it is clear there was need of somewhat else to supply that place, and that would not be (in any reason) to let every man pray as he would, (for, for the preventing of that and the ill consequents of it, it was, that the *χάρισμα εὐχῆς, gift of prayer*, had before been given,) but set prepared forms, for the daily

constant uses, and those provided by the governors of the church, apostolical men, which had benefited under the prayers of those that had the χάρισμα or *gift*, and remembered some forms of theirs, at least the method and manner used by them. And this is the original of liturgy among Christians.

22. [m] *making a difference*] What διακρίνεσθαι in the middle voice signifies, hath been said, note [c] on James ii, and note [f] on ch. iii. viz. *to waver or doubt*. And accordingly if it be here rendered, (as in reason it must, and by analogy with the use of the word in other places,) it will be necessary to adhere to the reading of the king's MS., (which the vulgar Latin also appears to have followed, and the nominative διακρινομένοι will have no sense,) οὗς μὲν διακρινομένους, *some indeed*, viz. *those that waver*, though they are not yet fallen off, either *desire*, have *pity* on them, and out of compassion to such weaklings do all that may tend to the settling or confirming them, or else (as the king's MS. reads) ἐλέγχετε, *reprove them*, after the manner of fraternal correction and admonition, by that means timely to reduce them to perseverance and constancy, before yet they fall off and make shipwreck of the faith: whereas others that are already fallen must be more nimbly handled, even *snatched out of the fire*, &c.

A PREMONITION CONCERNING THE INTERPRETATION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

HAVING gone through all the other parts of the New Testament, I came to this last of the Apocalypse, as to a rock that many had mis-carried and split upon, with a full resolution not to venture on the expounding of one word in it, but only to perform one office to it, common to the rest, the review of the translation: but it pleased God otherwise to dispose of it; for before I had read (with that design of translating only) to the end of the first verse of the book, these words, ἀ δὲ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, *which must come to pass presently*, had such an impression on my mind, offering themselves as a key to the whole prophecy, (in like manner as, *this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled*, Matt. xxiv. 34, have demonstrated infallibly to what coming of Christ that whole chapter did belong,) that I could not resist the force of them, but attempted presently a general survey of the whole book, to see whether those words might not probably be extended to all the prophecies of it, and have a literal truth in them, viz. that the things foretold and represented in the ensuing visions were *presently, speedily, to come to pass*, one after another, after the writing of them. But before I could prudently pass this judgment, which was to be founded in understanding the subject-matter of all the visions, some other evidences I met with, concurring with this, and giving me abundant grounds of confidence of this one thing, that although I should not be able to understand one period of all these visions, yet I

must be obliged to think that they belonged to those times that were then immediately ensuing, and that they had accordingly their completion; and consequently that they that pretended to find in those visions the predictions of events in these later ages, and those so nicely defined as to belong to particular acts and ^fpersons in this and some other kingdoms, (a far narrower circuit also than that which reasonably was to be assigned to that one Christian prophecy for the universal church of Christ,) had much mistaken the drift of it.

The arguments that induced this conclusion were these: First, that this was again immediately inculcated, ver. 3, *ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς*, *for the time is nigh*; and that rendered as a proof that these *seven churches*, to whom the prophecy was written, were concerned to observe and consider the contents of it, *Blessed is he that reads, and he that hears*, &c. (*εὐμαρτυρῶ ἀκοῇ*, saith Arethas, "that so hears as to practise,") *for the time, or season, the point of time, is near at hand*. Secondly, that as here in the front, so chap. xxii. 6, at the close or shutting up of all these visions, and of St. John's epistle to the *seven churches*, which contained them, it is there again added, that *God hath sent his angel to shew to his servants, ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, the things that must be speedily, or suddenly*; and immediately upon the back of that are set the words of Christ, the author of this prophecy, *Ἴδού ἔρχομαι ταχὺ, Behold, I come quickly*, not in the notion of his final coming to judgment, (which hath been the cause of a great deal of mistake, see note [b] on Matt. xxiv.) but of his coming to destroy his enemies, the Jews, &c.; and then, *Blessed is he that observes, or keeps, the prophecies of this book*, parallel to what had been said at the beginning, chap. i. 3. Thirdly, that ver. 10, the command is given to John, *not to seal the prophecies of the book*, which that it signifies that they were of present use to those times, and therefore to be kept open, and not to be laid up as things that posterity was only or principally concerned in, appears by that reason rendered of it, *ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστι, because the time is nigh*, the same which had here at the beginning been given, as the reason that he that considered the prophecies was *blessed* in so doing.

This being thus far deduced out of such plain words, so many times repeated, the next thing that offered itself to me was, to examine and search what was the design of Christ's sending these visions in a letter to the *seven churches*. For by that somewhat might generally be collected of the matter of them. What that design was, appeared soon very visibly also from plain words, which had no figure in them, viz. that they and all Christians of those times, being by the terrors of the then pressing persecutions from the Jews, and by the subtle insinuations of the Gnostics, (who taught it lawful to disclaim and forswear Christ in time of persecution,) in danger to lose their constancy, might be fortified by what they here find of the speediness of God's revenge on his enemies, and deliverance of believers that continued constant to him. This is the full importance of chap. i. 3, and the same again, chap. xxii. 7, *Blessed are they that keep, &c., for the time is nigh*. So in the proem, or salutation, by John, prefixed to this epistle of Christ, (which from ver. 4 to ver. 9, was the result of his observations upon the

^f Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer, c. xiv. 18; queen Elizabeth, Chemnitius, lord treasurer Cecil, the three first angels, c. xvi. 1, 3, 4, Brightman, Apoc. Apoc.

visions, and was not any part of the visions themselves, and so gives us his notion and interpretation of this matter,) we have these words, ver. 7, *Behold he cometh with clouds*, &c. Where the *coming of Christ* being a known and solemn phrase to signify remarkable judgment or vengeance on sinners, (and in the first place on the Jews that crucified him,) and deliverance for persevering believers, (see note [b] on Matt. xxiv;) and the addition of the mention of *clouds*, referring to God's presence by angels, the ministers of his power, whether in punishing or protecting, this *ἔρχεται*, or *coming*, in the present, agrees perfectly and literally with what was before observed of the speediness of its approach at that time, and is an express signification what was the design of sending the visions to the churches, viz. to fortify them by that consideration.

Proceeding therefore by these degrees, it presently appeared by demonstrable evidences, that the first part of that which was thus suddenly to come to pass, was the illustrious destruction of the Jews, (which was also, of all things imaginable, the surest and opportunist comfort and fortification to the Christians at that time, who were virulently persecuted by them, and indeed, as Tertullian saith, owed the beginning of all their persecutions to the Jews.) This appeared, first, by the latter part of the seventh verse of the first chapter, where the οἱ τινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν, as many as pierced Christ, and πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, all the tribes of the land, most clearly denote the Jews, (as ἡ γῆ, the earth, or the land, hath been often shewed to signify, and γῆ, the land, among the Jewish writers, see note [b] on Matt. xxiv,) whose *wailing* (there mentioned in the very words that are used, Matt. xxiv. 31) was to be for the *miseries that came upon them*, James v. 1. For although some few words in this seventh verse (as the *looking on him whom they had pierced*) would seem to make that seventh verse parallel to that of Zach. xii. 10, and so, that it should belong to the contrition or repentance of the Jews for the crucifying of Christ, as that seems to do, (and if it do, may have had its completion at several times in many thousands of that nation, (see Acts xxi. 20,) about *three thousand* being converted in *one day*, Acts ii. 39 and 41,) yet the whole frame of the words of this seventh verse together, *Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and all that had pierced him; and all the tribes of the land shall mourn over, or upon, him*, doth much more fully agree with the like words, Matt. xxiv. 30, where in the destruction (or the *coming of the Son of man* to this destruction) of the Jews we have these words: *And then shall all the tribes of the land mourn, and shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory*, which clearly belongs to the destruction of the Jews. To which I shall only add, that because that *royal coming of Christ* consisted of two parts, to destroy the impenitent Jews remarkably, and as remarkably to rescue or save the penitent believers, (and therefore in that place of Matthew it follows, ver. 31, and *his angels shall gather the elect*, &c., which belongs to that delivering of the penitent Christian Jews,) therefore that also of the Jews repenting for the crucifixion of Christ, (that is, of those Jews that at any time did repent,) may here be taken in, in the richness of this divine writing; and so the ordinary sense of the word in Zachary also will not be left out by this interpretation, which applies this verse to the destruction of the Jews. So chap. vi.

9, 10, 11, *the souls beneath the altar, that cry for vengeance of all the blood that was shed in the land*, is just parallel to that of Matt. xxiii. 35, that *on the Jews of that generation should come all the αἷμα ἐπὶ γῆς, the blood that had been shed on the land, &c.* And accordingly all the rest of that sixth chapter, of the great earthquake, the *sun become black*, and *moon as blood*, and the *stars falling from heaven, &c.*, are the very particulars mentioned in the immediate subsequent discourse of Christ, Matt. xxiv. So most especially, chap. xi. 8, that the scene of these tragedies is the *city where our Lord was crucified*, that is, certainly and literally Jerusalem, called *Sodom* there, but that only πνευματικῶς, *mystically or spiritually* (or in the vision) as the text specifies. So saith § St. Jerome, *Hierusalem ex eo tempore non appellatur civitas sancta, sed sanctitatem et pristinum nomen amittens, spiritualiter vocatur Sodoma et Ægyptus*, "Jerusalem is called Sodom and Egypt," referring to that place of Apoc. chap. xi, which must therefore in his opinion be understood of Jerusalem. And so that Comment, which bishop Tunstall set out for St. Ambrose's, interprets the sixth chapter to be meant of the Jews. And in Arethas, on chap. vi. 12, concerning the earthquake, we find these words: *Τινὲς ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πολιορκίαν ἐξέλαβον, τὰ εἰρημένα τροπολογήσαντες*, "Some expound this tropologically of Vespasian's siege," where the thing of which he makes doubt in that interpretation is the τροπολογία, the *figurativeness* of the speech; (whereas perhaps it may be understood of real earthquakes, see note [f] on chap. vi;) but he objects not against the interpretation or application of it to those times of Vespasian and the Jews. So Rupertus Tuitiensis interprets that chapter of the Jews: and I shall not need make use of the suffrages and consent of many more, who have been forced to acknowledge that truth. But I must suppose that it will be objected and pretended, that this destruction of Jerusalem was past at the time of John's receiving and writing this vision, because it is affirmed by Eusebius, out of Irenæus, that it was received or seen, (^h *ἑώραθῆναι*, *it was seen*,) πρὸς τῷ τέλει Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς, "at the end of Domitian's reign." To this I might reply, from the opinion of ⁱ St. Augustine, and some others, that these visions were not all predictions of what was future, but the description of what had passed "from the first coming of Christ;" and from venerable ^k Bede, that John "recapitulates from the suffering of Christ;" and ^l Rupertus Tuitiensis, that "the Apocalypse comprehends what had been, what is, and what should be the state of the church;" and this to very good purpose, by what was past to confirm Christians in what was future, and now further to be declared. And it would be no great objection against this, that it is all set down as a prophecy, for it is no new thing for prophecies sometimes to speak in the future tense of things that are past; as Dan. vii. 17, *These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth*, where yet the Chaldean monarchy was long before risen, and now near expiration. But to pass this over, I answer

§ Ep. 100. qu. 8.

^h Eccl. Hist. l. 3. cap. 17.

ⁱ Apocalypseis complectitur totum tempus a primo adventu Christi. De Civ. Dei, l. 20. c. 8.

^k Johannem a passione Christi recapitulare.

^l Apocalypseis complectitur qualis fuisset, qualis est, et qualis futurus est ecclesie status.

more distinctly to the testimony of Irenæus : first, that what he affirms concerning John's vision at the end of Domitian, is not of all, but particularly of that vision of the *number of the beast*, ch. xiii. 18. Thus will Eusebius's words be understood, Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦτομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρίθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωρακός. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, &c. "If the name of antichrist ought to be proclaimed openly now, it would have been declared by him that saw the revelation, for it was not seen any long time ago." Where it is clear that ἐωράθη, *was seen*, may belong to τοῦτομα, *the name of the beast*, as before ἐρρίθη, *declared*, did. And that it not only may, but must be so understood, appears by the Latin of Irenæus, (which only is extant,) which reads it thus : *Antichristi nomen per ipsum utique editum fuisset, qui et apocalypsin viderat; neque enim ante multum temporis visum est, sed pene sub nostro seculo ad finem Domitiani imperii*, "The name of antichrist would have been published by him who saw the apocalypse; for it was not seen any long time since, but almost under our age, at the end of Domitian's empire." Where the word *visum* in the neuter, *seen*, not *visa* in the feminine, belongs apparently to the *name*, not to the *apocalypse*. Secondly, I answer, that although it should still be acknowledged to be the opinion of Irenæus, that John received the Revelation and all his visions at the end of Domitian; yet on the other side it is the affirmation of ^m Epiphanius, that "John prophesied in the time of Claudius Cæsar, when," saith he, "he was in the isle Patmos." And that which may give authority to Epiphanius's testimony is this; first, that Epiphanius in that place is a writing against the Montanists, about the authority of the Apocalypse, and that the later it were seen or written the more it would have been for his turn toward confuting or answering them, whose objection it was, that the church of Thyatira, mentioned in the Apocalypse, was not yet a church when that was said to be revealed. And therefore if it had been but uncertain whether it were written so early or no, he would without all question have made use of this as some advantage against his adversaries, whom he was then in confuting. Secondly, that Epiphanius is so far from doing this, that he doth twice in the same place expressly affirm, first, that his being in the isle of Patmos, secondly, that his seeing these visions there, yea and his return from the island, were in the time of Claudius. Having said this for the confirming this assertion of Epiphanius to have as much authority as his testimony can give it, four arguments I shall add for the truth of it. The first negative, to the disparagement of that relation that affirms him banished by Domitian, and returned after his death in Nerva's reign. For of the persecution by Domitian there be but two authors mentioned by ⁿ Eusebius, Tertullian and Hegesippus; but of ^o Tertullian he hath these words : Πειπειράκει ποτὲ καὶ Δομετιανὸς ταῦτο ποιεῖν ἐκείνῳ, μέρος ὧν τῆς τοῦ Νέρωνος ὁμότητος, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα ἐπαύσατο, ἀνακαλεσάμενος οὐς ἐξηλάκει, "Domitian went about to do as Nero had done, being a part of his cruelty;" or, as Tertullian's words

^m Αὐτοῦ δὲ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνῳ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ἐπήρξεν, Hær. Αλογ. 51. and μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος, ib.

ⁿ l. 3. c. 10.

^o Apol. c. 5.

are, *portio Neronis de crudelitate*, "a portion of Nero for cruelty:" and *facile captum repressit, restituitis etiam quos relegaverat*, "but he ceased from it presently, and recalled those whom he had banished:" which no way agrees with his banishing John, and not recalling him all his life, as is supposed in the other relation, and affirmed by P^rEusebius. And therefore Baronius, that is for his banishment under Domitian, in the tenth year of his reign, is forced fairly to reject Tertullian's authority in this matter, giving for it his proof out of Dio, viz., that "Nerva released those who were condemned of impiety, and restored those who were banished." Which affirmation of Dio's being granted, as far as belongs to those who were in exile, or stood condemned at Nerva's coming to the empire, doth no way prejudice the truth of Tertullian's words, of Domitian's having "repressed his severity" against the Christians, "and revoked the banished," (wherein he is much a more competent witness than Baronius.) No more doth his killing of his uncle Clemens, and banishing his cousin Flavia Domitilla; for that was five years after this time of John's supposed banishment, in the fifteenth or last year of Domitian's reign. In the relation of Hege-sippus, (a most ancient writer, that lived in those times,) there is no more but this, that Domitian had made a decree for the putting to death all that were of the lineage of David; that some delators had accused some of the children of Jude, the kinsman of our Saviour, *ὡς ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ*, "as such who were of David's seed;" that Jocatus brought these to Domitian, but upon examination being found to be plain men, and such as believed not Christ's kingdom to be *κοσμικὸς*, or *ἐπίγειος*, of this world, or earthly, but heavenly and angelical, to begin at the end of the world, *ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνέναι, καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμὸν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, "he set them free, and by edict took off the persecution against the church; and they being released became bishops in the church, and continued peaceably," and lived till Trajanus's days. And this certainly agrees very little with the other relation; nor can any account probably be rendered why, when the persecution of Christians was taken off by the edict, and *εἰρήνη γενομένη*, peace restored, to the church of Christ, and when the profession of Christianity, in the sons of Jude, being by them avowed to the emperor, was not yet thought fit to be punished in the least, yet John should be banished, and continue in his exile till Nerva's reign, for no other crime but that of being a Christian. Where by the way Baronius's artifice much fails him: "Tertullian," saith he, "fell into his error by following Hegesippus's authority; but Hegesippus," saith he, "spake apparently *de ea persecutione quæ mota est in Judæos*, of that persecution that was raised against the Jews," not against the Christians. How true that is will now appear, when the express words are, that "by that emperor's edict the persecution against the church" (sure that was not of Jews, but Christians) ceased. Secondly, that about the ninth year of Claudius the Christians were pursued and banished by the Roman powers. That at that time Claudius banished the Jews out of Rome, is evident by Josephus, and acknowledged by all; and that by the Jews the Christians are meant, appears

p Lib. 3. c. κα'.

q Sed plane errore lapsus cognoscitur, dum vult eum quasi facti persistentem exules revocasse. An. 93. n. 5.

by Suetonius, in the life of Claudius, c. 25, *Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*, "He banished the Jews out of Rome for the tumults which they daily raised by the impulsion of Chrestus." By Chrestus it is certain that the Roman writers meant Christ, calling him *Chrest*, and his followers *Chrestians*, as Tertullian observes, *Apol.* c. 3. And so they that were acted by the impulsion of *Chrest*, in that narration, must, though called Jews, necessarily be resolved to be Christians: and what was done at Rome, is to be supposed to have been done also in other parts of the emperor's dominions; and so that edict, mentioned *Acts* xviii. 2, was in reason to reach to Ephesus, and may justly be thought to have involved St. John there. And accordingly chronologers have placed this banishment of his to Patmos in that year. Thirdly, that about Claudius's time it was that the unbelieving Jews began and continued to oppose and persecute the Christian Jews; and thereupon the Gnostics' compliances (and making as if they were Jews, to avoid persecutions) are so oft taken notice of by St. Paul, *Gal.* vi. 12, and elsewhere. And by all the Epistles, both of him and the rest of the apostles, written from about that time of Claudius, the Gnostics are everywhere touched on, as the pests that were creeping into the churches, against which they endeavoured to fortify the believers, and assure them that those persecutions of the Jews should be shortly ended by their destruction, (that *night of sadness far spent, and the day of deliverance and refreshment at hand*, *Rom.* xiii. 12, and xvi. 20,) and that then the complying Gnostics, which were so solicitous to *save their lives, should lose them*, that is, should perish with them. Accordingly, to the very same purpose is most of the vision here that concerned the *seven churches*, chap. ii. 2, 4, 9, 14, 20. and chap. iii. 9, 10, &c., and much of the following prophecy, to assure them that God would take revenge on these impenitent and impure professors, and rescue the constant Christians. And that makes it very reasonable to believe that this vision was received about the same time also. A fourth argument will be taken from the account of the *eight kings or emperors*, chap. xvii. 10, which cannot, I believe, otherwise be made intelligible, but by beginning the account from Claudius, so that he, and Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, shall be the *five that were fallen*; and then Vespasian (in whose time I suppose these visions were committed to writing by St. John) being the sixth, shall be the *one is*, and Titus the seventh, *that is not yet come, and when he comes shall stay but a little while*, reigning but two years and two months, and then the *beast that was and is not, and is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goes to destruction*, will fall out to be Domitian, to whom (and to whom only of all the emperors, nay of all men in any story) all those distinctive characters will appertain, as that he exercised the office of the emperor, and was called *emperor* at Rome, when Vespasian was gone into Judæa, and after his return became a private man again, delivered up the empire to him, and so *was, and is not*; and then was the eighth, (reckoning from Claudius as the first,) and the son of *one of the seven*, viz. of Vespasian, and should be a bloody persecutor, and accordingly punished, and so go to destruction. This seems to me to be a demonstrative character of the time wherein the first of these visions was delivered, and will further yield some answer to the authority of

Irenæus, by interpreting his words *πρὸς τὸ τέλος Δομιτιανοῦ ἀρχῆς*, of the conclusion of that reign of his at Rome, when his father Vespasian was in Judæa, in respect of which it is said of him, *that he was and is not*, that is, that reign of his was come to its τέλος or end, was now concluded; making this not improbably that author's meaning, that John did first (in this time of Claudius) receive some visions concerning this destruction of the Jews, and the other attendants of it, and afterward, in Vespasian's time, while he was in Judæa, and Domitian reigned at Rome, receive more visions, that particularly of the *number of the beast*. For I suppose the several visions of this book were (as those of Isaiah, chap. i. 1, Jeremiah i. 2, 3, Hosea i. 1, Amos i. 1, Micah i. 1, in the reigns of several kings) received at several times, not all at once, or in one day. And if against that presumption it be objected, that they were here sent all together to the churches of Asia, and therefore were all received and written at the same time, to this the answer is most obvious, from what we see done in the forementioned prophecies of Isaiah, &c., in the Old Testament, which, though clearly received in several kings' reigns, and each sent to that king or the people under him to whom they belonged, as it is evident that of Hezekiah was, (and not concealed and reserved till after their death who were concerned in them,) were yet long after the time of receiving the first of them, put into a book, and a title, comprehending them all, prefixed to them. And accordingly there is no difficulty to conceive that John, having first received the vision of the *seven churches*, and, according to direction, chap. i. 11, speedily sent it to them, did *after that* (as *μετὰ ταῦτα*, ch. iv. 1, literally imports) receive more visions at several times, and after all put them together into a book or volume, and dedicate them anew to the *seven churches*, ch. i. 3, and this about the forementioned end of Domitian's reigning in his father's stead, that is, in Vespasian's time, when he was returning from Judæa to resume his power again. I can foresee but one further objection against this date of these visions, viz., that in the epistle to the church of Pergamos, chap. ii. 13, there is the mention and very name of Antipas the martyr, *ὃς ἀπεκράνθη, who was killed*, which may be thought to imply that this vision was received after that part of Domitian's reign wherein Antipas is affirmed to have been slain. To this I answer, that this naming of Antipas by way of prophecy may be as easily and probably believed of the Spirit of God, before the time of his suffering, as the naming of Cyrus before he was born, which we know was done in the Old Testament; nay, as Christ's telling St. Peter that he should be put to death, and particularly crucified; or as Agabus telling St. Paul what should befall him at Jerusalem, Acts xxi. 10; or, as I conceive, Simeon's telling the mother of Christ that *a sword should pass through her soul*, Luke ii. 35. St. Hilary, in his Prologue to the Psalms, offers instances of this; as, saith he, when in some of the Psalms, of which Moses was the author, there is yet mention of things after Moses, viz., of Samuel, psalm xcix. 6, before he was born, *nulli mirum aut difficile videri oportere*, "this ought not to seem strange or hard to any," when in the books of the Kings Josias is by name prophesied of before he was born, 1 Kings xiii. 2. And if *Zacharias the son of Barachias*, Matt. xxiii, be that Zachary the son of Baruch that was killed close before the siege of Jerusalem, (of

which there is little reason to doubt,) there is then a direct example of what is here thus said of Antipas, the *ἐφονεύσατε, ye have killed*, being there said of him, as *ἀπεκτάνθη, he was killed*, here, (see note [g] on Matt. xxiii.) That Antipas was a contemporary of the apostles, and when he died, was extreme old, will hereafter appear out of the Menology; and therefore at what time soever this vision were written, it is certain there was such a man as Antipas, and no doubt a Christian, if not bishop of Pergamos then; and so it is less strange that he should be here mentioned by name than that Cyrus should, before he was born; and no more strange than for any other living person to have his martyrdom particularly foretold. As for the sense of *ἀπεκτάνθη, was killed*, which may be thought to conclude him already killed, sure that is of little weight, it being very ordinary for prophecies to be delivered in words which signify the time past. All this may serve for a competent satisfaction to the grand difficulty. And howsoever in a matter of some uncertainty we may possibly mistake in the particularity of time wherein the visions were received, yet that they belong (much of them) to the business of the destruction of the Jews, there will be little question, when the particulars come to be viewed.

This being thus far evident, it follows to be observed, that the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus was but one part of this *coming of Christ*, I mean of the judgments upon the Jews. Many other bloody acts there were of this tragedy still behind when that was over. Not to mention Domitian's edict of killing all David's kin, (Eusebius, lib. 3. c. 19.) the first I shall insist upon is that under Trajan, till whose reign St. John himself lived, (saith Eusebius, l. 3. c. 23, out of Irenæus, l. 2. c. 39, and l. 3. c. 3, and out of Clemens Alexandrinus,) though not to this part of it. In this emperor's time it went very heavily with the Jews, *Ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίων συμφορὰς κακοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις ἤκρασεν*, saith he, "Their calamities came tumbling in upon them, one on the back of another;" for both in Alexandria, and the other parts of Egypt, and even in Cyrene, many Jews behaving themselves seditiously, and at last breaking out into open wars and horrid cruelties, described by Dion and Spartianus, as well as Eusebius, and once having worsted the Grecians, they of Egypt and they of Cyrene joining together under the conduct of Lucuas, and overrunning all Egypt, the issue of it was, that Trajan sent Marcus Turbo with an army by sea and land, horse and foot, who in a long continued war killed great multitudes of them; and lest they in Mesopotamia should, or suspecting that they had already joined with them, the emperor sent to Quintus Lucius Æmilius, that he should destroy them all utterly out of that province; and for his care in obeying that command, he was, saith Eusebius, constituted *Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν, ruler of Judæa*, under the emperor. These passages we find in Eusebius, l. 4. c. 2; and, saith he, all the Greek writers of the heathens, who set down the stories of those times, have the same verbatim; and so indeed they have. See Dio, as also Spartianus. And the number of the slain Jews in that calamity is reckoned to be no less than two hundred thousand in that reign of Trajan's: and this, if there had been none before, and if there were no more behind, might well be styled a *coming of Christ in the clouds* against

his crucifiers, a lamentable judgment on all the tribes of that land, and so might own the expressions in that seventh verse, and some part of the after visions.

But beside this, yet further, within few years more, in the time of Adrian, Trajan's immediate successor, (who began his reign A. D. 118,) there befell more sad destructions upon the Jews, and particularly upon Jerusalem itself, occasioned by the rising of Barchocheba, who, being but a villain, *φονικὸς καὶ ληστρικὸς τις ἀνὴρ*, one that lived by robbing and killing, took upon him to come as a Messiah, as a light from heaven to the Jews, and therefore styled himself *son of a star*. And with those that he thus raised, a great war there was waged by the Romans in the eighteenth year of Adrian, at the town Bethel, not far from Jerusalem; and the issue was, that the Jews were under a most miserable siege, and Rufus governor of Judæa, on occasion of this rising, without any mercy destroyed all he could come to, men, women, and children, *μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων*, saith Eusebius, l. 4. c. 6, *whole myriads together*; and, to conclude, there came out an edict of Adrian's, after the death of the ringleader, interdicting all Jews, and forbidding them to return to their city Jerusalem again, or so much as to look toward it: to which end the foundations of the temple were ploughed up by Rufus, (and so Christ's prophecy not till now exactly fulfilled, of *not one stone upon another*;) the city inhabited by the Romans, new built, and named *Ælia*, from *Ælius* Adrianus, and (they say) the statue of a swine set over the gate of it, to reproach the Jews, and banish their very eyes from it. And this was another passage which might well be referred to in that place, as matter of mournful spectacle to all the tribes of Judæa, and as mournfully represented in some of the visions. To which must be further added, that the unbelieving Jews are not the only men to whom the destruction here revealed in these visions did belong, but as notably also, and well nigh as soon, the erroneous vile Christians of those times, (which were many of them Jews also, and (those that were not) Judaizers, or compliers with the Jews,) viz. the Gnostics, so oft spoken of in St. Paul's Epistles, and by St. Peter, and St. James, St. Jude, and St. John also, with intimation of their approaching destruction, which here is visible in the vision of, and the causes of the several destructions that lighted on the seven churches of Asia, (if not wholly, yet) at least on the Gnostics and other heretics among them; of whom saith Eusebius, after the enumerating of their heresies, *Λόγον θάρτον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβήκασιν*, "They vanished to nothing in a moment;" and this saith he, in Trajan's time, lib. 3. c. κθ'. And then in the second place, the other enemies of Christ, partakers in the crucifying of him, and afterward eminent persecutors of Christians, those of heathen Rome, as will appear in the exposition of the visions. And then, thirdly, as in a parenthesis, *Gog and Magog*, chap. xx. 8, which, after the peaceable flourishing of Christianity for a thousand years, should waste the church again, the Turks in the East, &c. And then all the enemies of God, at the fatal last day of doom, chap. xx. 11.

That this was the summary matter of these ensuing visions, the most serious pondering of every part soon made unquestionable to me. And of it the reader may here beforehand receive this short scheme, viz. that, after the preface, in the first chapter, to ver. 10, and the visions about *the seven churches of Asia*, each of them set down distinctly,

chap. ii. and iii, this book contains, first, the proceedings of God with the Jews, from the fourth to the twelfth chapter. Secondly, the infancy and growth of the church of Christ in order to the heathen world, till it came through great oppositions to get possession of the Roman empire, partly by destroying, partly by converting the heathen and villanous impure idol-worshippers, from the twelfth to the twentieth chapter. Thirdly, the peaceable, flourishing state of the church for a thousand years, (and after that the breaking out of the Turk, and harassing the eastern churches, briefly touched, together with their destruction, and the end of the world,) most rhetorically described from chap. xx. to the 6th verse of chap. xxii; and from thence to the end of the book a formal conclusion of the whole matter. All which is somewhat proportionable to that which old Tobit prophetically spoke of the times that were to follow him, chap. xiv. 5, which he divided into three distinct spaces: first, the *rebuilding of the temple*, which was now long past, and this book hath nothing to do with that: secondly, the *consummations of the seasons of the age*, that is, the destruction of the Jewish state, which is the first main period here. This is not so clearly set down in our ordinary English version as in the Greek it is: for that reads not as the English doth, *until the time of that age be fulfilled*, confining the continuance of the second temple to the time of that age; but, *ὡς πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος*, *till the seasons of the age be fulfilled*, a phrase near of kin to those many which are used in the New Testament for the destruction of this people, the *latter days*, or *seasons*, *συντέλεια αἰῶνος*, *the consummation*, or *conclusion*, of the age, Matt. xxiv. 3. But in the Hebrew copy, set out and rendered by Paulus Fagius, (which appears to be translated skilfully by some Jew out of the original Chaldee,) there is a very considerable addition to this purpose, *ויעור יצאו בגלות רב וגדול*, *And again they shall go into a long and great captivity*, noting the *greatness* and *duration* of this beyond all the former. That these words in that Hebrew copy are the true reading, appears by the subsequent mention of a *return*, which cannot be sense without this precedent mention of a *captivity*. And that it belongs to that destruction of them by the Romans, appears by another passage, added also in that Hebrew copy, and directly parallel to Matt. xxiv. 31. For as there, after the *destruction of Jerusalem*, ver. 29, is mention of the *angels sent to gather the elect Jews from the four winds*, (parallel to the vision of the *sealing*, Rev. vii,) so it follows in Tobit, but *God, holy and blessed, shall remember them, and gather them from the four corners of the world*. After which follows, thirdly, the state of Christianity, the glorious building of *Jerusalem*, and the *house of God*, foretold by the prophets, (and that building set down, chap. xiii. 16, 17, with *sapphires, emrods, precious stones, pure gold, beryl, carbuncle, stones of Ophir*, in the same manner as it is described in these visions, chap. xxi. 18, 19,) and that to *continue for ever*, or, as the Hebrew reads, *for ever and ever*; and as a prime branch of that period, the *converting of the nations*, and *burying their idols*, (which is here the second main period,) ver. 6, 7. This parallel prediction in Tobit may be of some force to authorize the interpretation of these visions; in all which, as there may be several particular passages either so obscure (from the nature of prophetic style) as not to be easily explicated, or

so copious (and capable of more than one explication) as to render it uncertain which should be preferred, (in which respect I hope and expect that much more light may be added to it by more strict surveys, and comparing the expressions in this book with the like phrases or passages in the prophets of the Old Testament,) so for the general matter of these visions, I suppose, upon pondering the whole, there will be little doubt but these are the true lineaments of it.

And it hath been matter of much satisfaction to me, that what hath upon sincere desire of finding out the truth, and making my addresses to God for his particular directions in this work of difficulty, (without any other light to go before me,) appeared to me to be the meaning of this prophecy, hath, for the main of it, in the same manner represented itself to several persons of great piety and learning, (as since I have discerned,) none taking it from the other, but all from the same light shining in the prophecy itself. Among which number I now also find the most learned Hugo Grotius, in those posthumous notes of his on the Apocalypse, lately published.

And this is all that seemed useful to be here premised concerning the interpretation of this book.

THE REVELATION OF JOHN THE DIVINE.

[1] THE title of this book, as it is ordinarily set, *Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου*, *the Revelation of John the Divine*, hath in it some seeming difference from the first words of the book, which were written by St. John himself, (whereas that other (as the rest of the titles of the books of the New Testament) was by the church of the first ages affixed unto it,) *Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *the Revelation of Jesus Christ*. And this difference is to be reconciled, not by making one of them to refer to the person that received, the other to him that gave the Revelation; for as John received it from Christ, so Christ also received it from his Father, and therefore it is here added, ver. 1, *which God gave him*; but it must be by distinguishing of the time and manner of these revealings. God formerly revealed these future events to Christ the Son of man, as the Mediator by him now designed to convey all knowledge and grace to us; and this he did when Christ entered on his prophetic office, (long before the time here specified,) from whence it was that Christ, whilst here on earth, foretold (in the parable of the king and the husbandmen, Luke xx. 16, and Matt. xxiv, and *sparsim* at other times,) many of the particulars represented in this prophecy, especially that of the destruction of the unbelieving Jews. And in this respect this whole book is entitled *the Revelation of Jesus Christ*, that is, that prophecy which Jesus Christ received from his Father, as *the vision of Isaiah*, &c., is the prophecy which Isaiah received from God, or, that God gave to Isaiah. But then as Christ thought fit to give a representation of this to his *beloved disciple* John, and so John received it as a prophecy to deliver to others, so it is fitly

styled (here in the title) *the Revelation of John*, who received it (in *vision or ecstasy*, ver. 10) by the angel from Christ, as Christ received it from his Father. For this is the meaning of the word Ἀποκάλυψις, *Revelation*, a word ordinarily used in Daniel to signify any knowledge extraordinarily communicated to any by God. Thus is the word used 2 Cor. xii. 1, where he puts together *visions and revelations of the Lord*, (and perhaps expresses it, ver. 2, by ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ, *a man in Christ*, as here, ver. 10, by *being in the Spirit snatched into the third heaven*,) so again, ver. 7, *abundance of revelations*. So Gal. ii. 2, *I went up by revelation*, that is, by impulsion of the Spirit of God; and Ephes. iii. 3, *by revelation* (that is, by Christ's speaking to him from heaven, and other the like visions, which, it appears, he had, 2 Cor. xii. 7.) *God made known to me the mystery*. In other places the word is used in a greater latitude, for an *exposition or interpretation of any sacred figure*, &c., however come by, though not by immediate inspiration from God, the ררר among the Hebrews, expounding of difficulties, (see note [b] on 1 Cor. xiv.) and yet more widely, 1 Pet. i. 7, for Christ's revealing himself in judgment on his adversaries, and rescuing the faithful. But here it is according to strict idiom no more than *vision or prophecy*; and so the title of Enoch's book, cited Jude 15, was Ἀποκάλυψις Ἐνῶχ, *the Revelation of Enoch*, but in St. Jude's style, (προεφῆτευσεν Ἐνῶχ,) *the Prophecy of Enoch*. And if in this notion of the word, (which is peculiarly that which here, and chap. i. 1, belongs to it,) Mr. Brightman entitled his comment on this book *Apocalypseim Ἀποκαλύψεως, the Revelation of the Revelation*, (as it seems he did by *applying the words of scripture, *The Lord hath spoken, who can but prophesy?* to his own performances in that Comment, adding that "God not only spake of old by dreams and visions, but daily now, whensoever he enlightens the minds of his servants to the fetching out any hidden truth of his word: and that when God doth thus communicate with any, he understandeth a necessity imposed on him to make it known to others, and that the danger is not shewn to him for his own private sake,") I cannot but affirm that he hath grossly mistaken his business, and endeavoured to impose false prophecies upon his reader. For though by the help and grace of God, sought only by prayer, and by the use of means instrumental to that end, and subordinate to that grace, (such are comparing scripture with scripture, and prophetic expressions with the prophetic style, and symbols with symbols, and the observation of the use of words and phrases in the sacred dialect,) it be possible to attain to the expounding or revealing some secret senses of scriptures, which without the uses of these means will not be attainable; yet may not the interpretations of any mere man (which hath not the gift of prophecy) pretend to be the word of God. And whosoever shall profess thus to *reveal the Revelation*, by *God speaking to him*, and doth not evidence his calling and mission prophetic, especially if he pretend

* Dominus locutus est, quis non prophetet? Non solum enim Dominus per somnia et visiones antiquitus locutus est, sed etiam loquitur quotidie, quoties mentes servorum suorum illustrat ad erudiendam latentem veritatem verbi sui, eandemque profereandam in apicrum. Quicum autem Deus hoc pacto communicat, necessitatem intelligit impositam sibi patefaciendi aliis quod ipse accepit. Numquid enim accenderetur lucerna, ut subter modium poneretur? An commune periculum alicui privatum in suam unius gratiam indicaretur? &c. Epist. Dedicat.

to have learned from the Revelation things so distant from what there we read, as are Germany, and France, and Brittany, of this last century, from the churches of Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, in Asia, then in being when St. John by Christ's appointment wrote this prophecy to them, must needs be looked on as a false seer or false prophet. And this is done by master Brightman in express words, saying, that he 'had "learned out of the Apocalypse that a most heavy trial was now suddenly to invade the Christian world," (as if what was said to be *sudden* near 1600 years since, were sufficiently fulfilled by being *near at hand* forty-four years ago,) "that the churches of Britain, Germany, and France, were most favourably admonished of this tempest by Epistles written to them by name; that he, by divine impulsion or direction," (or what else *divinitus* can signify,) "found these very Epistles, which signify this thing, and from the inscriptions of them understood to whom they were sent, and durst not but dispatch them to them, lest either by intercepting or concealing them he should be condemned of wrong offered to the divine Majesty." And that "those Epistles do not foretell this by any doubtful conjecture, but teach in clear words what he thus thinks fit to affix on them." The least that can be said of this is, that it is the *adding to the prophecies of this book*, chap. xxii. 18, the obtruding his own fancies for divine revelations. And if the sad calamities which have befallen this British church since the writing of this new Apocalypse of his be conceived to conclude him a true prophet, in his presaging against the angel of that church, it will be as reasonable to ascribe divinity to the heathen auguries and oracles also, as oft as any part of the event followed any one of them: whereas indeed of any contingent future event there being only two things possible, either that it will or that it will not come to pass, and persecutions, and schisms, and commotions, and seditions, and changes of government being so frequent, that whatsoever church or kingdom hath long withstood such onsets may at last by some advantage industriously sought, and maliciously laid hold on, not improbably sink and fall under them, whatsoever is or can be foretold in this kind with any common prudence will not be improbable to fall out (in some part) within forty or fifty years' space. Nay whatever it is, some advantage it will have toward the completion by having been foretold. As when by the flying of the birds (so casual and insignificant a thing as that) the Roman augurs promised the soldiers a victory on their side, the courage thus infused into them by believing that prediction did oft contribute very much to the obtaining the victory, the same may in some measure be said in this particular. But much more considerable is the influence and consequence of that doctrine which is so frequently inculcated by the expositors of this book, that

t Cum ex Apocalypsi didicissem gravissimam tentationem in totum Christianum orbem mox invasuram, &c., atque vos Christianas Britanniae, Germaniae, Galliae ecclesias scriptis nominatim Epistolis de hac tempestate indulgentissime moneri; ego has ipsas Epistolas quae rem hanc significant, quasi projectas in medium divinitus offensus, ac intelligens ex inscriptionibus ad quas datae erant, non ausus eram easdem vobis non reddere, ne intercepti et clam habendo apud me, lesae divinae Majestatis condemnarer. Ep. Ded.

u Epistolae hae non ambigua conjectura rem augurantur, sed disertissimis verbis docent, &c.

the people are they that must pull down antichrist, whilst kings espouse his cause: than which nothing can be more effectual and direct toward the raising and fomenting of commotions, to which the prosperity of them is as probably consequent, as victory to the number and courage of an army: and so though the prescience of God, (which is not his decree,) and the predictions of true prophets, which are but rays of that prescience, have no proper immediate influence on the effect, nothing of causality in them, yet these vain delusions of those false prophets may have had much of (improperly so called, yet) real efficiency, and, if so designed by them, of guilt in them. All which proves the wickedness and dangerousness of such designs, but gives no authority to the interpretations.

Having said thus much in general of master Brightman's Apocalypse, I shall not think it amiss to give the reader some view or taste of his way of interpreting, and the grounds wherewith he contents himself. And it shall be by mentioning his explications of the prophecies of *the seven churches*, which are in themselves the most clear and intelligible of any part of the whole book, (as belonging peculiarly and by name to the chief episcopal sees of Asia, sufficiently known to all, and, in respect of the matter and expressions used in them, more perspicuous than almost any part of the prophecies of Isaiah, but much more than those of Ezekiel and Daniel,) but by him detorted and wrested from their native intelligible sense to far distant purposes. This view I shall not choose to give here out of its place, but leave the reader to make it up, by putting together these few notes on the three ensuing chapters, note [g] ch. i, notes [b] [d] [g] ch. ii, and note [a] ch. iii.

[B] That the title of Θεολόγου, *the Divine*, is here given to the writer of these visions, and not Ἀποστόλου, *the Apostle*, is not from any imagination of those that affixed it that the apostle John was not writer of them, but because that title of Θεολόγος was by the ancients, Origen especially, bestowed on this apostle, in respect of the divinity and sublimity of his manner of writing, observable in his Gospel, and particularly because he began it with setting down the divinity of Christ, (whereas others begin with his birth or humanity,) the Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, *the Word was God*. This title had by the Platonists been given to Orpheus, in relation to the book concerning the gods written by him, and so to Linus and Musæus also; those three ordinarily known by the name of *Theologi Poetæ*.

CHAP. I.

[a] 2. *the testimony of Jesus*] *The testimony of Jesus* is the gospel, as it was preached and testified by him, the μαρτυρία πιστὸς, *most creditable authentic witness*, ver. 5; and accordingly it is called, 1 Cor. i. 6, *the testimony of Christ*, and, 2 Tim. i. 8, *the testimony of our Lord*, and *the testimony of God*, 1 Cor. ii. 1. For as there is the μαρτυρία, *record* or *testimony* that *God testified of his Son*, John viii. 18, both the *voice from heaven*, and the *miracles* which he did, &c.; and as the apostles' office (and the Baptist's, John v. 30.) was peculiarly that they should *testify of Jesus*, John xix. 35 and xxi. 24, Acts i. 22, so it was the great prophetic office of Christ that he should *testify of the truth*, declare the will of God, and demonstrate (by prophecies, by miracles, by laying down his life, and by his resurrection, and descent of the Holy Ghost)

that it was such, (see note [c] on chap. iii.) Thus in the ninth verse of this chapter, where John is said to be in *the isle Patmos*, (that is, banished for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus,) the meaning is evident, that he was in that exile for having preached that gospel of Christ: *Λόγος Θεοῦ, εὐαγγέλιον ὃ ἔγραψεν*, saith Andreas Caesariensis, "the word of God is the Gospel which he wrote;" not that it is certain that he had written it when he was banished into Patmos, but because that very Gospel which he wrote upon the entreaty of the Asian bishops, for the confuting of Cerinthus, &c., was in substance preached before by him throughout all Asia, and many converted to the faith by it.

4. [b] *Asia* That Asia here signifies not that fourth part in the division of the world, but (in another notion of the word known to geographers) the Lydian or Proconsular Asia, is largely demonstrated by the most reverend archbishop of Armagh, in his discourse on that subject. Thus the word is used Acts xix. 26, where Paul is said to have *persuaded much people, not only at Ephesus, but almost through all Asia*; where Asia must needs be that province of which Ephesus was the chief metropolis: and so Acts xx. 18, all the bishops of Asia are (by letters sent to Ephesus) summoned to meet Paul at Miletus; where as he foretells them, ver. 29, that *soon after his departure cruel ravenous wolves will enter in, not sparing the flock; and that among themselves will arise false teachers*; and accordingly Timothy was then left metropolitan of Ephesus, that *he might charge such, μὴ ἐρεοδιδασκαλεῖν, not to disseminate these false doctrines*, 1 Tim. i. 3; so it appears it soon fell out; for St. Paul tells Timothy, 2 Tim. i. 15, as a thing known by him, that *πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, all they that were in Asia rejected him*, which in all reason is to be understood of the generality of the bishops near, if not under this metropolitan, of whom two are there named by him, Phygellus and Hermogenes. That it was the heresy of the Gnostics that thus infested these churches, may appear by the Epistles to Timothy, where they are distinctly named by the *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις, science falsely so called*, 1 Tim. vi. 20, and by the *μῦθοι and γενεολογίαι, fabulous*, poetical theology, consisting of strange genealogies, imitated from the heathen poets, which the Valentinians had from the Gnostics, and are described at large by Irenæus in his description of that heresy. And accordingly here is Christ's message sent to these bishops of Asia, to reprehend and warn them against this heresy. Now in this Asia, as there were many cities, so there were some *metropoles, chief, or mother cities*, to each of which the lesser adjacent cities were subordinate. Of this sort the first was Ephesus, saith Ulpian, *τῶν μητροπόλεων Ἐφεσος πρώτη*, in l. Observ. D. de Off. Procons. Such again was Thyatira, saith Ptolemy, *Θυάτειρα μητρόπολις*, Geogr. l. i. c. 2. Such Philadelphia, in the ^x council of Constantinople *sub Mena*; *Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Φιλαδελφείων μητροπόλεως τῶν Λυδῶν ἐπαρχίας*, "The bishop of the metropolis of Philadelphia of the province of the Lydians." Of the same rank are Laodicea, Sardis, and Smyrna, affirmed to be by Pliny, (Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 29,) as cities wherein the Roman proconsuls residing, kept courts for all the adjoining cities to resort to; and the same he affirms of Pergamos, c. 30. By which it appears that all the seven

^x Act. 5.

cities here named were *metropoles*, and accordingly under these seven all other Christian churches of this whole proconsular Asia were contained: of which number as it is reasonable to think that there were more than seven at the time of writing this Epistle, (Paul having spent *two years* in preaching the gospel in Asia, and *all the inhabitants* said to have received the faith, Acts xix. 10,) so it is evident in Ignatius's time (which was not long after this) that Magnesia and Trallis, upon the banks of Mæander, (Τράλλις πόλις Ἀνδίας πρὸς τῷ Μαϊάνδρῳ ποταμῷ, saith Stephanus Byzantius, π. πάλ.) being consequently included in this Asia, were episcopal churches or cities, Damas being bishop of one, Polybius of the other, and so subordinate to the metropolitan of Ephesus.

[c] *the seven spirits*] There is some question what is here meant by the ἐπτά πνεύματα, *seven spirits*. Some interpret them to be *the Holy Ghost*, in respect of the seven graces of that Spirit; some the several operations of God's providence, which they conceive to be mentioned chap. v. 12, and noted by *the seven eyes*, Zach. iv. 10, and Rev. v. 6, which are there called *the seven spirits of God sent unto all the land*: but δοκιμώτερον τοὺς ἀγγέλους ταῦτα νοεῖν, "it is more reasonable to understand the angels by them," saith Andreas Cæsariensis. So Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. 6, Ἐπτά μὲν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντες πρωτόγονοι ἀγγέλων ἄρχοντες, "There are seven which have the chiefest power, the first-begotten princes of the angels;" where the πρωτόγονοι ἄρχοντες, *first-born princes*, is sure taken from Dan. x. 13, where the Hebrew reads השרים הראשונים, *the chief princes*, of which Michael is there said to be *one, or of the first*. So Tobit xii. 15, *Seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints*. And there appears no reason why *the seven eyes* in Zachary, and here, chap. v. 6, interpreted *the seven spirits of God*, should not be the angels of God; the same that stood before God, chap. viii. 2, as here they are before his throne; it being ordinary for the officers employed by persons to be called *eyes*. These *seven spirits* we find again, chap. iv. 5, where, in reference to the number of the lamps on the candlestick in the sanctuary, they are called *seven lamps*. And they there seem to refer to the *seven deacons* in the church of Jerusalem, God being before likened to the *bishop*, and the saints to the *twenty-four elders*. And if it be thought strange that John should pray for *grace and peace* from the angels, which here he seems to do from the *seven spirits*, I answer, first, that these and the like words, *Peace be to or with you*, are but a form of greeting or salutation, which includes in it all good wishes of the things mentioned, but not a solemn prayer to those persons named in the form. This may appear by Christ's taking leave of his disciples, John xiv. 27, where he tells them he *leaves peace with them*, and *gives his peace to them*, that is, he takes his leave of them, greets them at parting, (and bids them not be troubled at it, nor affrighted,) adding, that he *gives it to them, not as the world gives it*, that is, he greets them heartily and affectionately, and in doing so, doth more than in the world is wont to be done by such salutations. Men are wont to use these words, *Peace be to you*, &c., formally, and by way of civility, but oft do not wish it when they say it, and can never do any more than wish or pray for it; but Christ bestows it by wishing it. Where, first, Christ uses this greeting, and yet doth not pray to his Father in doing so, but actually

bestows it, and saith he *gives* it them : nay, the men of the world are said to *give* it, though not as Christ doth. Both which note a difference betwixt such salutations and prayers. But then, secondly, supposing it a prayer, yet the action of prayer being not addressed to the *seven spirits*, whether immediately or terminatively, there can be no inconvenience from thence to define the *spirits* to be angels. For it is certain that the angels are used by God as instruments to convey his mercies to us, (and the word *peace*, as the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם, in salutations especially, signifies all kind of mercies, all prosperity,) and then those mercies come from the angels immediately, though originally from God. And accordingly Jacob, in *blessing Joseph's sons*, having mentioned God, *before whom his fathers did walk, the God which had fed him all his life*, Gen. xlviii. 15, adds, ver. 16, *the angel which redeemed me from all evil*, (that is, *the angel* by whom as by an instrument or servant God had done this for him, and which had so often appeared to him,) *bless the lads*, &c. ; where, though he prays not to the angel but to God, yet he may and doth pray that God would continue to use the angel's service in blessing the lads which he had used in blessing him. And if it be further objected that these *spirits* here are named before Christ, and therefore must not be *angels* ; I answer, first, that the order of setting down is no note of dignity or priority in the scripture. In these benedictions the Lord Jesus is generally named before God the Father. And, secondly, if the *spirits* should signify the various operations of the Divine providence, as some, or the graces of the Spirit, as others would have them signify, this inconvenience will also hold against either of those, that they should be named before the second Person in the Trinity, and a further inconvenience also, that *grace* should be said to come from graces, or from operations, or that any thing but persons, God or angels, should have to do in conveying grace and peace unto us. But then, thirdly, the reason why the mention of Christ is left to the last place is evident, first, because the angels being God's attendants are accordingly joined with him, not as one equal with another, but as servants following the master : and, secondly, because there was more to be said of Christ than the bare naming him, as appears ver. 5, 6, 7, which made it more convenient to reserve his mention to the last place, in which that might most commodiously be spoken.

6. [*d*] *kings and priests*] This phrase βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς τῷ Θεῷ, is taken out of the Jerusalem Targum, Exod. xix. 6. There the Hebrew reads ממלכת כהנים, *a kingdom of priests*, but that Targum reads מלכין וכהנים, *kings and priests*, and the Septuagint, βασιλευσιν ἱεράτευμα, *a royal priesthood*. From the Septuagint, St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 9, reads βασιλευσιν ἱεράτευμα, *a royal priesthood*, writing to the Jews of that dispersion which had the Septuagint's translation in their hands ; and St. John here, and ch. v. 10, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς, *kings and priests*, in respect of those Jews again who had that Targum in their hands also. And the meaning of both the phrases is to be conceived the same, agreeing with the first notation of the Hebrew phrase, *a kingdom of priests*, that is, a nation not going on in the ways or customs of other people, but *populus alius*, "a several distinct people," as the Targum reads it, ver. 5, consecrated, as it were, and set apart for the service of God, as the priest's office is to wait upon God's service continually.

Such were the Jews to be by God's command, and by their entering into covenant with God, Exod. xix. 6. And such must the society of Christians be now with Christ, who requires them to perform these offices of devotion, and that in public assemblies instituted for that turn; and not only at some few set feasts or times, but continually (morning and evening at least,) the whole Christian's life being typified by the Jew's sabbath, and so the necessity lying on them to *serve God truly, praise him, bless him, pray to him solemnly all the days of their lives*. That we should do so was the main end of Christ's redeeming us, Luke i. 74, Tit. ii. 14; and in relation to that it is here said, that Christ *washed us from our sins by his blood, and made us kings and priests to his God and Father*, that is, by his blood bought us to be the constant servants of God, waiting on him and serving him (the whole Christian church) avowedly, *all the days of our life*. To this sense is the place of St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 9, to be understood: for, ver. 5, he is upon an exhortation, that they, as *living stones* of Christ's *holy building built on Christ a living foundation, join together into a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer, &c.*, that is, to join together into a Christian assembly or church, meeting together continually (as the priests were wont) to serve God, and pray to him, and praise him, which God will accept of through Christ, as he did of the corporal sacrifices of the Jews. To this he adds a testimony out of the Old Testament to enforce it, ver. 6, which foretells God's purpose to gather a church that should believe and confess him publicly, (that is the meaning of *not being ashamed* of him, Rom. x. 10, 11,) which testimony being applied to them, (as also in another part of it, which comes in as an accessory to the former,) ver. 7, 8, he comes back again, ver. 9, *ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασιλευσὶν ἱεράτευμα*, but you are a choice stock, a royal priesthood, which in all probability is, as the first verse had been, not only (or so much) an affirmation what they were, but an exhortation what they ought to approve themselves to be; or if an affirmation, yet that in the force of an exhortation, (like that in Exodus, whence it is taken, *Ye shall be to me a kingdom of priests*, that is, I command or require you to be so, or, *If you will obey my voice, you shall*, that is, this act of obedience I require from you; so there) *ye are a choice kindred, a kingdom of priests*, (that is, Christ hath bought you that you should, and therefore you ought to be so,) *a peculiar people*, set apart on purpose to this office, as it there follows, to *praise and magnify God*, and declare the power of his grace, which hath wrought such a change in you. And this is most effectually done by a constant public service of him. To the same purpose also is that other place, wherein these words are again made use of, Rev. v. 10, where the *living creatures* and *elders* offering up *the prayers of the saints*, ver. 8, (that is, the persecuted Christians alive then, before the destruction of the Jews, approaching and drawing nigh, ver. 9,) and those *prayers*, it seems, prophetic praises (expressed there by *incense*) for what they foresee Christ would speedily do for them, they *sing a new song*; the effect of which is, that Christ having been crucified by the Jews, slaughtered, as other prophets had been, should yet have the privilege beyond all them to work a notable vengeance upon those bloody men, that is, to *open the seals of the book* which contained all those *woes* in it against that people, ver. 9; and by doing so, by acting that revenge on his crucifiers, and

the persecutors of Christians, it follows there in the song, that God had gathered them, (that is, the saints that prayed,) and brought them back from their dispersions and captivities, as it were, and made them *kings and priests unto God*, that is, a kingdom of priests, a congregation, or church, or multitude of men daily serving God, meeting at the public assemblies to worship and sacrifice to him: which was remarkably the effect of the Jews' destruction at that time, those having been the chief persecutors of Christianity, and hindering their public assemblies where they had power, and where they had not, yet so calumniating the Christians to the Roman emperors and officers, that they had for some time brought great persecution upon them, and most severe interdicts of all public meetings. As for that which this place in the epistle to the churches peculiarly refers to, I suppose it is that degree of indulgence which the Christians now had received from the emperors in some degree, from Vespasian and others after him, according to that of Tertullian, in his Apologetic, *Quales ergo leges, quas adversum nos soli exequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes, quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri Christianos, quas nullus Adrianus, nullus Vespasianus, quanquam Judæorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit*, "The laws against Christians Trajan took away in part, and neither Adrian, nor Vespasian, nor Antoninus Pius, nor Antoninus Philosophus required to be executed on them." So saith Eusebius of Vespasian, *μηδὲν καθ' ἡμῶν δόκον ἐπινοήσας, he practised no cruelty against the Christians*, (see 2 Thess. ii. 1.) And this is there expressed, Rev. v. 10, by *we shall reign upon the earth*, that is, we shall live here (instead of a state of persecution) in a royal, cheerful way of liberty, to assemble and serve God publicly. And so chap. xx. 4, *ἔβασιλευσαν, they were kings, or reigned, with Christ a thousand years*, that is, enjoyed peaceable days of Christian profession. As Dan. vii. 18, *The saints of the Most High shall take and possess the kingdom*, signifies that the Jews should be delivered from the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, (as it fell out in the time of the Maccabees,) and have liberty to serve God publicly in the assemblies again. And so Rev. xx. 6, being *priests unto God*, and *reigning a thousand years*, signifies the churches enjoying freedom and tranquillity (under the Christian princes' favour) to serve God in the congregation. That these are called *ἡμέραι ἀναψύξεως, days of refreshing*, see Acts iii. 19. This gives a ground of probable conjecture concerning the time when this entire book of visions, put all together, was, with this preface, sent to the churches, viz. in those days of Vespasian, wherein (as far as concerned the emperors' edicts) the church received this great tranquillity, but that not perfected to them till the Jews were destroyed, at which time it is again repeated, Rev. v. (see note [d] on chap. xvii.) And if against all this it be objected, that these persecutions of the Christians, though for a while superseded in Vespasian's and Titus's times, yet soon returned again in Domitian's, and in some degree in Trajan's, and soon after were very frequent in great violence, so as to fill up the number of the ten persecutions within 270 years after Christ: to this I shall answer in the words of Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 8. c. 1, speaking of the times immediately before Diocletian, the last persecutor, "To shew," saith he, "what glory and liberty the Christian doctrine had obtained among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians,

before the persecution of Diocletian, requires too great a work for me to perform. This," saith he, "appears by the good will of the emperors, and the great favour of their officers to whom they intrusted the governing of countries, who have granted the Christians liberty and security, permitted them in their palaces, and in their sight, them and their whole families, &c. Who," saith he, "can recount the multitudes of assemblies in every city? who can describe the confluges to the oratories and the spacious churches which they built from the foundation, not contenting themselves with the ancient edifices? These," saith he, "no envy could suppress, no evil spirit bewitch, nor man hinder, as long as Christians lived worthy of God's protection. But when the lives of Christians degenerated through too much liberty into softness and sloth, and Christians hated and reproached one another, and with those weapons of the tongue invaded and fought with one another; when bishops set upon bishops, and people raised seditions against people; when hypocrisy and shows of piety filled all places; then by little and little the judgments of God, as they are wont, began to visit us: and when we used no means to appease God, but multiplied sin upon sin, as if God did not respect or consider our sins, and so there was nothing left among Christians but contentions, emulations, hatred, enmity, ambition, tyranny, &c., then God, as he said by Jeremy, made the daughter of Sion dark, and cast down the glory of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his wrath, &c.: and all this," saith he, "was fulfilled upon us; churches pulled down, Bibles burnt, bishops of the church contumeliously used, &c. Of which all that I have to say is to justify the righteous judgment of God." And so he proceeds to set down the words of the emperor's edict against the Christians, chap. 3. In which words is contained a full answer to this objection; for God's promises being but conditional, and the mercies contained in them no longer ascertained to us than that condition is performed by us, this tranquillity and peaceable enjoyment of assemblies, which is here promised, and afterwards oft repeated, cannot be expected to continue any longer than Christians walk worthy of it; and when they do not, the greater the blessing is, the fitter is it to be withdrawn from them; the discipline which is provided for Christians being a *delivering up to Satan*, when they offend against the Christian rule, that so they may be taught amendment. But beside this, other uses there are of the frequent returns of persecutions, to teach them vigilance, and make trial of their Christian fortitude, and to give them occasion to practise all other Christian duties of patience and meekness, and so make their *light shine before men*, which would otherwise be more dim. And in this matter it is observable, that as Christ's promise of the greatest temporal felicities, the richest harvest, the *hundred-fold more in this life*, hath the mixture of *θλίψεις*, persecutions, joined with it, so this promise of being *kings and priests unto God*, had its mixtures also. When the Jews were destroyed by Titus, and so the Christians' persecutions ceased under Vespasian and Titus, yet in Adrian's time the Jews under Barchocheba raise a sedition again, and lie very heavy upon the Christians, because they would not rise and join with them, (see chap. xi. 7,) and so there were some gleanings of evils still behind from the Jews after this signal cessation here spoken of. And when the Jewish malice was at an end, then the heathen

emperors are stirred up by the devil, magicians, and oracles, to persecute the Christians; and so it often fared with them till Constantine's time, that is, till the Roman emperor was converted to the faith; and then the promise is, chap. xx, that for the *space of a thousand years* they shall *live and reign with Christ*, that is, that for that space Christian religion shall be no more interdicted or persecuted: and that promise was perfectly performed. And so still the objection is of no force against the truth of this promise thus interpreted. This hath been here thus largely said once for all, to clear the many passages of this nature which are to be met with in these visions, and in other parts of these books.

7. [e] *cometh with clouds*] That Christ's *coming* denotes this middle coming of Christ in vengeance on his enemies, and for the rescue of his constant servants, this especially now approaching in the destruction of the Jews, hath been shewed, note [b] on Matt. xxiv. And that the addition of *the clouds, with which he comes*, is not an argument against this sense, may appear by *the cloud* in the wilderness, which signified God's presence to defend the Israelites, and *the cloud* on the tabernacle, which noted God's special presence there, and by the psalmist calling *the clouds his chariot*, the ordinary way wherein God exhibits himself present to men, to protect or to punish, (and not only at the day of the final doom,) and by Isa. iv. 5, where *the cloud* upon *mount Zion* is the defence in the end of the verse; and by the very same phrase, Dan. vii. 13, *the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven*, when *dominion, glory, and a kingdom* are given unto him, ver. 14, (which is not by any pretended to belong to the day of doom, but to Christ's kingdom, here in, though *not of this world*;) and by the same phrase repeated, Matt. xxiv. 30, *the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory*, (which yet was to be within the compass of *that generation*, ver. 34;) and so Luke xxi. 27. And so among the heathen we have the like phrase; as when God is said by Homer to come to Diomedes, Iliad. l. 5, v. 186,

— νεφέλῃ εἰλύμενος ὄμους,

"having his shoulders wrapped in a cloud," and that there on purpose to defend him. And in Virgil, when Jupiter came to assist Æneas, Æn. 7, v. 142, it is said of him, that

— radiis ardentem lucis et auro

Ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab æthere nubem,

"he shewed a cloud from heaven burning with rays of light and gold." By all which appears how properly is signified by this phrase Christ's protecting his constant servants, as well as punishing his enemies, which are two special acts of his regal power, to which he is installed by his resurrection.

15. [f] *fine brass*] That χαλκολίβανος should be rendered *fine brass*, will be liable to this exception, that it is against analogy that the former part of the word, χαλκο, should be set to denote the thing itself, which must rather denote some attribute of, or ingredient in, the thing spoken of; as, χαλκέντερος, sure is *one that hath entrails of brass*, not *brass that hath entrails*; and χαλκοχιτώνες, *they that have coats of brass*, (armour,) not *brass that hath coats*; so χαλκόμυια is not *brass like a fly*, but a kind of *fly*, whether in colour or something else, *having a resemblance of brass*. And so in all other the compounds, the latter part of

the word noting the thing or person, the former some attribute of it. That interpretation of Andreas Cæsareensis seems more reasonable, who, after the former, (and one more for *brass that is dug out of mount Lebanon*.) gives a third notion of the word, that it is *χαλκοειδὴς λίθινος, ὃν ἰατρῶν παῖδες ἄρρενα καλοῦσιν, εὐώδεις, πυρὶ ὀμιλοῦντα, ἀτμοὺς ἀποπέμποντα*, “amber that looks like brass, which physicians call the male amber, which coming near the fire sends out a perfume.” Of this Dioscorides speaks thus, *Πρωτεύει δὲ ἄρρην καλοῦμενος σταγωνίας*, “The male is more excellent, called *stagonias*.” And of this doth Suidas further speak, *Χαλκολίβινον, εἶδος ἡλέκτρον, τιμώτερον χρυσοῦ ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἡλεκτρον ἀλλόττυπον χρυσίον μεμιγμένον ὑέλφ καὶ λιθείᾳ, ὅποιος ἐστὶ συνθέσις ἡ ἅγια τράπεζα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας*, “It is a sort of amber more valuable than gold. Now this amber is mixed with glass and stone, of which mixture is the communion table of the great church.” Thus Ezek. i. 27, *I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of fire, round about within it*: where, *as the appearance of fire and the colour of amber*, are of the same importance, so here his *feet* that are said to be *like amber*, are in the next words again expressed, *ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένοι*, *as it were set on fire in a furnace*. This amber being of all things nearest the colour of fire, and not of the flame of fire, for to that before his *eyes* were compared; which two being joined with his *head* and *hair*, *white as a fleece*, make up the representation complete. For as in a great flaming fire, the lower part, the fire itself, looks like amber, then the flame being higher than the fire, differs in colour from that, but the top of the flame looks perfectly *white*: so it is here; the *head* and the *hair* are white, (being the uppermost part,) the *eyes*, or countenance, as an ordinary flame, but the *feet*, or lower part, of the *colour of amber*. All together making up a fiery flaming appearance, (see note [f] chap. ix,) to represent the gloriousness of this coming of Christ to judgment upon his enemies, as he doth in the subsequent visions. After the same manner God sitting in judgment is represented, Dan. vii. 9, he himself, his *head*, *hair*, and *garments*, *white as snow or wool*; then under that the *throne like a flame of fire*, and under that the *wheels as burning fire*.

19. [g] *the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and—*] The phrase *καὶ ἃ εἰσι, καὶ ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι*, may possibly be rendered *and which are, and which shall come to pass*: and if it be so, then it must denote these two other sorts of things, the one then present, and the other future, over and above what he had now *seen*, ver. 13, (which was only the laying of the scene, and the title as it were and breviate of the ensuing visions of the seven churches, his care of them, and his severity to all that provoke him to it.) But it is much more probable that the first *καὶ* should be rendered *both*, thus, *Write the things which thou hast seen, viz., the seven lamps*, ver. 13, and *seven stars*, &c., ver. 16, (of which it is here added, ver. 20, *ὧν εἶδες, which thou hast seen*, where the *εἶδες, thou hast seen*, belongs to this, not to any former visions,) *both which are, and which shall come to pass after them*, noting this vision (if it belong only to that) to describe both the present and future estate of those churches; but if it extend further to the rest of the prophecy, then noting the subsequent visions to contain these two heads of matter, the present and future dealings of

Christ with his church, permitting them for their trial to suffer a while, but at length upon their perseverance rewarding them. Of both these it will then be here said, *γράφον ἃ εἶδες*, *write the things which thou hast seen*, of both these sorts, some the representation of present events, the present estate of Christianity, and then others the representation of what should for the future come to pass; in both which Christ's care of his faithful servants, and punishing of his enemies, and of all that fall off from him, will be discernible. In the expounding these words Mr. Br. hath made use of a special subtlety, and on that (as he confesses) built his ensuing interpretations. For having rightly concluded from the plain words, that the *ἃ εἶδες*, *the things which thou hast seen*, are *tam res futuræ quam præsentēs*, "things future as well as present," he interprets that thus, that every one of those *seven churches* signifies two things, one literally, then present, (of which, being the only true, he hath generally little to say,) and another by way of antitype in that prophetically contained, (as *the church of Ephesus*, beside that which literally it signifies, must be the whole primitive church from the apostles to Constantine, and the like,) and by that means hath obtained a liberty of fancying whatsoever he will, though never so distant, and affixing it as the antitype or second interpretation of those visions of *the seven churches*. The falseness of which process is further visible from the very words on which he lays all his weight, (confessing the observation of that little thing to have been his key to the whole interpretation.) For if, as he would have it, the thing there affirmed were, that the same things were *both present and future*, the phrase must then be *ἃ καὶ εἰσι καὶ μέλλει γίνεσθαι*, *which both are and shall be*, whereas the phrase is quite otherwise, *the things which thou hast seen*, *καὶ ἃ εἰσι καὶ ἃ μέλλει*, *both which are and which shall be*, or possibly, *and which are*, &c., which clearly is a distribution of the visions in respect of the matter of them, into two sorts; one, the matter of which was then present, the other, the matter of which was to come to pass not long after; and no way a distribution of their completions, that these visions were to be doubly fulfilled, once at that present, a second time 1600 years after. The grossness of this deceit was here to be displayed, as being the one (groundless) support of the whole ensuing interpretation, which all presently vanisheth (as far as concerns this second completion) without any further confutation.

20. [h] *angels* Ἄγγελοι here are, no question, the governors of these *seven churches*, ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίαις ἰσαριθμοὶ ἑφοροὶ ἄγγελοι, saith Andr. Cæsarens., "so many overseers for so many churches," so many singular persons to rule, one in each of them; thus called, as the officers and ministers of Christ, (*ascending*, as it were, and *descending* on *Jacob's ladder* between God and them,) in ruling them, delivering God's messages to them, and also returning their messages or prayers to God. Thus in a Saxon MS. Biscopas gýndon zober býelap, *bishops are God's bydels*, that is, messengers or officers. See sir Henry Spelman's Glossary in the word *bedellus*. This title was given to the chief priest in the Old Testament, particularly in Malachi, *For he is the angel* or

γ Cujus exiguae rei observatio viam mihi aperuit ad intelligendum, ut arbitror, particulares Epistolas, p. 16.

messenger of the Lord of hosts, whose lips therefore were to preserve knowledge, and from thence, as from the oracle, the people were to require the law, to receive knowledge and direction for their duty. These angels are by ancient writers known and affirmed to be bishops, one in every of those sees, (and not only so, but *metropolitans*, to whom the bishops of the adjacent cities were subordinate: see note [b].) And this course of government is here owned and approved, by Christ himself, by his sending those messages to those angels in these churches, and by his holding the stars, which resemble them, in his right hand, ver. 10, and chap. ii. 1, whilst he visits, or walks, in the midst of the candlesticks or churches. As for Mr. Brightman's only argument to the contrary, because there is mention of many bishops or elders of Ephesus, Acts xx. 17, 28, that is easily answered, that the bishops of Asia were the men understood in that place, who met Paul at Miletus; but that they are *episcopi Ephesi*, "bishops of Ephesus," is a direct falsification of his, there being no such phrase used in that place. And for that one objection which by some is drawn against their being single persons, because, chap. ii. 24, after speaking to the angel of Thyatira, it is said, *ὡμῖν δὲ καὶ λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐν Θυατείροις*, but to you and the rest that are in Thyatira, as if the angel before were the *ὡμῖς*, you, here, the answer will be easy, if it be observed, that in the ancient Greek MSS., particularly that at St. James's, the *καὶ* is left out, and the words read, *ὡμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐν Θυατείροις*, to you the rest, or, to the rest of you that are in Thyatira, and who have not known the depths, as they call them, but those depths of Satan, &c. Where the *ὡμῖν τοῖς λοιποῖς*, you the rest, or the rest of you, is set in opposition to the Gnostic complying party among them, before mentioned, and belongs not to the angel or bishop, but as one and the prime of that pure, constant party. I need add no more for answer to this so slight an objection. These angels are here described by the hieroglyphic of stars, in token of their office to illuminate, and send out influences to rule the faithful under them, as the sun and the rest of the stars do this inferior world; and the churches where they preside are called *λυχνία*, sockets for lamps, or candlesticks, as being the places where these stars, as so many lamps or torches, do shine, where they are set or fastened, to give light to all that come into the room. Now because these angels are so considerable parts in the churches, therefore it is that the messages which are sent to the whole congregation of Christian professors under them are here addressed particularly to the angels, chap. ii. 1. And so in the rest, where though the angels were single persons, yet what is said to them is not said only to their persons, but to the universality of the people under them, whose non-proficiency, or remission of degrees of Christian virtue, especially their falling off from the constancy and courage of their profession, do deserve (and are accordingly threatened with) the removal of that Christian knowledge, that grace, those privileges of a church which had been allowed them, chap. ii. 5, which is not so properly applicable as a punishment of the bishop, as of the people under him. And therefore in the Paraphrase I have generally changed the singular into the plural number, by that means to leave it indifferently to the bishop of each church and the people under him, and yet further to the other churches subordinate

to each of the *metropoles* here named. (Of the word *ἄγγελος* see more in note [e] on Acts xii.)

CHAP. II.

2. [a] *say they are apostles*] Who these pseudo-apostles were that this church of Ephesus had tried and found liars, may perhaps be reasonably affirmed out of the stories of those times. Gaius in Eusebius, l. 3. c. κη'. sets down the story of Cerinthus the leader of an heresy, that he pretended revelations, written *ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου*, *by some great apostle*, and related *τερατολογίας*, *prodigious narrations*, *ὡς δι' ἁγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας*, *as shewed him by angels*; and then delivered his doctrines of a temporal kingdom of Christ after the resurrection, and that men should in Jerusalem live again, and *δουλεῖν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδοναῖς*, *serve lusts and pleasures*, and spend the space of a *thousand years ἐν γάμῳ ἰορτῆς*, *as in a nuptial festivity*. The same doth Dionysius Alexandrinus in his second book, *τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν*, set down, speaking of Cerinthus and his followers, and their doctrine, *ἐπὶ τῷ ἔσθθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν*, *that Christ's kingdom should be an earthly one*, and (agreeable to his fancy, who was *φιλοσώματος καὶ πάνυ σαρκικὸς*, *a very carnal man and lover of the body*,) that it should consist in the satisfying of the paunch and lust, *σιτίοις, πότοις καὶ γάμοις*, *in meats, drinks, and marriages*, and to that purpose, (that there might be the more plenty of these,) *ἰορταῖς, καὶ θυσίαις, καὶ ἱερῶν σφαγαῖς*, *in feasts, and sacrifices, and killing of beasts or victims*. And Irenæus, lib. 1, goes further, mentioning some *ἀπορρητότεραι ψευδοδοξία*, *doctrines of filthiness not fit to be named*, which he taught his disciples. And this, it seems, in Asia, and it is very probable in Ephesus itself, of which we now speak. For that John, after his return from banishment, lived there, we find affirmed by Clemens, in his narration of him transcribed by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. κγ'. And that he going into a bath on a time, and finding Cerinthus to be there, leaped back, and went out, not enduring to be under the same roof with him, for fear, as he said, that it should fall, when such an enemy of Christianity as Cerinthus was in it, is the affirmation of Irenæus, l. 3, out of a tradition of Polycarp: see Euseb. l. 3. c. κη'. And two circumstances more to our present purpose will be observable in that author: first, that the Nicolaitans here mentioned to be hated by this church, ver. 6, did rise immediately after Cerinthus and his followers, (*ἐπὶ τούτων δὴτα*, *saith Eusebius*,) and are therefore set down immediately after them in the course of his History, c. κθ'. Secondly, that Dionysius Alexandrinus comes to take him in, in his discourse on occasion of this very book, the Revelation, *περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως εἰπὼν τινα ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν παραδόσεως*, *saith* ² *Eusebius*, "having expounded some parts of the Revelation out of an ancient tradition." Whether this were the place of the Revelation which he so expounded, I cannot affirm; but of this I am sure, that he and his followers, pretending to have received their revelations from some prime apostle, and affirming the prodigies he spake of to be shewed him by angels, may well be said to *say they are apostles* (that is, to have commission from heaven for their doc-

² Lib. 3. c. κη'.

trines) when assuredly they were not such. And that the church of Ephesus was not deceived by him, but found out and rejected his errors, appears by St. John avoiding him in that place, as one that was so known an enemy of the truth, that he speaks to all that were with him, *ἔρχομεν*, &c., *Let us not come near this vile person*; which is an interpretation of the *ὃ δύνῃ βασιλάσαι κακοῖς*, here in this verse, their *not enduring* these vile carnal gossellers, but separating from them.

4. [*b*] *hast left thy first love*] The phrase *ἀφῆκας τὴν πρώτην ἀγάπην*, is to be rendered, *thou hast remitted*, or *abated*, *thy first love*; for so *ἀφίναί* signifies (being applied to things of this nature) *remission* of degrees of any thing, as that is contrary to intension of them. Master Brightman's fancy on the word is very observable, (and from thence it will be easy to judge of the solidity of the grounds on which he proceeds in his interpretations,) ^a "Every one of the churches," saith he, "hath such a name given it as will declare its whole condition, as it were by marks written in the forehead." "Thus," saith he, "*ἀφῆκας*, *thou hast remitted*, doth sufficiently teach what the ^b Spirit considered in this city, viz., that it was Ephesus, as it were, *ἀφεσις*, *omission*," &c., from whence he presently gathers, that by *Ephesus* is meant the whole primitive church till Constantine's days. Thus pitifully slight are the marks and characters by which he passeth his judgment, and on which he founds his interpretations. For besides that Ephesus is the name of a city and church known in the scripture, and doth as punctually signify that, and nothing but that, as London signifies London, (and it may be as reasonable to say that the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians had a particular aspect on the whole church till Constantine, as that this part of St. John's epistle to the angel of the church of Ephesus belongs to it,) the allusion of *aphecas*, (for that is the word, *ἀφῆκας*.) to Ephesus, is as remote in sound as one could well imagine; but then in signification much more, *ἔφεσις* signifying *desire* or *appetite*, but *ἀφεσις* *remission* or *loosing*. Now for the other part of this phrase, *πρώτη ἀγάπη*, it is here not the *love* or care of the bishop toward the flock, as master Brightman would have it, but the great love toward Christ, which first was in them, (not their *first love*, as that signifies the object of it, *Christ*; for the leaving or utter forsaking of him were not reconcilable with the other commendations which are here given of them, particularly the *ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις*, *thou hast patience*, at the present, thou perseverest still in the Christian faith; but it is) their *first zeal* and fervency of love toward Christ, (see Matt. xxiv. 12,) which it seems was in process of time much remitted in the Christians of that church. This *love*, when it is *perfect*, *casteth out fear*; he that hath it will make no scruple to die, or undergo any danger for Christ: and thus had this church formerly behaved themselves toward Christ, *κεκωλίασε καὶ οὐ κέκμηκε*, ver. 3, *they had endured*, and passed through difficulties, *and not fainted*. But now it seems they were fallen into a great and dangerous remissness in this particular; of which, therefore,

^a Perspicuum est consulto delegisse spiritum hæc ecclesie, quæ vel ipsis nominibus tanquam inscriptis quibusdam in fronte notis totam suam conditionem indicarent. p. 20.

^b Satis docet quid Spiritus in hac urbe spectavit, nimirum *Ἐφεσον* tanquam *ἀφεσις* omissionem, &c. lb.

if they *repent not*, they are threatened with *removal of their candlestick*. What this remissness was, may perhaps be guessed by what we see prophesied of by Christ, Matt. xxiv. 12, and by what we find affirmed of the Gnostics, (and among them of a famous leader, Basilides,) who, we know by St. Paul's Epistles, had crept at that time into the churches, particularly into that of Ephesus. Now of their many doctrines and opinions, this one is by Eusebius (and before him by Origen, l. 6, contra Cels.) distinctly mentioned, l. 4. c. ζ. ἀδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπογενομένους, καὶ ἐξομνυμένους ἀπαρφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διωγμῶν καιροὺς, "that it was an indifferent thing, and no sin, to eat things offered to idols, and confidently to abjure the faith in times of persecution." This is clearly, though sarcastically, set down by ^cLucian, or whosoever was the writer of Philopatris, scoffing at the Christians of his time, under the persecutor Trajan, in that dialogue. There Triphon, that goes for the Christian, first endeavours to convert Critias to his religion: and as in that dialogue it appears that the Christians talked much of the approach of ^druin to the Roman army and greatness, (which might make Triphon so well pleased with his profession, and so forward to invite others to it, as to a party that would soon be very prosperous,) so at length in the close of the dialogue, when Cleolaus brings them news of the Romans' good successes in Persia and Assyria and Egypt and Scythia, which fell out about the fifteenth of Trajan, then Triphon would speak no more of Christianity, but, as an apostate or deserter, betakes himself to the ^eunknown God at Athens, and joins with Critias in that worship, as that which was likely to yield him most safety, and then laughs at the Christians, and gives them leave to say what they please, flatter themselves with their imaginary hopes; but οὐ φροντίς ἱπποκλειδῆ, in the proverbial speech, he considers them not, looks no more after them. To this also the emperor Adrian's epistle seems to refer, which is set down by ^fVopiscus out of Phlegon, where, speaking of the great levity of Egypt, (in reference, I suppose, to these heretical Christians in those parts, followers of Simon Magus, Basilides, &c., whom, under the title of *Samaritæ*, he distinguishes from Christians,) that it was ^g "light, pendulous, flying from one side to the other upon every slight report;" he after expresseth it distinctly, ^h "Those that worship Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are devoted to Serapis." And again: ⁱ "The very patriarch," (that is, either some high priest of the Jews, or some Gnostic pseudo-patriarch of Alexandria, or some venerable grave man among them,) "when he comes into Egypt, is by some" (that is, by the heathen officers) "forced to worship Serapis," for fear of persecution from them, and "by others"

^c Tom. 4.

^d Κατεφλυνθρουν τὰ αὐτῶν ἑράσμια ὡς μεταλλαγῶσι τὰ πράγματα, εἰ ταῖς δὲ καὶ ταραχαῖς τὴν πόλιν καταλήθονται, τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν ἐναντίων γενήσονται. p. 481.

^e Ἡμεῖς τὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔγνωστον ἐφευρόντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες, p. 487.

^f In Saturnino.

^g Levis, pendula, et ad omnia famæ momenta volitana.

^h Illi qui Serapim colunt Christiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episcopos dicunt.

ⁱ Ipse ille patriarcha cum in Ægyptum venerit ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum.

(that is, the Christians) "to worship Christ." Adding, in fine, that ^k "they have one God, whom Christians, and Jews, and all, even the Gentiles, worship." This doctrine of the Gnostics had, it seems, gotten into other churches; for to it the apostle distinctly speaks, (at least as far as belongs to the first part of it, which generally was attended with the other, the *eating of idol-sacrifices* being designed by them to avoid the persecution of the pagans, as well as the other of *renouncing the faith* was to avoid the persecution of the Jews,) 1 Cor. viii. 1, and thereupon it is that he speaks of *γνῶσις*, *knowledge*, so much, vv. 1, 2, 7, 10, 11, and opposes to it *ἀγάπη*, *charity* or *love*, ver. 1, this *love* of Christ, the thing which now we speak of, and bid them take heed how they use their *ἐλευθερία*, the Christian liberty, upon which they grounded the indifference of doing thus. And upon this ground, and in this sense of *loving the Lord Jesus Christ*, it is, I suppose, that, chap. xvi. 21, he pronounceth *anathema* in the highest degree against him that *loves not our Lord Jesus Christ*, viz. him that renounces him in time of temptation. For as for want of inward love, not expressed in some such scandalous act, that cannot come under the church's censure, nor be fit matter for an anathema. And so Phil. iii. 18, he mentions them under the title of *the enemies of the cross of Christ*, (mentioned also by Polycarp in his Epistle to them, p. 23,) that is, those that were not at all for the suffering of persecution for the faith, (the other part of that doctrine of theirs,) *whose end*, saith he, *is destruction, their God their belly*, (by which they are again described, Rom. xvi. 18,) *minding earthly things*, (and, it seems, nothing else,) and therefore would not lose any of them for the profession of Christ. And in many passages in the Epistle to the Ephesians, it appears, by his fortifying them against the deceits of these Gnostics, that they were a creeping into that church also. And particularly, chap. v, where not only the prohibition of all the *ἀκαθαρσία*, *αἰσχρότης*, and the *μὴ ἀνήκοντα*, all that *abominable filthiness*, was by the apostle set down on purpose, in opposition to the doctrine and practice of the Gnostics, vv. 3—6, (as appears by the *μηδεὶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις*, *let no man deceive you with vain words*, persuading you, as the Gnostics did, that this was part of Christian liberty, and but an indifferent thing also,) but particularly his close of salutation to all those *that love the Lord Jesus ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ*, so as not to be *corrupted* by any of the baits and seductions of those evil times, in opposition, as I suppose, to the Gnostics in two particulars; both in the *ἀφθαρσία*, *incorruption* or *purity*, contrary to their filthy doctrines and practices called *φθοραὶ*, *corruptions*, and in that fervent sincere love of Christ which they wanted, being, as he saith, *lovers of lusts more than lovers of God*, 2 Tim. iii. 4. And so again in his commanding them to *walk in love*, chap. v. 2, which he expresses by the example of Christ's love, which made him sacrifice his life for us, by that means shewing what love it was that needed stirring up in them, even that which the Gnostics professed to have none of, and which here, through their infusions, the Ephesians are said much to have remitted, viz. that sincere love to Christ, (*ἀγάπη ἀνθρώπου*, *love without hypocrisy*, commended to the Romans, chap. xii. 9, in reflection on

^k Unus illis Deus est, hunc Christiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes venerantur et Gentes.

the Gnostics also among them, as many other passages in the latter part of that Epistle, chap. xiii. 1, in respect of their doctrines of liberty, and ver. 13, of their *luxury and uncleanness*,) which would make them that have it perfectly, to *lay down*, that is, venture *their lives* for Christ, and put off all fear of persecution. According to which it is that St. John, in his first Epistle, defining that *perfect love to Christ* which is required of us, saith, that it consists in having *παρηγορία ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως*, confidence and courage to confess Christ in the day of judgment, that is, when by so doing we come to be accused before, or condemned by persecutors to death itself, and that again *it casts out fear*, ver. 18; and that this is necessary to that *confessing of Christ*, ver. 15, of which the same thing is there affirmed (viz. that he that doth so *abideth in God and God in him*) which is affirmed of *continuing in love*, ver. 16; which place, as it was meant by the apostle directly against this doctrine of the Gnostics, concerning the lawfulness and indifferentness of not suffering for Christ, and abjuring him in case of persecution, and is so made use of by Tertullian against these very men, Adv. Gnost. c. 12, and De Fuga in Persecutione, c. 9, so was it by that apostle directly designed to these Asiatics, who were his care or charge, (τὰς αὐτόθι, that is, in Asia, *δεδίκεν ἐκκλησίας*, saith Eusebius, l. 3. c. 27. and that he died in this Ephesus, the principal part of this his charge, see the 1 Epistle of Polycrates, then bishop there,) that Epistle of his being addressed as a defensative against the Gnostics that were creeping in among them. And so was St. Peter also to the same Asiatics, who from the point of uncleanness and contemning of superiors, which were two parts of the Gnostics' character, 1 Pet. ii. 12, 13, proceeds to this of suffering for Christ, ver. 19, &c., and chap. iii. 15, 17, and iv. 16, the disliking of which, and not thinking themselves obliged to it, was another part: and so 2 Pet. ii, where he describes these very heretics, *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι*, false teachers, bringing in villanous base heresies, vv. 1, 3, and which he foretells them, *ἔσονται*, should come among them, he saith they are *τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀπορούμενοι*, such as deny and renounce the Lord that bought them, that is, deny Christ in time of persecution, counting that an indifferent thing, and thinking themselves Christians for all this, (for otherwise they would have been censured by the apostles as more than false teachers, perfect apostates, and not heretics only,) and making it one of their *δόγματα*, or doctrines of liberty, which they laboured to bring into the church. The same is said of them again, Jude 4, *Παπεισένουσιν*, &c., *ἀσεβείς, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι μεταστρίψαντες εἰς ἀσελγείαν*, There are certain men crept in—ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, which is clearly spoken of the Gnostics and their followers, καὶ ἀπορούμενοι, &c., that deny and renounce our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ. The very same is noted of these Gnostics in the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. vi. 12, who would make them to be circumcised only *ἵνα μὴ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διώκωνται*, that they might not be persecuted for the cross of Christ, that is, by the Jews. And accordingly this doctrine and practice of the Gnostics was so taken up by the other following heretics of those first times, that Eusebius speaking of some of the confuters of Montanus, and the οἱ κατὰ Φρύγας, the heretics about Phrygia, and

¹ Euseb. l. 3. c. 27.

setting down the words of a principal one of them, he saith first, that he had a combat with some of them in that very church of Galatia; and then among other things he observes of them, that when all other Christians were persecuted either by Jews or heathens, not one of them either ^m ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώχθη or ὑπὸ παρανόμων ἀπεκτάνθη, "was persecuted by the Jews or killed by the heathens." Which was a special intimation of this δόγμα of compliance among these heretics and all that sprang from them. To the same pertains again that of the Hebrews, chap. x. 25, who forsook the assemblies, and that sure for fear of persecutions;) and there they are said ὑποστέλλεσθαι, *to draw back*, (in opposition to the *just man's living by faith*,) ver. 38, and so have need of ὑπομονή, *patience, perseverance*, ver. 36, and are exhorted to take heed of apostasy, chap. iii. 12. By all this it is clear what is meant by the Ephesians *remitting their first love*, that is, receiving some infusions of this Gnostic doctrine, which consisted in an opposition to Christ's doctrine of confessing the truth, especially before persecutors of it, (and is expressed by δειλία and ἀπιστία, *cowardice and unfaithfulness*, Rev. xxi. 8, attended there with all the filthy practices of the Gnostics,) in a παρησία, or courageous espousing of his cause; which courage having formerly been in this church, was now remitted, not only through some weakness, but, it seems, by imbibing this doctrine, which made it an ἀδιάφορον, or *indifferent thing*, even to forswear Christ, rather than die for him: and yet did these conceive themselves to continue Christians for all this, and so indeed were, so far as believing in Christ, but they were not so far advanced as to that greater pitch of love that expressed itself in confessing him when that doctrine was persecuted among men. To this I conceive St. Paul refers, when in the qualification of the πρεσβύτες, Tit. ii. 2, he adds not only ὑγιαίνοντας τῇ πίστει, *healthy or sound in the faith*, in opposition to heretical doctrines of those times, but also τῇ ἀγάπῃ and ὑπομονῇ, *in love and patience*, in opposition to the practices of these Gnostics, who did not love Christ so well as to persevere in confessing him, or to suffer any thing for him. What is thus observed of the Gnostics' doctrine and infusions against confessing in time of persecution, is by ⁿ Epiphanius affirmed also of one of Elxai, in the sixth of Trajan's reign, "who," saith he, "affirmed it to be no sin to abjure the faith in time of persecution, so it were retained in the heart. From these," saith he, "came the Helkesaitæ in after-times," mentioned not only by Epiphanius, but also by Eusebius, Hist. l. 6. c. λγ', out of Origen upon psalm lxxxii, who sets it down for one of their doctrines, ὅτι τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι ἀδιάφορον ἐστὶ· ^o καὶ ὁ μὲν νοήσας τῷ στόματι ἀρνήσεται ἐν ἀνάγκαις, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐχ, that "it is an indifferent thing to deny Christ; that he that thinks aright may in time of distress deny with the tongue, so he do not with the heart." The same is also by Tertullian in Scorpiaco affirmed of Prodicus and the Adamites, *Non esse palam confitendum Christum, nec pro eo subeundum martyrium*, "that Christ must not be openly confessed, nor martyrdom suffered for him."

6. [c] *deeds of the Nicolaitanes*] This church of Ephesus, though

^m L. 5. c. 15.

ⁿ Hær. 19. 53.

^o These words may be more probably read thus, καὶ ὁμολογήσας, and having confessed with his mouth he shall deny in time of distress.

infected with one doctrine of the Gnostics, (see note [b].) was not, it seems, in any considerable manner defiled with their other carnal infusion, against which St. Paul had fortified them, Ephes. v. 3, 11, 12; and this is here expressed by the Spirit's testimony of them, that *they hate the deeds of the Nicolaitans*. Who these Nicolaitans were, may appear by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 29, out of Clemens Alex. l. 3, Strom., thus: Nicolas the deacon, mentioned in the Acts, having a beautiful wife, was by the apostles (after Christ's ascension) reproached and upbraided that he was jealous of her, whereupon he brought out his wife before all men, and gave any that would leave to marry her, saying, that this was agreeable to that saying, *ὅτι παραρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ θεῖ, that men ought to abuse the flesh*. The same is affirmed by Ireneus, l. 1, c. 27. Others which followed him, and laid hold of this action and speech of his, *ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίστως, simply and without examination* of the meaning of it, *ἀναίδην ἐκπορεύουσι, saith Clemens, commit all kind of filthiness* upon this score, *without any kind of shame*. This speech used by Nicolas, and so abused by his followers, is by Eusebius said to be the saying of Matthias, *σαρκὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι καὶ παραρῆσθαι, that we must fight with the flesh and abuse it, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐνδιδόντας, and not allowing it any thing for pleasure, ψυχὴν αὖτε διὰ πίστεως καὶ γνώσεως, increase the soul by faith and Christian knowledge*. And this, saith he, was Nicolas's meaning in the use of those words; and his bringing forth his wife, of whom he was said to be jealous, was, saith he, *ἀποβολὴ πάθους, a disdaining of all that carnal pleasure or desire, καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια τῶν περισπουδάζων ἡδονῶν, a containing from those pleasures that are so desired by men*. An argument of the truth of which, saith he, was this, that he never used any other woman but his wife; and having children by her, they all remained perpetual virgins. Which relation of his concerning the person of Nicolas, be it true or no, it is yet clear that his followers, which are by Eusebius said, *τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῦ μετώβτες, to enter on his heresy*, and here are called *Νικολαῖται, Nicolaitans*, were guilty of all abominable, shameless uncleanness, and called that *the abusing of the flesh*, and so made a Christian duty of the most abominable sin, and put off all shame and reverence in the acting of it.

8. [d] *church in Smyrna*] The strangeness of Mr. Brightman's interpretations will here again appear, so far from being the *speaking of God by him*, (as he pretends,) that it is manifest that any thing that any man's fancy could represent to him (or incline him to wish that it were the meaning of a part of this prophecy) might as commodiously be affixed to it as that to which it is here applied. For, first, saith he, "it must be observed that Smyrna is northward from Ephesus, and Pergamos from Smyrna," and thence he concludes that "this order *similem ecclesie progressum proculdubio monstrat*, doth without all doubt shew the like progress of the church still further from the sun, the fountain of light," that is, from the first purity to greater darkness, till at last it comes to Pergamos, the utmost northern point, and then turns back again toward the south. What the progress of the church hath been, from greater to lesser purity, need not be disputed; but that any such degeneration was noted by the situation of Smyrna toward Ephesus is so far from being *proculdubio, far from all doubt*, that it is certainly a fancy of the writer's own brain, without all ground

imaginable in this vision, which doth not at all take notice of this situation, or descend in the least degree to such minute considerations. After this, his second observation is, that Smyrna signifies *myrrh*, and that sweet and grateful to God: which being so contrary to the former observation of degeneration to greater impurity, noted thereby, it may well be expected that the artifice of accommodating it to his purpose must be very strange; and so it is: for, saith he, "P Though in the outward shew that church was more deformed than the other, wanting the splendour and ornament of the due polity, or church government, in which respect the northern situation agrees to it; yet the ardent love of the godly, who valiantly contended for the truth in that state of deformity, raised up to God a most sweet savour." Thus easy is it for a licentious fancy to transform any thing into any thing, even into the most contrary shape, to make the *sweet myrrh* denote the most ungrateful, corrupt state of the church, because forsooth there were some in it sweet and grateful. But I demand, were those pious defenders of the truth denoted by *Smyrna*, or not? If they were, then was it most unjust to affirm that the degeneration from the primitive purity was noted by it: if they were not, then is it a gross deceit to render this reason of this denomination; the same directly as if he should say that the church of that age which he refers to was impure and corrupt, and that was expressly signified by the name, which signifies the greatest purity and acceptableness to God.

9. [e] *say they are Jews*] Those that here are said to *say* that *they are Jews*, when they are indeed *the synagogue of Satan*, might probably enough be thought the followers of Helxai in Epiphanius, Hær. 19, of whom he saith that he was a Jew by birth, and of Jewish opinions, and joined himself to the heretics of that party, but did not live according to the law. But because this Helxai was of a later beginning than the matter and persons spoken of in this prophecy seem to be, and because such men as he, when they did arise, (I mean heretics of all sorts, in those times,) did join together in that great heresy of the Gnostics, we must not fasten this part of this vision upon any such inconsiderable person as Helxai, but resolve that the men here spoken of are directly the Gnostics, who, that they might not be persecuted by the Jews, made men circumcise themselves, which was directly the pretending that they were as good Jews as any, circumcision being a mark of the *proselytes of justice*, and supposing the observation of the whole law, (of these see Gal. vi. 12, and note [d] on this chapter,) but were not really observers of the Mosaical law, Gal. vi. 3, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσι, *for they do not themselves keep the law*, (perhaps were not themselves circumcised; for the οὐδὲ may belong to the whole *complexum*, περιτεμνόμενοι νόμον φυλάσσουσι, and not to φυλάσσουσι only, thus, *they that make others to be circumcised are not circumcised themselves, do not themselves keep the law*,) but only do εὐπροσωπεῖν, as he there saith, *make a fair appearance*, make advantage to themselves, to avoid the fury of the Jewish zealots, by causing others

p Externa quidem specie deformior est, nullo legitimæ politiæ ornatu splendida, qua ratione septentrionalis recessus illi convenit; piorum tamen ardens studium, qui pro veritate fortissime propugnabant in illo misero squallore, excitabat Deo suavissimum odorem, f. 28.

to be circumcised. And of these it is that Ignatius speaks, Ep. ad Philadelph., when he warns them not to learn Judaism, *παρὰ ἀκροβυστου*, of those that are not circumcised. Now why these that thus pretend to be Jews are here called the *synagogue of Satan*, is clear, viz. because their heresy was made up of all filthiness and abominable carnality, which is intimated in many places of the scripture by *ἀσελγειαί*, *ἀκαθαρσίαι*, *πονηρίαι*, *κακίαι*, *ἀθέμιτοι εἰδωλολατρίαι*, *πλεονεξίαι*, &c., all words to denote these defiled practices of theirs; and set down distinctly by Epiphanius and others, but are too unsavoury to be here described. How commodiously these are by Mr. Brightman affirmed to be the Arians, pretending to be the purest Christians, when they are not, (representing the purest Christians by the Jews, which were their greatest enemies and persecutors,) I shall not here endeavour to examine.

10. [*f*] *cast some of you into prison*] This persecution here foretold seems to have fallen out in the time of the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius Verus, commonly called *Philosophus*, and Lucius Verus his brother, assumed by him into the empire, anno 161, who reigned near twenty years. In his time, (as it appears by Eusebius, l. 4. c. ii, and the Epistle of the church of Smyrna there,) *μέγιστοι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεθορύβησαν διωγμοί*, *very great persecutions disturbed Asia*. Of this persecution it is remarkable that it fell very heavy on this church of Smyrna, and that Polycarpus was martyred in it, being till that time (at the age of 86) bishop of this church, which therefore wrote a full narration of it to the other churches in that famous Epistle of theirs recorded by Eusebius, and set out lately at London by the archbishop of Armagh. Before him many others were martyred, *διὰ παντὸς εἶδους κολάσεων καὶ βασάνων*, *with all kind of punishments and tortures*, set down to the life in that Epistle. But of Polycarpus the story is most large, and may there be viewed, out of which three things only I shall mention, in order to the explicating of this place. First, that he himself received a vision a little before it, and saw in his sleep his pillow whereon he lay on a sudden set on fire and consumed; and as soon as he waked, told those which were near him that he should, *διὰ Χριστὸν πυρὶ ζῶνι μεταλλάξαι*, *be burnt for Christ*, which signifies this martyrdom of this *angel of the church of Smyrna*, (this *ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος*, *ὁ πατὴρ Χριστιανῶν*, as the persecutors called him, *the doctor of Asia, the father of the Christians*, to have been so considerable a passage of the divine economy, that it was thought fit to be matter of a vision to him, and so might also well be to St. John at this time: and not only this in a dream, but, as he was a going to the stake, a voice was heard by many bystanders, coming from heaven, *Ἰσχυε, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίξου*, *Polycarpus, be strong and valiant*. The second thing is, that this death of his was the quenching of those flames, the ending of that emperor's persecution against the Christians, who *ὥσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμὸν*, saith the Epistle, *he did as it were seal up by his martyrdom*, and so give a conclusion to the persecution: which, I suppose, is the meaning of the time of *ten days* here set down for the affliction, noting some determinate (not very long) time in that prince's reign, wherein it should last, and then be quieted again. The third thing is, that not only upon Polycarpus, but upon many others, (particularly on Germanicus,) great persuasions were used by the

heathens to make them renounce their faith, and save their lives, which is the meaning of the *ἵνα πειρασθῆτε*, *that you may be tempted*: and although some (as Quintus, a Phrygian) were overcome with these temptations, *τὴν ψυχὴν μαλακισθέντες*, &c., yet great multitudes continued constant and faithful unto death, and so were rewarded with this *crown of life*, that is, the honour of martyrdom first, and then the bliss.

12. [g] *Pergamos*] That by Pergamos is here meant the Christian church from Gratian, an. Chr. 380 to the year 1300, is the fancy of Mr. Brightman, somewhat about the proportion of the rest of his interpretations. For, for this his only ground of affirming is, that Smyrna was distant from Ephesus but 320 furlongs, but Pergamos from Smyrna a greater space, about 540 furlongs. But to see how fancy rules this interpreter, and not any rule of proportion. For supposing that these distances of these cities had any mysterious signification in them, (whereas they are not so much as taken notice of in the visions,) yet when the 320 furlongs had been set to denote no longer space than from Constantine to Gratian, that is, not above 60 years, what appearance or pretence of reason can there be, that the addition of 220 furlongs to that number, which wants a third part to be double to the former, should improve that 60 into 920 years, which is almost sixteen times as much as that former? But more wonderful it is, that having proceeded by this rule of proportion, wherein 540 furlongs, that is, about 68 English miles, should signify the space of 900 years, yet afterwards the 80 English miles, whereby Thyatira was distant from Pergamos, should signify but 220 years: the unproportionableness of which being discerned by him, was sure the reason that he there chose to set down that space in 9 English miles, whereas the former had been set down by furlongs, the eighth part of a mile, that so the greater number of those in one place than of miles in the other might amuse the reader, and keep him from taking notice of the unproportionableness.

13. [h] *Satan's seat*] This *throne of Satan* surely signifies the power of Satan, exercised in their idolatrous worship and sacrifices. Thus, saith Surius, there was a temple of Diana at Pergamos at this time. And in the Greek *Μηνολόγιον*, where Antipas's martyrdom is commemorated, though there be not mention of this temple, yet there is of the idol-worshippers and their sacrifices, of the devils (*δαίμονες σεβόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς*) that were worshipped among them, and did then acknowledge themselves *οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ*, *to inhabit and reside in that place*, and receive *τὰς προσαγομένας θυσίας*, *the sacrifices that were brought them*, and, in a word, of the *ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παλαιὰ θρησκεία*, *the old religion of the Grecians* that was amongst them, with which Christianity began now to be competitor. To all this Metaphrastes adds the great barbarity and professed injustice of that place, whose citizens, saith he, took themselves to be just, and valiant, and good, (interpreted it a special piece of virtue,) if they did but accuse a Christian, or bring him to his martyrdom. By other authors it appears that Æsculapius had a temple there, and Andreas Cæsarensis saith of it, *κατείδωλον οὖσαν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν*, *that it was fuller of idols than all Asia beside*.

[i] *Antipas*] The story of Antipas's sufferings in the reign of Domitian is set down completely by the Menology, April 11. That he was contemporary with the apostles, *ordained bishop of the (Asiatic) church about Pergamos*, τῆς κατὰ Πέργαμον ἱερωσύνης τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίσκοπος κεχειροτονήσας that in his very old age, ἐποίμανεν, *he fed and ruled the flock in all godliness*, and was therefore apprehended by the idolaters, the devils that were worshipped among them appearing to them and telling them that they could not dwell there, nor receive the sacrifices which were brought them, ἀλλὰ ἐξελαύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντίπα, *but that they were driven away by Antipas*. Hereupon he was carried before the prefect, who endeavoured to persuade him ὅτι τὰ πρεσβύτερα τιμώτερά ἢν, *that the old religion of the Gentiles was more venerable*, that Christianity was but ὁψέ ποτε ἀρξάμενη, *newly sprang*, received by few, and so not so venerable as the Grecian worship. To which he opposed the story of Cain, and in him the antiquity of impiety, which yet sure, said he, was not fit for godly men to set before them for an example. Whereby the prefect being enraged, put him into a brazen bull, τῷ κατὰ τύπον βοὸς τεχνουργηθέντι χαλκουργήματι, wherein praising the mercy and power of God, and giving him thanks ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡζύωθη δι' αὐτὸν παθεῖν, *for what he was thought worthy to suffer for him*, &c., he was there scalded to death; and to him this inscription is set in a distich:

Ταύρῳ παλαίεις, καλλιμάρτυς Ἀντίπα,

Ὅς σε φλογίζειν εἶχεν, οὐ κερατίζειν,

"Thou art, O Antipas, set to wrestle with a bull, which could scald, but was not able to gore thee." As for Mr. Brightman's wanton fancy of this name ὁ Antipas, that "it doth denote that the martyrs of that age," to which he refers that part of the vision, "should be Antipapæ, or Antipopes," it is too vain to be seriously repeated or considered.

17. [k] *hidden manna*] *Manna*, that bread that came down from heaven among the Israelites, was so called from מנן, *præparavit*, ἄρτος ἑτοιμος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, *bread ready to eat*, sent down to them from heaven, in the phrase of the book of Wisdom. By this may fitly be denoted all the inward comfort and refreshment and sustenance of souls which God affords Christians in this life, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him, 1 Cor. ii. 9, and particularly the inward joy that ariseth from the practice of Christian virtues, which carry with them a blessedness in this life, especially of confessing and suffering for Christ; and that is here said to be bestowed upon the conqueror, that is, on him that holds out, falls not away to eating of the idol-feasts, which they that did, and by that means promised themselves advantage and safety, are said by Eusebius (speaking of those times) to have failed of those very advantages they looked for, being put to death by the persecutors under pretence of some other cause, as guilty of homicide, &c., and so to have perished without all comfort or hope, of which the faithful confessors were so full. A notable testimony we have of this in Eusebius, l. 5. c. 1, Ἐνταῦθα μεγάλη τις οἰκονομία Θεοῦ ἐγένετο, &c.,

^r Perhaps it should be ἐκκλησίας, for so after it follows, ὑπάρχων δὲ τῆς κατὰ Πέργαμον ἐκκλησίας ἀρχιερεὺς.

^s Vocatur Antipas non ficto sed vero nomine, quod tamen tot pene literis et syllabis martyres hujus temporis declaret fore Antipapas, f. 23.

there "was a strange disposal of divine Providence" observable "at that time," speaking of Polycarp's martyrdom;) "for they that, when they were apprehended, denied Christ, were yet imprisoned as Christians, and there kept as murderers and abominable persons, and so were doubly miserable above others, whose afflictions were alleviated," saith he, "by the joy of suffering for Christ, by the hope of God's promises, by their love to Christ, and the Spirit of the Father;" which all together make up the *manna* here spoken of. And this is fitly here called *κεκρυμμένον*, *hidden or secret*, because it is enjoyed in the heart of the Christian only.

[1] *white stone* Ψῆφος signifies properly *calculus*, a *stone*, such as they used in popular judicatures or elections, the custom being to give their votes in either of these by such stones. These were either white or black; the white was a token of absolution or approbation, the black of condemnation or rejection. Agreeably hereunto, as there were judges in the *agones*, so there were *calculi* too, by which the victor's reward was assigned to him, a white stone noting it, and the victor's name with the value of the prize written on it. That these are here referred to, appears by the phrase *νικῶντι δώσω*, *to him that overcometh will I give*, noting that reward which the *βραβεύει* did adjudge to them whom they approved of, viz. to the *δόκιμοι* or *νικῶντες*, *approved and conquerors*, as it is in the oracle,

Ἄγνος γὰρ Χριστὸς τοῦτοις τὰ δίκαια βραβεύσει
καὶ δοκίμους στέψει——

"Christ will be sure to give them their due rewards, and will crown those that are approved." Accordingly the Roman Cæsars in their games, which were in some kind imitations of the Grecians', had their *tessera lignea*, which they threw among the people, with the name of *corn*, or *plate*, or *servants*, or *garments* written on them, which being caught by any, and carried to such an officer, brought him that, whatsoever it was, which was written on it. And so Aristides the orator saith, he received *ψῆφους* from Æsculapius. 'See Canter. Novar. Lect. l. 5. c. 21. And this reward is here said to be a *new name*, that is, the name of Christ on this white stone, noting the reward of perseverance in Christianity to belong to him of whom it is here said that it is an honour and dignity that no man can judge the advantages of but *he that hath received it*; as amongst us, he that draws in a lottery hath in the paper (answerable to the *ψῆφος* here) which he draws the name of the prize which belongs to him, and that he so draws that no man but himself knows what it is. Thus, ch. xix. 12, speaking of Christ's victory over his enemies, by bringing some to Christianity and destroying others, it is first said that he hath *many crowns upon his head*, each of those being a testimony of a victory over some kingdom: and then to the same purpose it follows, he hath *a name that no man knows but himself*, that is, such a *ψῆφος*, or *white stone*, or *counter*, on which his name is written, by which he is to receive his reward, which, according to this custom here, may be looked on and seen by himself, but by nobody else without his permission. And what that reward was is after set down in that place, ver. 16, (under the title of his name) to be *King of kings*, &c., that is, for the princes of the world to be converted to Christianity.

18. [m] *Thyatira*] That Thyatira is the name of a city then in being

really, appears from Acts xvi. 14. As for Mr. Brightman's fancy that the word is *θυγάτρις*, a young or new-born daughter, and so notes the growing piety of the church from the year 1300 to 1520, "which," saith he, "as a young child, grows till it comes to perfection;" this may go in the number of his profound inventions, of which he would persuade the readers that they are the dictates of the Holy Ghost, which was somewhat necessary to be pretended, there being so little shew of sense or reason in them.

20. [α] *Jezebel*] The heresy of the Gnostics is here described by *Jezebel*, and the destruction thereof here set down, ver. 22. It began in Simon Magus: see Euseb. l. 2. c. α'. He, saith he, seeing Philip's miracles, and pretending faith in Christ, so far as to obtain baptism from him, set up *μιαρωτάτην αἵρεσιν*, a most polluted abominable heresy. Then, c. κγ', he did many magical miracles by help of the devil's working in him, and was counted a god in Rome in Claudius's time, and was generally worshipped by the Samaritans, and by some few ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι, in other nations, (whether Judæa or Galilee, or in other places where the Jews were dispersed,) ὡς πρῶτος θεὸς, as a chief, or first, or prime god. This was the meaning of δύναμις Θεοῦ (as the ancient MSS. have it, see Acts viii. 10.) ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη, the power of God, called the great power, that is, the supreme Divine power, (see 2 Thess. ii. 4.) To him was joined a famous whore of Tyre, and she was styled his πρώτη ἔννοια, his first conception. Now those that followed this sect of his, saith he, τὴν σώφρονα καὶ διὰ καθαρότητα βίου παρὰ πᾶσι βεβοημένην Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, &c., "pretending the Christian religion so famous for temperance and purity of life," thinking to keep free from idolatry, which by receiving Christianity they had forsaken, by the treachery of his heresy were brought to it again, καταπίπτοντες ἐπὶ γραφᾶς καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σίμωνος καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ Ἑλένης, θυμιάμασί τε καὶ θυσίας καὶ σπονδαῖς τούτους θρησκείην ἐπιχειροῦντες, "falling down before images and pictures of Simon and Helena, and doing them worship with incense and sacrifices," &c. As for the ὑπορηγότερα, the more secret and mysterious practices of these men, they are such, saith he, ὧν τὸν πρῶτον ἐπακούσαντα ἐκπλαγήσεσθαι, "that he that first hears them will be amazed," or, as they themselves speak, (θαμβωθήσεσθαι) "struck into astonishment," the things which are practised among them being so full (θάμβους, ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ φρενῶν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μανίας) "of true horror, and ecstasy, and madness," ὡς μὴ μόνον μὴ δυνατὰ εἶναι παραδοθῆναι γραφῇ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χεῖλεσιν αὐτὸ μόνον δι' ὑπερβολὴν αἰσχροουργίας καὶ ἀρρητοποιίας ἀνδράσι σώφροσι λαληθῆναι, "that not only they cannot be delivered in writing, but even that they cannot be spoken by any sober men for the excess of filthiness, and actions not to be uttered, (see Eph. v. 12.) for, as he concludes, ὁ, τι παρὲ ἂν ἐπινοηθῇ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ μιαρῶτερον, τοῦτο πᾶν υπερῆκόντισεν ἡ τῶνδε μυσταροτάτη αἵρεσις, ταῖς ἀθλίαις καὶ παντοίων ὡς ἀληθῶς κακῶν σεσωρευμέναις γυναιξὶ καταπαίζοντων, "Whatsoever can be thought on as more abominable than all uncleanness, that is much exceeded and overcome by this detestable heresy of men, which deceive and defile miserable women, laden with all kinds of sins." Which is the very phrase by which they are expressed, 2 Tim. iii. 6. Of these again we have the same author speaking in Adrian's time, l. 4. c. 5'. ζ. that the devil instead of persecutions used other engines against Christianity or the

church, ποτηροῖς καὶ γόησιν ἀνδράσιν, "wicked men and sorcerers," δλε-
θριοῖς ὄργανοις ψυχῶν, διακόνους τε ἀπωλείας, "the instruments of destroy-
ing souls, and ministers of corruption or perdition," who, being γόητες
and ἀπαταλῶν, *sorcerers and deceivers*, ὑποδύντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῶν τοῦ δόγμα-
τος προσηγορίαν, and being called Christians, and so conceived to have
entertained and to teach those doctrines, τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν
ἀλισκομένους εἰς βυθὸν ἀπωλείας ἄγουσι, "lead those Christians that are
ensnared by them into the abyss, or depth, of perdition," and withal
deter all that have not received the faith from embracing it, by seeing
what such men, that are called Christians, practise. A next successor
of this Simon, or that took up his heresy and improved it, was Menan-
der, of whom Eusebius relates the story, l. 3. c. κς', as we have else-
where set it down; and his conclusion is, that it was the devil's design
διὰ τοιῶνδε γόητων τὴν Χριστιανῶν προσηγορίαν ὑποδυομένων, τὸ μέγα θεοσε-
βείας μυστήριον ἐπὶ μαγείᾳ σπουδάσαι διαβαλεῖν, διασύραι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ
περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δόγματα, "by
these sorcerers, pretending to be Christians, to defame the mystery of
godliness, and so root out the Christian doctrines of the church, of the
immortality of the soul, and resurrection of the dead." After these
came into the church also Cerinthus, (see Euseb. l. 3. c. κγ',) as great
a pretender to authority, revelations by angels, working of miracles,
and withal as great an instrument to Satan, in advancing of lusts and
idol-worships, as any. Add unto these the Nicolaitans, formerly de-
scribed at large, note [c], (see Euseb. l. 3. c. κθ'.) and then Saturninus
and Basilides, which divided Menander's heresy, or improved his be-
ginnings between them, and set up, one in Syria, and the other in
Egypt, θεομισῶν αἱρέσεων διδασκαλεῖα, *schools of impious heresies*, (see
Euseb. l. 4. c. ε'.) and contemporary to them Carpocrates, (see Euseb.
l. 4. c. ζ'.) the father of another sort of the Gnostics, who surpassed
all the former, bringing into public Simon's sorceries, and professing,
by way of acknowledged doctrine, the practice of all uncleannesses, as
necessary to all that would arrive to the perfection of their μυσταγωγία,
or *religion*, and that there was no other way to escape the κοσμικοὶ
ἀρχόντες, *earthly rulers*, as they called them, but by paying them their
dues by this ἀρρητοποιία, *doing such things as are not to be spoken*. And
these, saith he, the devil used for ministers, when persecution was at
an end, to deceive and seduce some, καὶ οἰκτρῶς οὕτως εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀνδρα-
ποδίζεισθαι, *and miserably to captivate, or emancipate, them to perdition*,
and to give the Gentiles that believed not πολλὴν κατὰ Θεοῦ λόγου
δυσφημίαν περιουσίαν, *much matter of reproach against the word of God*,
the fame of these being spread every where to the reproach of Christ-
ians. These particulars set down by Eusebius thus by way of story,
but very much more by Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Tertullian, that have
written against these heretics *ex proposito*, may suffice to give light to
the interpretation of this part of the vision. As for the destruction of
these, though in one place Eusebius says that some of the spawn and
followers of them remained until his time, (and though it be clear by
Tertullian's books against the Gnostics, that some of these heretics con-
tinued some space in the church,) yet in another place he saith that
they were suddenly and remarkably extinguished and brought to
nothing, that is, very much brought down by the hand of God upon

them. Now this heresy of the Gnostics, having not any one acknowledged author whose name it owns, but being a *colluvies* of all the heresies then abroad, made up of Simon Magus, Menander, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and the rest, is described in this book by several names of the most odious persons in the Old Testament, which arrogated much to themselves. Thus before it is called *the doctrine of Balaam*, as also by St. Peter and St. Jude; and now here described by Jezebel, that is, a proud, imperious, painted woman, persecutor of the prophet Elijah, very zealous for idolatry, guilty of the blood of Naboth, and so full of all abominable wickedness, which is a fit character of their doctrine and practices;) and this person moreover supposed to arrogate to herself (that which Jezebel did not) the honour and title of *a prophetess*, that is, pretending to divinity and revelation from God, a deep mysterious understanding of scripture, and the βάθος Θεοῦ, *depths of God*, 1 Cor. ii. 10, beyond all others, and from thence grounding the particular matters of this heresy, (though they were indeed but the βάθος Σατανᾶ, *depths of Satan*, ver. 24.) and calling it γνῶσις, *knowledge*, as pretending all the followers of this heresy to be prime special Christians of great perfection, for to such only is that title applied by Clemens Alexand. It is true indeed that Epiphanius (and out of him others) refers this title of Jezebel to those women-heretics which followed Montanus, and took upon them to be prophetesses, about Commodus's reign, Priscilla, Maximilla, and Quintilla, under the pretence of revelations spreading many monstrous heresies, (of Montanus's being the Paraclete,) which, saith he, were in this church of Thyatira not long after St. John's time. But because the text refers to the known doctrine, and particularly the uncleanness of the Gnostics, and because the heresy of the Montanists was not a licentious heresy, but rather of too much strictness, and thereby seduced Tertullian to it; and lastly, because Helena that went along with Simon Magus was a woman more capable of this title, therefore I cannot adhere to that interpretation. But without defining (that which is somewhat obscure) what city this of Thyatira was, (one of that name being placed by Strabo in Mysia, another by Stephanus in Lydia, another by Pliny in Ionia, who also mentions a whole island of that name,) I shall rather interpret the heresy (which is here said to be permitted in that church) of that known, unclean sink of men, the Gnostics, (described, ver. 14, in the same manner as here,) that so overrun Asia, than leave it to any more uncertain subject to be applied to.

26. [o] *unto the end*] What is here meant by τὸ τέλος, *the end*, may appear not only by what hath been oft said of it, that it notes the end of the Jews' commonwealth, (see notes [c] [d] on Matt. xxiv.) but by the parallel phrase that here goes before, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔξω, *until the time wherein I shall come*. For that *the coming of Christ* notes that notable destruction of his enemies, the Jewish crucifiers of Christ, and persecutors of Christians, hath been often shewed, (see note [b] on Matt. xxiv.) By comparing of these two phrases together, the sense of this whole passage will be discoverable. To those in this church of Thyatira, and the other cities under this metropolis, which had not fallen off to the Gnostic heresy, he gives no other counsel for the present, till this time come of destroying the Jewish persecutors and Judaizing

Gnostics, but that they continue as they are, do as they do, *hold fast what they have already*, ver. 25. And he that shall do so, that is, continue thus constant against all temptations of either sort, the offer of immunity from persecutions on one side, and the carnalities on the other, and so *overcome*, and *keep Christ's words*, keep fast to the faith, till that long expected period, here is an honourable promise made to him, as the reward of this his constancy and perseverance; when that end comes, and Gnostics and Jews be destroyed, and so peace and purity restored to the church, then these constant Christians shall be employed by Christ to propagate the gospel to those who have not yet received it: and this is expressed by Christ's *giving him power over the nations, even as he received of, or from, his Father*. For, first, it must be observed, that those words in the former part of ver. 27, taken out of the second psalm, must be read in a parenthesis; and so the end of ver. 26, and the latter part of ver. 27, will connect together thus, *To him will I give power over the nations, even as I received, that is, as I received from my Father*. What this signifies, is apparent from John xx. 21, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*. The same commission that Christ had from his Father he gives to his twelve apostles, that is, authority to govern the church after him. This authority is here the *ἐξουσία, power*. And as the apostles had this power for their time, and some others derivatively from them, and those that so derived it may yet be said truly, though not immediately, to have received it from Christ; so here they that are made bishops in the church after the apostles, receive this power from Christ, and he is truly and properly said to give it them. And as the apostles' power and commission was first to plant, then to govern churches, so here the power that is promised these persevering Christians of this church, is to preach the gospel, and propagate it farther than it was yet received, and having converted, then to govern churches; and these being now made up, not (as before) of Jews dispersed and their proselytes, but of Gentile idolaters that should now flock in to the faith of Christ, the converting them, and (having planted churches) ruling as bishops among them, is that which is here styled *ἐξουσία ἐν τῷ ἔθνει, power over the Gentiles*. And then to these are accommodated those words out of the second psalm, *And he shall feed them* (so the Septuagint reads *ποιμανεῖ, feed*, from the Hebrew *תרעם, רעה, pavit*, as a pastor feeds his flock, though now the Hebrew copies have *תרעם, shall break, from רעע, fregit*) *with a rod of iron, as the potter's vessels are broken*, that is, shall begin with the exercise of *regal* (instead of *pastoral*) power, bring some to repentance, and then destroy the rest, and by conjoining of these two means, (both the instruments of his power, the one of his spiritual power, in subduing souls to the faith, the other of his secular power, in acting vengeance on the rebellious and obdurate,) expulse heathenism, and plant Christianity in the place. For it must be remembered, first, what is the ground of this figurative expression, *feed with a rod of iron*, viz. an elegant variation from the custom of pastors; they feed their sheep, and need no more than a rod or staff to manage their whole flock, but the pastor that comes to feed any heathen nation with the spiritual food of the pure word of God, must come with the aids of power, strike their hearts, and powerfully convince them of sin,

bring them to contrition, and really destroy those that will not by the preaching of the gospel be thus convinced. This is to *feed* them *with a sceptre, an iron rod*, an exercise of regal rather than pastoral power, a powerful work, first of grace, and then of vengeance, both necessary to reduce an heathen nation to Christianity. And, secondly, that those words were first to be verified of Christ himself, in subduing the Gentiles to the faith; and then as his power given him by his Father is by him communicated to others, so this prophecy is applicable to others also. Thus is the phrase used, chap. xii. 5, of the church established at Rome, of which it is there foretold that it shall be very powerful and efficacious in converting many to the faith, *μέλλει πομαίνειν πάντα ἔθνη, it shall feed all the nations*, (in a larger manner than here is said of Thyatira, where the *πάντα, all*, is omitted, that is, propagate the faith very far. And because this conversion of them to the faith consists in their repentance, and forsaking of their Gentile sins, and rendering future obedience to the faith of Christ; and because repentance is in scripture expressed figuratively by *breaking and shivering of the heart*, psalm li. 17, which we ordinarily style *contrition*; and because that contrition, if it be sincere, excludes all turning again to the forsaken sins, and that cannot better be expressed than by the *breaking of a pot or earthen vessel*, which when it is broken can by no art be made whole again, as pots of silver or other metal may by being melted again; therefore this coming in of converts to the faith is rhetorically described, both in the psalm and here, by *breaking men as a potter's vessels* are broken. Thus, saith Chrysostom, t. 6. p. 855. l. 5. Κατὰ. πρὸς τοὺς μελλ. φωτίζ. the words of the psalm must be understood, *περὶ τῶν πιστῶν ὁ λόγος, he speaks of the faithful*, &c. All which being thus far cleared to be the meaning of these two verses, 26 and 27, that they that were then (at the writing of this epistle) but members of the church of Thyatira, should after prove eminent propagators of the gospel, and bishops of their Gentile converts, there will be little doubt but the 28th verse, *And I will give to him the morning star*, that is, to him that hath the power given him, ver. 27,) is thus to be interpreted also. The *morning star*, ἀστὴρ πρωϊνός, is the Greek for the Hebrew כוכב הבוקר, *the star of the morning*, and it is sometimes called *φωσφόρος, the star that brings light*, ushers in the sun, 2 Pet. i. 19; sometimes ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ ὀρθρινός, Rev. xxii. 16, *the bright and morning star*; and sometimes ἀνατολή, *the east*, or *dayspring*, Luke i. 78. And though every of these in all those places signify Christ, in respect of his light and lustre, yet it is certain that in other respects other things may be represented by it: so in Isaiah the king of Babylon is called *Lucifer, son of the morning*, in respect of his power or splendour above other kings: and so it is possible it may here note some eminent prince or nation, that the church of Thyatira, that is, the constant orthodox pure Christians in that church, should propagate the faith to, when the heretical Gnostic professors there were finally destroyed. That that is the meaning of Christ's *δώσω αὐτῷ, I will give unto him*, may appear by what hath been said of the phrase of God's *giving* unto Christ, note [d] on John vi, *giving unto him for an inheritance or possession*, from psalm ii. 8, which being applied and communicated here by Christ to men, as it is there by God to Christ, will denote the conversion of them to the faith by the

preaching of those men, commissioned by Christ. Thus the phrase, *I will give*, is used, chap. iii. 9, *I will give them of the synagogue*, that is, as followeth, *I will make them that they shall come and worship before thy feet*, that is, they shall be subdued unto thee. And seeing this phrase is here also taken out of that second psalm, as the former of *ruling them with the rod of iron*, &c., it is not improbable that from thence it may be explained. There it is said to Christ, *I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession*; the former part whereof is here, ver. 26, *giving him power over the nations*, and then why may not this be parallel to the latter part? The *utmost parts of earth* are the extreme points, east and west, and the *morning star* may properly signify one of these, the east, in respect of the point wherein it is wont to arise and usher in the sun, and so is styled *ἀνατολή*, Luke i, *the east*, or *day-spring*. And then their converting the Gentiles of the eastern nations to Christianity, propagating the faith over the east, much further, after those times of persecution were over, may very probably be the meaning of this verse.

CHAP. III.

1. [a] *Sardis*] That Sardis is the first reformed church, in the antitype, that of Germany, begun at Wittenberg by Luther, A. D. 1517, is the affirmation of Mr. Brightman; but without any other proof, but either that Sardis is more southerly than Thyatira, and so, according to his fancy, must have more of the life of truth in it; or because there is no mention here of Balaam and Jezebel, (which he had resolved must signify the doctrines of Christian Rome,) the absence of which must signify to him a breaking off from the Roman communion; or that she had *a name to be living, but was dead*, which, saith he, must refer to the doctrine of consubstantiation among the Lutherans, an argument that they were hugely amiss, and spiritually dead after that reformation. But, alas! how far are these from being *marks in the forehead*, or *the writing an epistle to Germany by name*, which in his epistle he promised to shew us! This were a strange rate of interpreting of dreams, which no oneirocritic would allow of, but a much stranger of explaining of prophecies. The same course hath he taken in the other two remaining churches: Philadelphia must needs be the Helvetian, Swedish, Genevan, French, Dutch, Scotch reformed churches; but no reason for it again, but that the city of Philadelphia was yet further south than Sardis, and so must needs signify some increase of reformation; and secondly, that the name of Jezebel was not in it; and thirdly, that the word *Philadelphia*, signifying *brotherly love*, cannot be applied to any but this pattern of all piety, (to which the author had so much kindness,) the church of Helvetia and Geneva, &c. And the reformed church of England must be the church of Laodicea, not from any denotation in the name, or characters in the *forehead*, (which he promised to all in his epistle, and attempted to shew in the former of them,) but only because episcopacy was here retained, and so was a mixture of *cold* with that of *heat* in the purity of the doctrine, and consequently is the *lukewarm* church which is here found fault with. How easily any favourer of episcopal government might

apply this reason to any reformed church that hath cast out bishops, and say that they were warm in respect of primitive purity of doctrine, but *cold* in respect of a government which is contrary to the primitive, and consequently that Geneva itself were Laodicea, is obvious to every man. And yet after this manner do his groundless, loose interpretations proceed, which in each of these *seven churches* I have pointed at, to give the reader a *δύσις*, or *taste*, of the interpretations of this man, whose licentious fancy and love of change hath assisted him to make them, and whose authority among many, and the opinion of the apostolicity of his writings, hath holpen him to seduce and blind so many. Having given the reader this view of so many severals, I shall not hereafter give myself that scope, but in the ensuing prophecies leave him to be judged of by any who shall be at leisure to consult him.

5. [b] *book of life*] This *book*, wherein *names* are said to be *written*, and from thence *blotted out* sometimes, is here used by analogy with registers in cities containing the names of all citizens, and from which rebels and deserters were blotted out. *Censores populi civitates, soboles, familias censento*, "Let the censors set down, or register, all men's ages, children, families," saith Tully, de Leg. 3. These were at Athens called *ληξιαρχικά γραμματεία*. See chap. xiii. 8, and ch. xx. 12, where this *book of life* is distinguished from the books which were the records of what was done, (such as are mentioned Esth. vi. 1, 2,) out of which it seems the records are brought, by which the wicked are judged *κατὰ τὰ ἔργα*, according to their wicked works, which are there recorded, from which certainly it is that any man's name is *blotted out of this book of life*, or is not found written in it. And so St. Chrysostom and the ancients understand this *book of life* to be that in which, according to their qualifications and demeanours in their lives, and especially at their hour of death, men are said to be *written* or *blotted out*. See Luke x. 20, and note [a] on Phil. iv.

14. [c] *true witness*] The word *μάρτυς*, a *witness*, is in this book, and since in the ordinary use of the church, set to signify one that for the testifying the truth of God lays down his life. And he that doth thus, as he is *πιστός*, *faithful*, to God, who hath employed him, so is he *ἀληθής*, *true*, (in the sense that on the Gospels we have oft given of that word,) one that deserves to be believed: and both these words, *πιστός* and *ἀληθής*, *faithful* and *true*, are the just rendering of the Hebrew *יָמִינִם*, which is here expressed by *Amen*, a word which comes from the root *יָמַן*, which in Hiphil signifies *credidit*, *believing*, but in the noun *fidus*, *fidelis*, *verus*, and *fide dignus*, *faithful*, or *worthy of belief*. This title then of *Amen*, or *μάρτυς ὁ πιστός καὶ ἀληθής*, *faithful and true witness*, is here bestowed on Christ, who, to testify the message or doctrine (which he brought) to come from heaven, laid down his life. And therefore the church writers, which have sorted the martyrs of the church into several ranks or forms, and given them distinct titles accordingly, to Stephen that of *πρωτομάρτυς*, the *first martyr* of the church; to the rest of the apostles, bishops, and ecclesiastical persons, that of *ιερομάρτυρες*, *sacred martyrs*; to the great or noble men that of *μεγαλομάρτυρες*, *noble martyrs*; to the virgins and women that of *καλλιμάρτυρες*, *fair martyrs*; to the common people of *ἀγιομάρτυρες*,

holy martyrs; have reserved unto Christ the title of ὁ μέγας μάρτυρ, *the great witness, or martyr*.

15. [d] *neither cold nor hot*] All that is here said of this church of Laodicea seemeth very intelligible by applying to them that one part of the doctrine of the Gnostics that seems to have gotten in among them, (though not those other carnal villanies,) viz. that it was ἀδιάφορον, *an indifferent thing*, perfectly lawful, to renounce Christ in time of persecution. This is clearly the *lukewarmness* here, which is a middle indifferent temper between being Christians and no Christians; and instead of that God commends to them πεπυρωμένον χρυσόν, *refined gold fetched out of the fire*, that is, directly the crown of martyrdom, (contrary to that mixture and alloy of dross that is now in them,) and the *white or shining garments*, the ensign and character of the martyrs everywhere in this book. And for their saying that *they are rich*, &c., and *not knowing that they are wretched*, &c., this is again the mark of those Gnostics, which had such great ungrounded opinions of their own perfections. A physical discourse on this place may be seen in Valerius Sac. Phil. c. 90.

CHAP. IV.

1. [a] *I looked*] The word εἶδον here is not to be taken in the ordinary notion of *seeing, looking, or beholding*, but in that (so solemn among the prophets) of the Hebrew רָאוּ, from whence their prophecies are called רְאוּיָהוּ, *vision*, and each prophet רֹאֵה, *a seer*; and so it is generally taken in this book, and is best explained by ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι, *I was in the Spirit*, ch. i. 10. This joined here with μετὰ ταῦτα, denotes either a distant matter or a distant vision from the former; and having no accusative case after to restrain it, it is a general title belonging to the whole passage after it, as far as that vision goes: for it hath formerly been said, that these visions were delivered at several times (see the Premonition). At what distance or space one from another, or in what order distinctly they were received, it is uncertain, save only that they were not before Claudius, nor after Domitian. But for the completion, there is no necessity that that should begin at the end of the completion of the former, that is, that the destruction of the Jews here represented in this vision should not commence till after the judgment threatened, ch. ii. 3, to the churches, (as it might be conceived to do if the whole book were but one continued vision;) it being very possible that that which should first come to pass might by God be chosen to be matter of a second vision, nay that the same thing might be severally represented by God, and so made the matter of several visions.

2. [b] *one sat on the throne*] Who this person is which is here, in vision, brought in *sitting upon the throne*, will be best understood by those that *sit upon the four and twenty thrones round about him*, ver. 4. That God the Father coming to judgment, and his saints as assessors about him, are meant by the representation, there is no doubt: the whole question is, who they are which are here used to represent and signify these. And it might be thought to be the head of the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, or some other consistory, which thus sat in council, the head in the midst, in a chair or throne, and the members, chief priests, elders, and doctors of the law, on each side of him, in so many

chairs also : but the number of the assessors here will not then agree to it, there being then 70 persons in the sanhedrim, and 23 in the lesser consistories. And though perhaps the elders in the sanhedrim made up that number of 24, yet there were chief priests and doctors of the law, which sat in the sanhedrim as well as they. But if we apply it to the Christian church, which hath much of likeness with (and seems to have been copied out from) that pattern of the Jewish sanhedrim, but differs from it in some less weighty, inconsiderable circumstances, (such is the number of assessors,) then it will accord very well. And the first constitution of this church being at Jerusalem, and that place being nearly concerned in the judicature which is here represented, and James, the first bishop there, being by them put to death, and that a special ingredient in their destruction, (saith Josephus and Eusebius,) that place will in all probability be the scene of this representation, and the Christian bishop thereof will be he that here *sitteth upon the throne* or bishop's chair; this bishop sitting in council, (as, Acts xv, we know he was,) and with him the apostles (those that were at Jerusalem) and the bishops of all Judæa, the bishop of Jerusalem, as of the metropolis of all Judæa, sitting in the middle chair, or seat, or throne, that of the greatest dignity, which belonged to James, and thereupon the determination of the council was delivered by him, Acts xv. 19.

4. [c] *round about the throne*] The meaning of *κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου*, *round about the throne*, will probably be discerned by the ancient manner of sitting in council or consistory among the Jews first, and afterward among Christians. A representation we have of it, Dan. vii. 9, (from which place this here seems to be taken, as many other things in this, out of that prophecy,) *I beheld till the seats, or thrones, were pitched*, (not *thrown down*, as we read, but *pitched* or *set*,) *donec throni positi sunt*, saith the Vulgar, and *ὥς οἱ θρόνοι ἐτίθεσαν*, say the Seventy, and Theodotion : and the Chaldee word is the same that is used by the Chaldee paraphrase, Jer. i. 15, for the *setting of thrones*, where the Hebrew hath *וַיִּתְּנוּ*, and the Seventy, *καὶ θέσουσιν, they shall set every one his throne* : and then it follows, *and the ancient of the days did sit*, placing him in the midst of the other thrones, as the father or head of the consistory, *and the judgment was set*, ver. 10, that is, the whole sanhedrim, the rest of the elders, &c., seated on those thrones round about, or on each side of the head, or prince of the consistory, *and the books were opened*, preparative to the judicature. So in like manner in the Christian church, where the bishop and his presbyters in any lesser city, and the metropolitan and his bishops in the metropolis, are thus placed : the presbyters, or the bishops, sitting at the east end of the church in the form of a semicircle, and the bishop or metropolitan in a chair or throne of some eminence in the midst of the presbyters' or bishops' seats, with those on each side of him, and then the deacons attending or waiting on them. So in Ignatius's Epistle to the Magnesians we find, *Μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπέστατου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν, καὶ πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*, (as the Laurentian copy now rightly reads it, not *στεφάνου πρεσβυτέρου*, as the printed copies were wont to have it,) "with your most reverend bishop, and the spiritual crown of the presbytery;" noting the presbyters sitting on each side of the bishop in the fashion of a crown, not of a full circle; for a crown was not so

anciently, but a large semicircle with two ends, by which it was put over and tied about the head, and accordingly the constellation in heaven so called is not a whole or complete circle. And thus in the Apostol. Constit. l. 2, we have *ἐκκλησίας στέφανος*, the crown of the church, that is, the bishops and presbyters in consistory. And indeed this manner of sitting in an half-circle was but the same with their *accubitus* or *lying at meat* in an half-round, called *sigma*, from the old fashion of that letter C; where the most honourable place was that in the middle, as some learned men have collected from 1 Sam. xx. 25, *The king sat upon his seat, as at other times, even upon his seat by the wall*; where, supposing the form of sitting to be semicircular, the *seat by the wall* will be necessarily the middle of the circle. And thus in the Apost. Constit. l. 2, *Κεῖσθω μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος, παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθίζεσθω τὸ πρεσβυτέριον*, "Let the bishop's seat, or throne, be placed in the midst, and on each side of him let the presbytery sit," καὶ οἱ διάκονοι παριστάσθωσαν, "and let the deacons stand by." And so Greg. Nazianzen, a bishop, in his dream describes himself sitting in the midst, and his presbyters in chairs on each hand of him. And in Theodoret, Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 3, ὁ μέσος θώκος, the middle seat, is the bishop's chair; and the way propounded to compose the difference between Paulinus and Miletius is, to set the Gospel in that middle seat, and they καθίσαι ἑκατέρωθεν, to sit on each side. And the author of the Ecclesiastic Hierarchy, c. 3, Ὁ μὲν ἱεράρχης ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου καθίσταται, "The bishop is placed in the midst," not "of the altar," but of that part "of the church" which was "called θυσιαστήριον:" which what it is will best appear by the ^tScholiast on Nazianzen's first στιλιευτ. Σηκὸς καὶ τέμενος, saith he, σημαίνει τὸ ἱερὸν ὅλον, ὃ δὲ ναὸς θυσιαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ ἡμῖν ἡ θεία τῶν μυστηρίων πρόκειται τράπεζα, "The word σηκὸς and τέμενος signify the whole church, but the word ναὸς, the nave, signifies the θυσιαστήριον, in which the divine table of the mysteries, or communion table, is placed: by which it appears, both that the θυσιαστήριον is the whole space within the sept, and not only the altar or table therein, and also that the bishops being seated in the midst of the θυσιαστήριον, is the taking his place at the upper end of the church, within the sept, with the presbyters on each side of him; which is also the way of interpreting and understanding all that is said in the ancient writers and liturgies of encompassing the θυσιαστήριον, that is, of the bishop and presbyters sitting in a semicircle at the upper end of the chancel. Which is also the reason why in Ignatius (Ep. ad Ephes.) being ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, within the θυσιαστήριον, signifies living obediently to the bishop and his consistory in all things, and assembling with them in the public service of God in the church.

[d] *four and twenty elders* Having seen what was meant by him that *sitteth on the highest or middle throne*, God in the thing signified, but the bishop of Jerusalem in the representation, it will presently follow that the πρεσβύτεροι, elders on the thrones round about him are those which sat in council with this bishop, in the same manner as, Acts xv, we find the πρεσβύτεροι, elders, mentioned. That those πρεσβύτεροι, elders, signified the bishops of Judæa, (not the presbyters, as we now call them, of that one city,) hath been said, note [d] on Acts xi. For

^t Eton edit. p. 59.

indeed it noway appears that at that time there were any such presbyters, (as soon after, and now we have,) any middle order between the singular bishop in each church and the deacons attending on him : and beside it is said of every of these, that he *had on his head a golden crown*, parallel to that of Joshua the high priest, Zach. vi. 11, that is, a golden mitre, such as the high priest had under the law, called indifferently a *crown* and a *mitre*, which cannot belong to inferior presbyters, but doth fitly represent the power of rulers, that is, bishops in the church, without attributing any thing of regality to them. And therefore in all probability they must signify here the archbishop of Jerusalem, the metropolis of all Judæa, and all the bishops of that province sitting in council with him. Otherwise, the manner of sitting being the same of the presbyters of each city (where there were such) about their bishop, and of the bishops of the province about their metropolitan, (see note [c],) it might as properly be applied to presbyters as to bishops. Now for the number of *twenty-four*, that, I suppose, was exactly the number of the bishops of Judæa at that time, all beside the metropolitan bishop of Jerusalem, (answerable to the number of the heads of the courses of the priests, 1 Chron. xxiv, who seem, as such, to have been taken into the sanhedrim,) though the records of those times being obscure afford no demonstration of this circumstance.

5. [e] *seven spirits*] The *seven spirits of God* here are the *ministering spirits*, or *angels*, (see note [b] on ch. i,) that attend and wait upon God as apparitors, or serjeants, or officers, to attend the judicature, to cite and bring malefactors before it, and are represented here by the seven deacons in the church of Jerusalem, attending on the bishop, Acts vi, but those like *lamps of fire burning*, in respect of the glory and brightness wherein angels are wont to appear.

6. [f] *in the midst of the throne*] That which is here said of the placing of the *living creatures*, *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου*, and *κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου*, *in the middle of the throne*, and *round about the throne*, may, I suppose, be thus most commodiously explained, that *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου*, *in the midst of the throne*, shall signify at the former part that which is most visible to the company ; so to be set *ἐν μέσῳ*, *in the midst*, Acts iv. 7, is in a conspicuous place, all one with *before them*, Acts xxii. 30, and being *called forth*, Acts xxiv. 2, and in like manner *to stand up in the midst*, Acts i. 15, is, so as he may be seen and heard best by all that are present : and then *κύκλῳ*, *about*, which must needs be opposite to that, will signify behind, or at the hinder part, and so *κυκλόθεν*, *about*, will straight appear to be all one with *ὀπισθεν*, *at the back or behind*, (see note [d]). Which being granted, the *ἐν μέσῳ*, *in the midst*, will necessarily denote the two foremost points of the chair or throne, where two of the *living creatures* are placed, and *κύκλῳ*, *about*, the two hindmost, and so all the *four living creatures* will be disposed of, at each corner one. Others, I see, have conceived the two which are here said to be *ἐν μέσῳ*, *in the middle of the throne*, to have been placed one before and the other behind, (and consequently the two that are *κύκλῳ*, *about*, to be one on each side ;) but this cannot well be imagined without incommodating the judge, before whom he stands, unless one be placed upon the steps of ascent to the throne, and so below the space on which the throne was set ; which cannot probably be yielded, because the throne and this place where this living creature would be placed, would not then make up

one space, as it seems to do, ch. v. 6, where the *lamb* is said to be *in the midst of the throne*, and *of the four living creatures*, supposing all these to make up but one space. But howsoever this be, this placing of the *living creatures* so near the throne doth by the way make it appear that this representation here refers not (as might be thought) to the encamping of Israel about the ark, Num. ii, because here the *four living creatures* are set close to the throne, and (as appears, ch. v. 6.) nearer than the *four and twenty elders*; whereas the standards in Numbers are appointed to be pitched *far off*, c. ii. 2, the tribe of Levi immediately environing the tabernacle, and the camps environing that, ver. 17.

[g] *four beasts*] Who these *four living creatures* were in this representation, may, in proportion and analogy with what hath been said, be conjectured also. And to that purpose it may be observed, that they are both here, vv. 9 and 10, and ch. v. 6, set betwixt him that *sat upon the throne* and the *four and twenty elders*, which may probably conclude them to be four apostles, who will be acknowledged to be superior to the bishops of Judæa, and may also in some sense be conceived inferior, in that council of Jerusalem, to James, advanced to be bishop, that is, supreme ruler there, (at least to be there in another capacity than he was, as transcendent persons, accordingly *standing about the throne*, and not as regular members of the assembly.) For thus saith Clemens, Hypótypos. l. 5, Peter, James and John chose James, the brother of the Lord, bishop of Jerusalem, (where Ruffinus reads *episcopus apostolorum, bishop of the apostles*;) and though they three were *ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένοι, by Christ preferred and more honoured* than all the rest of the *twelve*, yet did they not contend one with another for this dignity, but unanimously conferred it on James the Just, who is therefore in scripture oft called an apostle, (see note [f] on Gal. ii.) Now that apostles are meant by these *living creatures*, and also who those four apostles were, may appear by comparing this council or judicature here represented with the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. There it is certain that the bishop James presided, ver. 13, together with the elders or bishops of Judæa, ver. 6; and then besides and before these elders are mentioned *ἀπόστολοι, the apostles*, vv. 2, 4, 6, and Peter is one of them, ver. 6, and (though not there named) John also, Gal. ii. 9, (his brother James, that was wont to be there, being before this *put to death*, Acts xii. 2.) And so there are two of them; and why may not Paul and Barnabas, (*separated* before that time to *apostolacy*, ch. xiii. 2,) certainly present in this council, be the other two? That any other apostle was then there doth not appear, and it is evident that these four were; and from them and the elders jointly, are these decrees sent to the churches of Syria and Cilicia, ver. 23. The learned H. Grotius, I perceive, hath fallen very near upon this conjecture, only he hath placed *James the brother of the Lord* (that is, the bishop himself, which cannot be imagined) instead of John, and Matthew instead of Barnabas, upon no other reason but because Matthew is found to have continued long in Judæa. But referring the matter, as the representation here doth, to a council at Jerusalem, it will be most fit to pitch on those four who were (in that one scripture council) there present. And if it be objected that Paul and Barnabas were sent thither from Antioch at this time, and therefore may not seem so properly to belong to that place; to that I

answer, first, that those two being by the Holy Ghost's appointment separated to be apostles, they were not affixed to any diocese or province, (as ordinary bishops were,) but had an unlimited jurisdiction, like other apostles, and consequently had as much to do at Jerusalem, to which, as at Antioch, from which they were sent. Secondly, that Jerusalem being the place from whence the gospel first went out, and began to be preached, and the faith being from thence sent out to all other churches, it was very reasonable that all other churches, at that time especially, whilst the apostles resided there, should look upon that as the chief mother-city of all Christians: and in that respect, although Antioch was the metropolis of Syria, and that which had the "third place of all the world that was under the Roman power," (ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, τρίτον ἀδελφίως τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον, saith Josephus, De Bell. Jud. l. γ'. c. γί.) yet it may truly be said of Jerusalem at that time, that it was the *metropolis of that metropolis*; and accordingly it is the affirmation of Agrippa, in Philo, concerning Jerusalem, Μητρόπολις δὲ οὐ μῶς χώρας Ἰουδαίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλείστων, διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐπεμψεν εἰς τὰς μὲν ὁμόρους, Αἴγυπτον, Φοινίκην, Συρίαν τὴν τε ἄλλην, καὶ Κοιλὴν προσαγορευομένην, εἰς δὲ τὰς πόρρω διφικισμένας, Παμφύλιαν, Κιλικίαν, &c. "It is the metropolis, not only of one province or region, Judæa, but also of most others, because of the colonies which it sent out to Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cœlosyria, and to some further removed, Pamphylia, Cilicia," &c. Which being supposed, and this question being sent from Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, there is no reason but they that brought it, being themselves not messengers, but solemnly apostles equal to any others, (though they came later in,) and being as able to speak from their own knowledge to the point in hand as any, and so speaking at large, Acts xv. 12, and indeed sent this journey by immediate commission from heaven, Gal. ii. 2, should be reckoned together with those other two apostles that before were there, and considered in the same capacity with them. And then supposing, as I now do, that this representation here is copied out from that council of Jerusalem, which alone is mentioned in the story of the scripture, there will be small doubt but these are two of the *living creatures* here mentioned.

7. [*h*] *first beast was like*—] Of these four likenesses here, it is first observable from the rabbins Aben Ezra, &c., on Num. ii, that they were those that made the four standards of Israel, viz., the likeness of a lion in the camp of Judah, of a man in the camp of Reuben, of an ox in the camp of Ephraim, of an eagle in the camp of Dan; and accordingly גִּיתִי, rendered by the Septuagint τὰ ζῳά σου, *thy living creatures*, psalm lxviii. 10, are said to be those ensigns or standards in their camps, but by us rendered *thy congregations*: see A. Masius on Joshua vi. 9. Secondly, it is evident that these four resemblances are the same that are set down Ezek. i. 10. All the difference is that here is *μόσχος*, a calf, which is not there, but (as in Numbers before) an ox instead of it. But that will be easily salved: for in the Septuagint, ταῦρος, βοῦς, μόσχος, bull, ox, calf, signify the same thing. See St. Augustine Quæst. l. 2. qu. 25, Vitulos appellant Ægyptii grandes boves, ut nos Pæni pullos gallinas cujuslibet ætatis, "The Egyptians call great oxen calves," &c. So πῶλος is used for an horse or mare, which literally notes a foal, and puella, a little wench, for a woman great with child,

Fast. 2. and Horat. Od. l. 3. od. 22, 'and many the like. In that place of Ezekiel it is certain that the *cherubims*, or angels, that attend on God, are signified; and so here, supposing him that *sits on the throne* to be God, these *in the midst and round about the throne* must needs be the angels also. But because God is here represented in this vision by the bishop of Jerusalem sitting in council, with the four and twenty elders, or bishops, of Judæa on so many chairs, or seats, on each side of him, this resemblance in proportion must be held, for these *four living creatures* also to signify, as was said, those four apostles in this honourable relation, as the standard-bearers of the Christian Israel; they that thus travelled to plant, and defend, and contend for the Christian faith over all Judæa, and in other cities where the Jews were, and, as long as they would endure to hear it, not departing to the Gentiles; but being so rejected by them and persecuted, they are now fit to be next to God about this throne, for the judging of the Jews. And that which some learned Jews have observed to be the meaning of those hieroglyphics (those four likenesses on the standards) all together, will here be applicable. There is little sense in that of Aben Ezra, that "the man was in Reuben's standard, because he found mandrakes," &c., or in that of the Talmudists, that "there are four proud creatures in the world, the lion among wild beasts," &c. All which are vain and ridiculous. And the account which Photius gives of this matter, Epist. 157, is little better. The most sensible explication of the hieroglyphic given by them is, that by the slowness of the ox, the anger of the lion, the swiftness of the eagle, and the humanity, mercy, kindness of the man, is meant the representation of God, as he was at first towards the fathers in the wilderness, and to their posterity ever after, and even now when he comes to execute vengeance on them most remarkably, *slow to anger, and swift to mercy*; the same in effect which is attributed to God by Joel, when he is considered in this very business of punishing this people, in the *great and terrible day of the Lord*, Joel ii. 13, the subject of this ensuing vision. As for the truth of that which is thus supposed to be represented by it, (viz. the great patience and *μακροθυμία* of God, expressed in the inflicting of these his judgments on the obdurate Jews, and the wonderful mercy in delivering the penitent believers,) I shall only transcribe one passage from Eusebius, being his observation (after the setting down of the story) to this very purpose, Ταῦτα δ' ἂν εἴη δίκαιον ἐπιθεῖναι, ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν παραστατικὰ φιλανθρωπίας τῆς παναγθοῦ προνοίας, &c. "It is but justice to add the mention of that which will set before men's eyes the great mercy of the all-gracious providence of God, which forty years after their crucifying of Christ deferred the destroying of them; in which time," saith he, "many Christians, apostles, and others, (James, the bishop of Jerusalem, &c.) being then alive and among them, ἔρκος ὥσπερ ὄχυρώτατον παρέμενον τῷ τόπῳ, were as a strong hedge, or wall, to the place; and the *θεία ἐπισκοπή*," saith he, "God's visitation, did yet endure with much patience," (*μακροθυμούσα*, the very word compounded of the two things signified by the ox and lion, the slowness or *μακρότης* of the ox, and the *θυμὸς* of the lion,) "εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δυνηθεῖεν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν μετανοήσαντες, συγγνώμης καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν, " if so be at length repenting of what they had done, they might so obtain pardon

and deliverance :'' where as the *pardon* and *deliverance* are the thing figured by the mercy of the man, so are the *ei āpa porē*, if so be at length, answerable to the (eagle-like) swiftness to it; whensoever they repent, he instantly pardons. As for any more particular application of these four likenesses to the persons of those four apostles, Peter, John, Paul, and Barnabas, as that Peter should be the lion, both in respect of his fervour and fiery zeal, generally observed in him, (notwithstanding his fall,) and in respect of his primacy, *πρῶτος Σίμων*, *first Simon* in the Gospel; John the eagle, in respect of his high speculations about the divinity of Christ, in his Gospel; Paul the ox, in respect of his labour more abundant than they all; and Barnabas the man, in respect of his title of humanity, by which his name is interpreted *son of consolation*; I shall not any further insist on them, because they are but conjectural.

8. [i] *six wings about him*—] In this verse (which hath in it some difficulty of construction) it is first evident, that the phrase *full of eyes* belongs to the *living creatures*, and not to the *wings*; for so the Greek *γέμοντα*, *full*, concludes, which agreeth with *ζῶα*, *creatures*, but cannot with *πτέρυγας*, *wings*, and so before it had been, ver. 6, *τέσσαρα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν*, *four living creatures full of eyes*: and so it appears by the use of the wings to cover the face and secret parts, and to fly; which cannot be applied to the circuit or ambience. Next, if the Greek be consulted, it will be also as clear that the *κυκλόθεν* *καὶ ἔσωθεν*, *round about and within*, are not so to be divided, as in our ordinary translation they are, the former joined with the *six wings*, (*six wings round about them*.) and the latter to the eyes, (*full of eyes within*.) but are both together to be joined with the *full of eyes*, *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν*, *about and within full of eyes*. What is meant by *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν*, *round about and within*, may be resolved by ver. 6, where the same thing is expressed by other words; there it is *full of eyes ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν*, *before and behind*, here *round about and within*. The way of reconciling these distant phrases is, I conceive, by considering the two parts of a *superficies*, the convex or ambient part, that is, the circumference, and the concave or inner part. These two we know are opposed one to the other, and are fitly expressed by either of these two pairs, the outer or ambient by *κυκλόθεν*, *round about*, the inner or concave by *ἔσωθεν*, *within*; and so again (being here applied to *living creatures* with their faces toward us,) the ambient *superficies* by *ὀπίσθεν*, *behind*, or *the back parts*, and the inner *superficies* by *ἔμπροσθεν*, *before*, the back parts of such creatures being most properly the convex, and the fore parts (especially when they have wings, and those wings make a kind of half circle) being the concave *superficies*. And so by this account, as *ἔμπροσθεν*, *before*, ver. 6, and *ἔσωθεν*, *within*, here are all one, so must *κυκλόθεν*, *about*, here, and *ὀπίσθεν*, *behind*, or *on the back*, there, be all one also. And accordingly it may be observed that ch. v. 1, *ἔσωθεν*, *within*, is opposed to *ὀπίσθεν*, *the back parts*, as here to *κυκλόθεν*, *about*, which makes it consequent that *ὀπίσθεν*, *the back part*, and *κυκλόθεν*, *about*, should be all one, as now we set them. What is denoted by these two sorts of eyes, as they are applied to the apostles, may perhaps be thus best resolved: the *eyes before* are an expression of their foresight, or prophetic spirit; the *eyes behind*, those that look

back to the Old Testament, and by the faculty of interpreting the prophecies and types, are furnished with a great means of conviction to the Jews, to whom they were to preach, in shewing them Christ in Moses and the prophets owned by them. The not observing the meaning of *ἔσωθεν*, *within*, as it is here all one with *before*, ver. 6, hath made others guess that their inward gifts may be meant by that, and the outward expressions and exercises of them by *κυκλόθεν*, *round about*. But that notion cannot be applied to *before and behind*, ver. 6, and therefore cannot reasonably be thought to have place here. Moses had foretold that a *Prophet* should be *raised up*, that is, the *Messias*, and they that *heard not him* should be *cut off*; and this the apostles understood to be the present case of the Jews, saw this by their *eyes behind* them, and so by the many other passages in the prophets to this same purpose: and besides they had many revelations now to this matter, and those are their *eyes before*; and accordingly wheresoever they come, they warn all of this approaching destruction.

CHAP. V.

1. [a] *in the right hand*] That ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ signifies not *upon*, but *in the right hand of God*, may appear by ver. 7, where it is said to be taken ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς, *out of his hand*, which supposeth it formerly to be in it. And though this be not the ordinary notation of the Greek ἐν, (and therefore I see it is conceived by some that the book was here brought and laid by him ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, *on his right hand*,) yet the promiscuous use of prepositions in these books, (answerable to the Hebrews, whose prepositions are used more loosely and largely,) will give a full answer to this. Now this is no nice consideration, but that which is of use to explain that which follows, of the *Lamb's taking the book out of the hand of God the Father*. For this book containing in it the decrees of vengeance and judgment upon the enemies of God, the crucifiers of Christ and persecutors of the Christian faith and professors, and this power being by the resurrection of Christ seated and instated on Christ as a reward of his sufferings, and consequently the execution of these decrees of God put into the hand of the Son, whose *coming and kingdom* it is thence so often called; and this power being not again delivered up into the Father's hands till the end of the world, all this is here fitly and fully expressed by the *Lamb's taking the book out of the right hand of God the Father*, (and would not so commodiously be represented, if the book had lain by him, and had not been in his hand,) and by his *loosing the seals*, and *opening the book*, that is, bringing forth those judgments of God which lay folded up in his decrees, but were now to be remarkably executed by Christ.

[b] *written within and on the backside*] It may here be thought probable of this book, which is said to be γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν, *ἔσφραγισμένον*, that by putting a comma after ἔσωθεν, *within*, it should thus be rendered *written within, and sealed upon the back*, and so that the *seven seals* were all on the outside of the book. But besides that the ordinary punctuation, putting the comma after ὀπισθεν, *on the back*, resists this, there be many other circumstances clear the other to be the meaning, that the book, or roll, was *written within and on the backside*; by *within*, meaning the inner concave *superficies* of the roll, and by the *backside*

the convex, which is outermost in rolling up, (see note [i] on ch. iv.) As, first, that in the process it appears that the opening of every single seal brings forth some representation, which could not be if all the seals were on the backside; for then they must all be opened before any part of the book could be discovered: and therefore it must be supposed that the main book or roll had seven rolls in it, and each of them sealed. Secondly, the phrase in this place refers to the like in *Ezekiel*, ch. ii. 10, where a long succession of calamities is represented by a *roll written within and without*, that is, a *roll written within* throughout, and *on the backside* a great way down, yet leaving enough in the lower part of the backside to wrap up all that was written, and keep it from being seen; and so for sealing also. And that is perfectly applicable to the phrase here, *written within and on the backside*, but so as there should be void space left to cover all, and to seal up all. Thirdly, because the word *ἐνὸςθεν*, *on the backside*, here being all one with *without*, in *Ezekiel*, and so fitly denoting not the *outside* of the roll when it was made up, or that part of the outside which appeared then, but the *backside* of the roll written on a good way, when the inside or foreside was all written on. This is fitly applicable to the matter here foretold at the opening of these seals, a long *series* of calamities which should fall upon this people, (just as in *Ezekiel* it was;) for that is the reason why a roll at any time is written on the backside, viz. because the inside (which alone is wont to be writ on) will not contain all that belongs to it; *scriptus et a tergo* being the expression for a very long roll, or book, that it is *written on the backside also*.

8. [c] *prayers of saints*] Who the *saints* are whose *prayers* are here mentioned as *odours*, may appear, ver. 10, where of them it is said, that *they shall reign on the earth*, that is, that the effect of the execution of these judgments of God on the enemies of Christianity, noted by the *Lamb's opening the book*, (note [a]), should be this, that the Christians should thereby have a peaceable being upon earth, to assemble and serve Christ, (see note [d] on ch. i.) By this it is evident that the *saints* here are the Christian people *upon earth*, and not the saints which reign in heaven. And this also is agreeable to the notion of *odours*, by which their prayers are expressed: for those refer to the incense that the priests were wont to offer in the sanctuary, whilst the *people prayed* without, Luke i. 10, and their prayers supposed to go up with that incense to heaven. By this it also appears that the *four living creatures*, and *four and twenty elders*, which have here the *vials* in their hands, as also the *harps*, the one to denote the prayers, the other the praises of the Christians, are the apostles and bishops of Judæa, (as in the laying of the scene appeared, notes [r] and [g] chap. iv.) whose office it was to present the prayers and praises of the Christians to God; and so by all these together the Christian persecuted church of Judæa (and by consent with them all other Christians over the world) are represented here as those that had now their prayers heard, and those by the destruction of their persecutors turned into praises.

CHAP. VI.

[a] 4. *kill one another*] The great intestine broils among the Jews, those especially of the seditious and the zealots, are at large set down by Josephus, l. 4. and l. 5. De Bel. Jud.; so great, saith he, that Vespasian on purpose deferred the siege of Jerusalem, that they might more easily be destroyed by their own than by the Romans' swords: see Luke xxi. 10. Thus about the twelfth of Nero, when Florus crucified (beside great multitudes of the ordinary sort) μυρίους ὄσους παρὰ Ἰουδαίους τετιμημένων, saith Eusebius out of Josephus, *many myriads of the most honourable among the Jews*, there was, saith he, first in Cæsarea, then in all Syria, such a disorder, and δεινὴ ταραχὴ, *terrible tumult*, of those that dwelt in the country against those that inhabited the cities, invading and laying them waste in a most hostile manner, that one might see whole cities full of unburied carcasses, old men and children thrown dead together, women shamelessly uncovered, καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν μυστὴν ἀδιηγῶν συμφορῶν, *the whole province full of inexpressible calamities*. And the observation is once for all, Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 6, that στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακῶν ἐπάλληλοι μηχαναί, *seditions, and wars, and mischievous projects one upon the neck of another*, never left the city and all Judæa, till at last the siege came upon them. And at that very time when it came, three factions there were on foot among them, under three commanders, Eleazar, John, and Simon. And though Tacitus say that the approach of their enemy gave them peace one with another; yet Josephus, that was an eyewitness, relates it much otherwise, only that the *three factions*, εἰς δύο μοίρας περιέστανται, *were divided into two*, by the oppression of the third, John upon the day of unleavened bread sending some into the temple, under pretence of sacrificing, which killed Eleazar and butchered his party, and seized upon the temple, where before Eleazar and his zealots had fortified themselves. And however, though the seditious joined a while to repel the enemy, yet they soon returned to their former feuds, and one faction fighting against the other, the weight and smart of both fell upon the commonalty, who were plundered by each of them. More of these civil combustions, and the fearful effects of them, we read of most notably in the time of the siege; when the scarcity began to pinch the besieged, then the στρασιασται broke into all houses, tormented the possessors to bring out their provision. "When mothers^a," saith he, "snatched victuals out of their babes' mouths, in came the seditious, and snatched it out of theirs, and catching up the children which held fast the bits in their mouths, and would not let them go, they dashed them against the ground." Those that, to prevent them, eat up what they had before they could come to them, they used with most horrid cruelties, ὡς ἀδικηθέντες, *taking themselves to be injured* by them who thus robbed them of their prey. And those that were ready to die through the famine, they would yet search more strictly, μὴ ὑπὸ κολπον ἔχων τροφήν σκήπτουτο τὸν θάνατον, *lest they should have some food in their bosom, and only make as if they were famished*, when they were not; and then, δεινὰ βασάνων ὁδοὶ πρὸς ἔρευναν τροφῆς, *horrible ways of torment* did they use to *find out food*. And so true is that which is

^a Enseb. l. 3. c. 6. out of Josephus.

here said, of their *killing one another*, that, saith he, *τινὰς τῶν ἐρριμμένων ζώντας διήλανον ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ σιδήρου*, *they would run through those that lay alive* (but ready to faint) before them, *to try their weapons*. And the horridnesses of these practices of theirs upon one another was such, saith he, that if the Romans had delayed the work, the earth would have swallowed them up, or fire and brimstone would have fallen from heaven on them, as on Sodom. And though the whole faction of the zealots were killed by Titus in the temple, a part of which they fortified and defended, yet still after that, even to Adrian's time, we find mention of their frequent tumults, and butcherings of one another. But the particulars which are here in this place intimated, and the same, Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, seem to be earlier than these, as being both here and there set before the *famines*, and *pestilences*, and *earthquakes*; all which, as they are both there and here mentioned, are but *ἀρχαὶ ὀδίνων*, *the beginnings of their ensuing calamities*, the signs and forerunners of them. And many such slaughters there then were in the latter end of Claudius, and throughout Nero's reign, caused by seditions and tumults from time to time succeeding one another, and famines in like manner consequent to their seditious commotions; and so, as it is uncertain, so it matters not much in what point of time these here are placed. Only for the preventing of mistakes, we may proceed thus far in defining of this time; that the *famine* here mentioned cannot be that foretold by Agabus, nor consequently can the *slaughters* here mentioned be any preceding that, if what is here said be by way of prophecy. For that famine foretold by Agabus came to pass in the second year of Claudius, which was before St. John's banishment can be imagined to be: for that St. John was at Jerusalem about the sixth of Claudius; appears by Paul's finding him there, Gal. ii. 9, at his coming up with Barnabas from Antioch to the council there. And that Claudius did not banish the Jews from Rome till after this, appears, Acts xviii., where upon that occasion, Aquila was but newly come from Rome, ver. 2, at the time of Paul's being come from Athens to Corinth: and there must be some competent time intervening betwixt the council and this. For after he separated from Barnabas, his business was in Syria, Cilicia, Derbe, Lystra, Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia, Troas, Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, Berea and Athens. This banishment of the Jews from Rome, Orosius, l. 7. c. 6, relates out of Josephus to have been about this ninth of Claudius. And that Claudius did any act against Christians before they were involved in that expulsion among the Jews, we have no ground or reason to affirm: but on the contrary Suetonius is clear, Claud. c. 25, that he banished the Jews that followed Christ. Which makes it reasonable to assent to the judgment of chronologers, that in this ninth of Claudius, John was banished from Ephesus to Patmos; all parts of the Roman dominions doing the same that was done at Rome. However, that John was not sent into Patmos before that famine, doth thus appear irrefragably; no manner of persecution fell upon the Christians from the Roman emperor, or proconsul, or procurator, before they were stirred up by the Jews, the fountains of all the persecutions, saith Tertullian cont. Gnost. And the Jews stirred not up the Gentiles until, by the apostles turning away from them to the Gentiles, they were incensed and provoked, Acts xiii. 46, and that was after the death of Herod Agrippa,

which was in the fourth of Claudius. And therefore supposing the exile of St. John to Patmos to have been toward this end of Claudius's reign, it is consequent that to that time also, and not before, these *mutual slaughters* must belong. And of this sort Josephus mentions very bloody ones, when the Sicarii raged in the time of Felix, Ant. l. 20. c. 5'. And at the end of that chapter he adds, τοὺς ἀπορονημένους τῶν λεπτῶν ὑπ' ἐνδείας τελευτᾶν, *that many of the priests were in distress, and died for want*; though because that famine seems to have been on the priests only by the oppression of the high-priests, it is not certain that that is it which is here mentioned, but some other about that time, not particularly mentioned by him. And these slaughters wrought by these seditious persons, as they are properly parallel to the ἀρχαὶ ᾤδινων, *the beginnings of pangs*, Matt. xxiv., so are they to the *second horse* in this vision. And presently after, the state of Judæa is so related by Josephus, c. 5', as their condition may well be represented in this vision, v. 8, where the *power is given to them to kill upon the fourth part of the land with sword, and hunger, and death*, the Jews never desisting from sedition, μέχρι δὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆψαν, *until they kindled and accended a war*. And this will be a fit season also in which to place the *crying of the souls beneath the altar*, which must be somewhat before the murder of St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem, set down after the death of Festus, (and before Albinus entered the province, c. 7,) and said to have raised great grief and indignation in all that had any sense of justice, ὅσοι ἐδόκουν ἐπιεικίστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἡνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτων, *all that were most just in the city, and exact concerning the laws, took it very ill*, saith he.

6. [b] *A measure of wheat for a penny*] *Chenix* is not any set measure, but hath often varied in several times, saith Waserus, Ant. Mens. l. 2. c. 3, and doth ordinarily signify that proportion of wheat which will be sufficient for one man's food for a day. So δηνᾶριος is, it seems by the Gospel, Matt. xx. 2, the wages of a day's labour. And then the meaning of a *chenix for a penny* is, that a man's day's labour shall but bring him in as much bread as he daily wanteth, all other necessities for him, and even bread for his whole family, being wanting; for the *chenix* was but the proportion for one person. This signifies the beginning of a famine, the dearness of corn, as will be discerned if it be compared with the difference that is among us between the day-wages of a labourer, and the quantity of bread which is necessary for him; two pence in bread being thought largely sufficient for a single man's food, when yet his ordinary wages is five or six times as much: by which may be guessed the meaning of a *chenix of wheat for a denary*, viz. two pennyworth of bread (perhaps less) sold for a shilling, or every thing six times as dear as ordinary. And so this whole verse, and the *rider of the black horse*, with the *balance in his hand*, is an emblem of dearth beginning, though not yet rioting upon them, and so is most proper to be applied to the famines in Judæa, foretold by Christ, Matt. xxiv. 7, which yet were none of them comparable with those horrible straits of famine which befell them afterward in the siege, &c. See note [a].

8. [c] *Death, and Hell followed*] By *Death* here, and *Hades* (or ᾠφθα-

νῆμος, destruction) along with it, the pestilence is most probably signified, which follows the famines immediately, Matt. xxiv. 7, and so here in the end of this 8th verse, (*sword, famine, death,*) *death* sure is pestilence, and that some particular pestilence, soon after the famines forementioned. Yet will it not be amiss to observe how properly this word (which signifies *mortality* in general, without defining the way of it) may be also set to denote some other of those prodigious slaughters which after fell upon the Jews, which could not be contained under either the *sword* or *famine* before mentioned. Of this sort there were many, that especially of the *three myriads*, that is, thirty thousand, which in a tumult at the feast of the Passover were thrust and trod to death by themselves, as they ran tumultuously out of the gates of the temple; *περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ ἱεροῦ βία συνωθούμενοι, πρὸς ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι*, saith Eusebius, l. 2. c. 18'.

[*d*] *unto them*] The *αὐτοῖς, them*, here in the plural seems to signify the three last horses and their riders, and so to denote *sword* and *famine* and *pestilence*, the same that was mentioned by Christ, Matt. xxiv. 7, as the *beginnings* of their *sorrow*, or *pangs* of a far heavier *travail*, which after followed: and so no doubt there was a completion of it in such a degree as is here spoken of, that is, *ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς, upon the fourth part of the land*; whether that signify to the destroying one tetrarchy or fourth part of the nation, (as it is certain it fell very heavy upon Galilee,) or whether to the destroying very many in several parts of the nation, so that not all, but only a fourth part of the nation were thus visited by these destructions. This latter will seem the most probable, if it be applied peculiarly to that point of time which is parallel to the *beginnings* of *sorrow*, Matt. xxiv. And then the *ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, by the beasts*, if that be the right reading, will signify the prevailing of the beasts of the field, as a token and effect of a vastation in those places, where the *sword* and *famine* and *pestilence* had made such havock, that is, in that *fourth part of the land*. But the king's MS. reads not *ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, by the beasts*, but *τὸ τέταρτον τῶν θηρίων, the fourth part of beasts*, answerable to the *fourth part of the earth* precedent; and then the meaning will be, that this destruction fell upon the cattle as well as men, as either in *war* or *famine* or *pestilence* it is wont to do. This hath thus far been said on supposition that what is described here belongs to the *beginnings* of *sorrows*, and not the *bitter pangs* themselves. As for those, they were far more sharp and wasting, and infinitely above this proportion. The story is full of them. At the passover, (to shew the just judgments of God in avenging on them the death of his Son, at that very time wherein they crucified him,) no less than 300,000, which came up to that feast out of all Judæa, were shut up in Jerusalem, as in a prison, in that close siege of the Romans, which made the famine so soon to rage most furiously; and this whole number, being but a small proportion to the infinite multitude more of those which were in the city before, (for by Cestius's computation of the 255,000 and 600 sacrifices offered at one passover, at the rate of ten persons to one sacrifice, the number will be near ten times as great as this now named, besides the unclean that were excluded the sacrifice,) were all, one and other, destroyed either by the famine, or by the seditious and turbulent among themselves,

killing the rich, *προφάσει αἰτεμολίας*, *under pretence they would betray the city*, or by the pestilence, or by the enemy, (when they were taken ^xforaging for food, and crucified great multitudes of them before the city, or at last taken captive by the besiegers. So that of those that fell by the *famine and sword*, *λιμῷ καὶ ξίφει*, in Josephus de Captiv. l. 6. c. 44, (as here *ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ*,) he there casts up the sum to an *hundred and ten myriads*, that is, eleven hundred thousand. And for the rest of the *ῥασασιώδεις* and *ληστρικοί*, *the seditious robbers and thieves*, as they were by their own accused and appeached, they were all put to death by Fronto, a Roman, after the taking the city; and of those that were still left, those which were tallest and handsomest, they were reserved for the triumph. Then of the rest that were above seventeen years old, many were sent prisoners to the works in Egypt, and many sent into the provinces to be destroyed in the theatres, *σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις*, saith he, *by sword and by wild beasts*. And for all those that were under seventeen years old, they were sold for slaves. And of these alone, saith he, the number was above *nine myriads*, that is, ninety thousand.

9. [e] *under the altar* *Θυσιαστήριον* here, and ch. viii. 3, must signify the *altar of incense*, (called *θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*, Luke i. 11, but properly *θυμιατήριον*,) not of *burnt-sacrifice*, the whole place here represented from ch. iv. being the sanctuary within the veil, where this *altar of incense* stood, that other of the *burnt-sacrifice* standing without in the court, (see note [i] on Matt. xxiii.) and so it is clear by the mention of *incense*, ch. viii. 3. To which purpose may be observed what we find in ^xTheophylact, that the word *θυμιατήριον* was used peculiarly for that *censer* which the chief priest once a year carried with incense into the holy of holies, and that the *standing altar* in the sanctuary was called *θυσιαστήριον*. And therefore *ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* must not be rendered *under the altar*, (as they that conceive it the *altar of burnt-sacrifice* conceive also that the souls of the martyrs do here lie at the foot of the altar, where the blood, which is the life of living creatures, is wont to be poured out,) but in the lower part of the sanctuary, *beneath the altar of incense*. Of this word, see more in note [a] on ch. xi. As for the *souls of those that were slain*, by that phrase is signified their blood, (as *the soul* and *the life* is all one, and *the blood is the life*, Gen. ix. 4,) and *the blood of the slain* is the effusion of their blood, (as *the blood of Abel*,) the sin of murdering them. The same is after expressed by *ἰσφαγμένοι*, *those that were slain*; for of them in the masculine gender, and not of the *ψυχαὶ* in the feminine, it is said, *ἔκραζον λέγοντες*, *they cried, saying, How long, &c.* All which signifies no more but the sin of slaying the Christians, and the vengeance that in justice from God, and by the promise of Christ, was due to it. And the whole passage seems to allude to 2 Esdr. iv. 35, where *the souls of the righteous ask in their chambers, saying, How long, &c.* and the answer is, (as here,) *By measure hath he measured the times, &c.*, and, *he doth not stir them till the said measure be fulfilled*; and ch. xv. 8, *Behold, the innocent and righteous blood crieth unto me, and the souls of the just complain continually*, and therefore saith the Lord, *I will surely*

^x Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 8, &c. ^y See Euseb. l. 3. c. ζ. ^z On Heb. ix. 7.

avenge, &c. And so here the great persecutions and slaughters of the Christians wrought by the Jews, added to their crucifying of Christ, provoked God's vengeance on them, which should shortly be poured out in fury, they still going on to slay more, James, the bishop of Jerusalem, (known by the name of *the Just*,) and others, whose slaughters, by their own confession, brought down that fatal destruction upon them.

12. [*f*] *great earthquake*] Of the *great earthquakes* (in divers places, saith St. Luke) which were both in Asia and at Rome, see Eusebius in Chronico, in the time of Nero, and Baronius, An. Chr. 68. Neronis 12, and so also of the eclipse of the sun; and of a star or comet like a sword, that stood over the city, and continued a year, and of a great light, that shined about the altar and the temple at nine of the night, upon the feast of unleavened bread, for half an hour together, and of meteors that were seen through all the region, and of an apparition in the clouds of chariots and troops of armed men encompassing the city, and many the like; see Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. η', who calls them *ἐναργῇ καὶ προσημαίνοντα μέλλουσαν ἐρημίαν τέρατα*, and τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κηρύγματα, *prodigies manifestly foreshignifying the approaching desolation*, and sermons as it were of God himself, which is the meaning of the σημεῖον, *the sign of the Son of man appearing in heaven*, Matt. xxiv. 30. And among these meteors, the *falling stars* that are here described, ver. 13, would go for no great rarity. But Arethas mentions some of the ancients, who interpret this *earthquake* here tropologically of Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem; and so it may well be understood, and by analogy all the rest also. See note [*g*].

[*g*] *the sun became black*] That the *blackness of the sun*, and *bloodiness of the moon*, and the *falling of stars from heaven upon the ground*, have a literal interpretation, of which they are capable, so as to note prodigies in the heavens, eclipses and meteors, &c. there is no doubt. But yet here they are sure brought to signify something else. For if these words be compared with Matt. xxiv. 29, to which they are perfectly parallel, it will appear that they are not a setting down the prodigies before the siege of Jerusalem, but that (that being set down, ver. 15) the *darkening of the sun*, &c. is *μετὰ, after that tribulation, or pressure*. All the question is, whether these here be only a general representation of slaughters and bloodshedding, which (because when they are excessive they may cause clouds and meteors in the air) are by some thought to be so expressed ordinarily in the prophets, or whether they may not signify the falling of these judgments upon the civil and ecclesiastical state represented by *sun* and *moon*, and the whole multitude of that people signified by the *stars of heaven*. And the latter of these seems the more probable, (see note [*n*] on Matt. xxiv.) for thus in the prophets of the Old Testament it is ordinary, as when we read, *for the iniquity of the people is the land darkened*, and the like, that is, the glory and lustre of it destroyed. An eminent example, directly parallel to this, we have Isai. xxxiv. 4, *All the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, and all their host shall fall down as the leaf felleth off from the vine, and the falling fig from the fig-tree; and my sword shall be bathed in heaven*. And all this but a representation of God's judgments upon Idumæa, as in the

next words it followeth. And so the *host of heaven*, Dan. viii. 10, is set to denote the Jews, which being supposed, the *stars* that here *fall*, will be the common people or multitude of that whole nation, all expressed distributively in the words that follow, ver. 15, *the kings and great ones, and the rich, and commanders of thousands, and the mighty, and every servant and free-man*. See note [c] on ch. viii.

15. [h] *the kings of the earth*] That this prophecy belongs to the Jews, hath been cleared by other evidences, and accordingly, βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς must be translated, *the kings of the land*, and signify in this place those that had or assumed to themselves the greatest authority among them, and not in any stricter sense *kings*, or heads of the people: for that notion is not applicable to any that were at Jerusalem at this point of time, to which this vision refers, (see note [i]). And proportionably must the μεγιστᾶνες, *great men*, denote the principal that were then in the city. And then the χιλιάρχοι are the *commanders or officers* in their armies, the leaders of the several factions, as will appear note [i], (being elsewhere used for Roman officers of their *militia*). And then the *rich men*, the *bond-man*, and the *free-man*, make up all that were in Jerusalem at this time, expressed, as it is the fashion of the scripture, by the several sorts of them.

[i] *hid themselves in the dens*] This *hiding themselves in dens*, or *caves*, is an expression of a great fear and consternation, and the thing that was foretold by St. Luke, xxi. 26, *Men despairing for fear, and for the expectation of the things that were a coming on that people*, and this there immediately attending the *Gentiles' treading down of Jerusalem*, ver. 24. This makes it not so fit to apply it to their *flying to the mountains*, which was before the siege, or to those fears that were produced by the prodigies, the forerunners of the destruction, such as the φωνὴ ἀβρόα, *the promiscuous noise or voice*, Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, *Let us remove thence*, which was generally thought to signify the departure of God from the temple, *adytis arisque relictis*, for this still was before the destruction: but the passage to which this most punctually relates is that in the very time of destroying the city by Titus. For when the temple was burnt, and the priests hanged up, and upon an affront offered to Titus, (refusing to relieve, or take quarter from him,) the soldiers were permitted to plunder and fire all; the στασιασταί, or *seditionous*, go to the βασιλικὴ αὐλή, or *palace*, where many had laid up their wealth, drive out the Romans thence, kill eight thousand of them, four thousand Jews that had gotten thither for shelter, plunder the place, and the whole lower city, and then εἰς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐχώρουν, *retired to the upper city, Sion*, the best fortified place, and there planted themselves. For the taking of this, Titus was fain to use engines of battery, and to that end to cast up works. And having done so, as soon as ever a piece of the wall was beaten down, of a sudden a strange fright and consternation took them, some crying out that the whole wall on the west was demolished, others that the Romans were entered, others that they saw them in the towers; and such a change followed in the minds of all their leaders, or ῥύπαννοι, parallel to the βασιλεῖς and δυνατοὶ and χιλιάρχοι, *kings and mighty men and commanders* here, that they that were just now in the greatest pride and rage, and contempt of their enemies, and by the deceits of false prophets suborned by them, endeavoured to make all confident that they should have success, now

trembled and quaked, and sought which way to fly : upon which Josephus observes *τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις, the power of God upon impious men*. For, saith he, *the tyrants of their own accords coming down out of their towers, τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐρύμνησαν ἑαυτοὺς, quitted their garrisons*, which otherwise no force could have been able to take. And a multitude of them endeavouring to get away, but being not able to do so, run into caves under ground, and into the foulest vaults, and so the Romans took the towers, and burnt the houses, killed a multitude in the streets, without any the least opposition. And so the city was taken, this being the last act of that bloody tragedy, as here this *hiding in the caves* appears to be attended immediately with these words, *for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand ?* answerable to the Romans setting up their ensigns on those towers at this point of time, and celebrating their victory with shouts and singing, as Josephus saith ; adding, that when Titus came and saw these towers thus madly forsaken by the Jews, he wondered exceedingly, and left them standing for a monument of his strange success, when he demolished all other walls of the city. After this the Romans making a narrow search in all the noisome vaults and caverns, they killed whom they found there. And John, one of the generals of the seditious, being almost famished in a vault, begged quarter, and was taken out, and kept in prison : and so Simon, son of Gioras, the other of their generals, having gotten into an inner vault, after some days his victuals failing, came out of the vault in his white stole and purple garment, and yielded himself to a Roman soldier that was left there. And him Titus reserved to be carried in triumph to Rome with him. And for the rest of the *στασιασταὶ* and *σικάριοι*, *seditious and robbers*, so called from their *short sword*, (that is, the remainders of the two factions, the zealots being before murdered by the former of them in the temple,) they were appeached by one another, and brought out, and either killed by the Romans, or kept to adorn the triumph, or sent as slaves into Egypt, or in the several provinces set to fight with wild beasts on the theatres. So exactly true is it which is here said, that as the *kings and great ones*, so *πᾶς δοῦλος καὶ πᾶς ἐλεύθερος, every servant and every free-man* did thus *hide themselves in the caves*, as the final completion of this destruction. And if the *πέτραι τῶν ὀρέων, the stones of the mountains*, have any farther peculiarity of signification, it may fitly be interpreted of the walls of the temple, where Josephus saith the priests hid themselves at the time of the firing of the temple by the Roman soldiers, from whence five days after they came out, being forced by hunger, and were brought to Titus, and put to death. To which purpose it is commonly known, that as the temple is called *the mountain, or hill, of the Lord*, so *πέτραι, stones*, may fitly signify walls that are made of stone, and so may probably signify, Matt. xxvii. 51, *the walls of the temple*, rather than *the tombstones*. And if so, then their *hiding themselves in the walls of the temple*, as Josephus relates, will be literally expressed by this phrase, *πέτραι ὀρέων, the stones of the mountains* ; or if not, yet prophetically and mystically it may thus be signified, as that which follows, their *crying to the mountains to fall upon them*, is a prophetic expression to signify the sadness and direfulness of their present condition.

16. [k] *wrath of the Lamb*] *The anger of the Lamb, and the great*

day of his anger here, ver. 16 and 17, and ὀργή σου, *thine anger*, ch. xi. 18, are set to express this vengeance on the Jews, whereof the crucifixion of Christ was so great and particular a provoker. Hence is it that in the gospel it is called *the kingdom of God*, and *the coming of Christ*, and in Josephus and Eusebius, *θεία ἐπισκοπή*, *divine visitation*, Euseb. l. 3. c. ζ', *ἄλσος πρὸς τῆς θείας δίκης*, *destruction from divine vengeance*, c. ε', and ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμωρία, *punishment from God*, *ibid.*; and all this from St. Luke, ch. xxi. 22, who calls them *ἡμέρας ἐκδικήσεως*, *days of vengeance* from God, poured out upon them remarkably for what they had done unto Christ. And one phrase yet more eminent there is to the same purpose, Rev. xvi. 14, πόλεμος τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ παντοκράτορος, *the war of the great day of God that ruleth all*, that is, the bloody destruction which this just judgment of God brought upon them, for their crucifying of Christ, and persecuting and killing of Christians.

CHAP. VII.

3. [a] *the earth*] That ἡ γῆ, *the earth*, or *land*, signifies not the *whole world*, but particularly the land of Palestine, in many places of the New Testament, according to the notion of עֲרֶץ, among the Hebrews, (see note [b] on Matt. v.) and so in like manner, *the four corners of the land*, Ezek. vii. 2, *Thus saith the Lord God unto the land of Israel, An end, the end is come upon the four corners of the land*. And so sure it is very generally, almost constantly, taken in this book, and accordingly is to be rendered, *the land*, and not *the earth*, as in the fifth commandment, and in the prophets generally, the Hebrew is wont to be rendered; and in the latter part of this verse, where it is set opposite to, or distinct from *the sea*, &c. it may possibly signify Judæa, or that part of Palestine.

[b] *the sea*] If θάλασσα, *the sea*, here be taken for any part of Palestine distinct from Judæa, it may then seem to signify that part of the country which was near the sea, or lake of Gennesareth, (see note [c] on Luke viii.) as Capernaum, ἡ παραθαλασσία, *by the sea-side*, Matt. iv. 13, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthali, ὁδὸν θαλάσσης, *by the sea-side*, ver. 15. This *sea* was the sea of Tiberias, John vi. 1 and 23, and ch. xxi. 1, the city Tiberias being by Herod built in the prime part of Galilee, saith Josephus, Ant. l. 18. c. 3. And so under this title of θάλασσα, *sea*, Galilee may be described, of which there was a tetrarch under the Romans, and that different from the *procurator*, or ἡγεμὼν, *governor* of Judæa, Luke iii. 1, as here ἡ γῆ, and θάλασσα, *the land* and *the sea*, are set differing one from the other, (see note [e] on Luke xxi.) And then for the πᾶν δένδρον, *every tree*, which is added, that also may signify that country wherein the trees did principally grow, and that may be the tetrarchy of Abyla, or Ἀβυλινὴ χώρα, *the Abylene region*, Luke iii. 1, for that, saith Josephus, and the region about that, which made up Lysanias's tetrarchy, was situate in Libanus, which is so famous in scripture for trees. See Josephus, Ant. l. 18. c. 4. But the truth is, all these together, *land* and *sea* and *trees*, may perhaps signify no more but the whole people of the Jews, without any nicer consideration of different countries in it.

[c] *sealed the—in their foreheads*] This *sealing in the forehead* is the same that is mentioned in the prophet Ezekiel, ch. ix. 4, a n, as it

is thought, either for *תורה*, *the law*, or for *תשובה*, *repentance*, (and so Theodotion renders the Hebrew *תו* there, not *σημεῖον*, *a sign*, but *θαῦ*, the letter *tau*, noting the promise of deliverance that is ascertained to such penitents or obedient servants of God when all others are destroyed, (for that this is the use and meaning of *sealing*, see note [g] on Ephes. iv.) And that this was most remarkable among the Jews at this time, appears, not only by the frequent mention of the *σωζόμενοι*, *those that escape*, and *σωτηρία*, *deliverance* or *salvation*, often shewed to belong to this matter, and again by the plain prediction of Christ, *one shall be taken and another left*, and many the like; but by that passage in story, (mentioned on Matt. xxiv. 26,) how Gallus having sat down and besieged Jerusalem, neglected many opportunities of taking it, and in the very next month raised the siege, recalled the army again, by which means the Christians that were in the city, remembering Christ's words, *When you see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, then let them that are in Judæa flee to the mountains*, (and perhaps admonished by the voice, *Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντῦθεν*, *Let us go hence*, thus understood,) immediately removed out of the city, and indeed out of Judæa, and went to Pella, (see Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 4,) and were dispersed some in Europe, others in Asia, (see note [d] on John vii.) and at Titus's besieging the city there was not one Christian left in it. See Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 22, &c. and note [g] on Matt. xxiv.

4. [d] *hundred and forty and four thousand* This number of an *hundred forty and four thousand*, or the proportioning it so equally between twelve tribes, must not necessarily be taken in a literal sense, that there were just so many Christians in Judæa, that went out and were delivered at the time of the approach of those judgments, or those so equally divided by tribes; but (as in prophecies it is ordinary) a certain number for an uncertain, and an obscure representation made. And perhaps all that is to be understood by or concluded from this number is no more but the demonstration of the truth of what Christ had said, in answer to the question, *εἰ ὀλίγοι σωζόμενοι*; whether the number of the Jews which should escape were, in proportion to the others, a small or great number. For there his advice to them of *entering in at the strait gate*; and so also the prophet's frequent mention of the *κατάλειμμα*, *the remnant that should escape*, doth demonstrate, that of the Jews there should not be found many in proportion which should be delivered from this *wrath to come*, by *escaping out of that wicked generation*. For though Christ after his own ascent left his apostles to *preach over all the cities of Judæa*, (to rescue them yet, if it were possible,) before this vengeance should break out upon them; yet it seems by his own prediction, Luke xviii. 8, that after all this there should be *found but little faith*, that is, few believers, *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, *in the land of Judæa*, at the time of the *Son of man's coming in judgment* upon this people; few of that nation would sincerely repent and come in and adhere to him. There were indeed many of that nation which received the faith, *three thousand* converted at one sermon of St. Peter's, Acts ii. 41, and *καθ' ἡμέραν*, (as it is there said, ver. 47,) *every day* there was a proportionable addition of them, and so the bishop of Jerusalem tells Paul, Acts xxi. 20, that there were *many myriads of believing Jews* there. And Eusebius, mentioning Justus, the third bishop of Jerusalem, saith, that he was one of *μύριοι ὅσοι ἐκ περιτομῆς*, *the so many*

myriads of Jews that believed in Christ at that time, 1. 3. c. λε', (and accordingly the number which is here said to be *sealed* comes to above fourteen myriads, which is no small number.) But yet of all these it must be observed, first, that many of the believers, being also so *zealous for the law*, Acts xxi. 20, fell out with the apostles and Christianity itself when it came in competition with the Mosaic observances, and fell off to the Jewish and Gnostic part, when the persecutions fell upon the orthodox Christians, and accordingly were after destroyed with the unbelievers at this *coming of Christ*; secondly, these many were yet few comparatively, or in proportion to the far greater number which held out obdurate, or else, as temporary professors, fell off again in time of persecution for the faith. And this will appear to be very fitly expressed here by this number of an *hundred forty and four thousand*. For, for the multitude of that people, we may make some guess at it, 1. by the account which Cestius brought Nero. He, when he had that prefecture, being willing to give Nero an advertisement of the strength of that nation, (because Nero so contemned it,) laboured to make use of the high-priest's arithmetic to that purpose, and he did it thus. At the feast of the passover they numbered the sacrifices that were brought to Jerusalem at that time, and found them to be 255,600. Now of those paschal sacrifices it must be remembered, that each of them was eaten by a society, consisting perhaps of twenty, but at least of ten persons. At the proportion of ten to a sacrifice, the number of those that did partake of these sacrifices must be 2,556,000. 2dly, it must be remembered also, that none had to do in those sacrifices but those which were pure and clean at that time, and therefore besides this number of these that did partake of them, it must be resolved that there was a very great number more which did not partake; all the leprous, all the women that were under any pollution, all the men to whom any thing in like manner had befallen in the night, all that were under any infection, &c., these were excluded from that former number, and in the account must be added to it: and then it will appear what a small number this was of 144,000 out of all Judæa, in proportion to the whole people at that time, not above a thirtieth part at the highest valuation imaginable, perhaps a yet far more disproportionable number. Here if it be demanded, why the tribe of Dan is not numbered among the tribes, and Levi is; the answer for Levi will be clear, that though that tribe had no part in the division of the land, and so could not be numbered there, yet in Christ their portion was as good as any, and therefore were not here to be omitted. As for the tribe of Dan, it may be because long before that time that tribe was either destroyed, or brought very low, say the Jews; and so indeed it appears that it was not numbered among the rest of the tribes in 1 Chron. ii. or the following chapters.

10. [e] *Salvation*] Σωτηρία, *salvation*, is the word which most properly signifies this deliverance of them that are said to be *sealed*, that is, of the penitent Jews, or sincere orthodox Christians, σωζόμενοι, *the saved*, or κατάλειμμα, *the remnant*, (see Rom. xi. 26, and note [b] on Rom. xiii.) and then the meaning of σωτηρία Θεοῦ, *salvation to God*, will be obvious, the imputing this deliverance to God, acknowledging it his special act, giving him all the praise and honour of it.

CHAP. VIII.

1. [a] *silence in heaven*] The manner of offering of incense is here described by way of vision, the high-priest offering it upon the θυμιατήριον within the temple, the priests shouting and blowing with the trumpet, and the people meanwhile praying without by themselves, every one silently in the court; which prayers of theirs are supposed to go up to God with the incense, ver. 4. (a description of this, see note [c] on Luke i. 10.) These prayers of the people are here first set down by the phrase, σιγή ἐν οὐρανῷ, *silence in heaven for half an hour*, the temple being sometime expressed by *heaven*, sometime by *the host of heaven*, that is, the *sun, moon, and stars*, (see ver. 12,) and the *silence* there being the private prayer of the people in the court, Luke i. 10, and the time of *half an hour* being the space that those prayers used to continue, while the priest continued within at the altar in the temple, and after which he used to come out, and pronounce the blessing on the people, and dismiss them, but till then they stayed and prayed: see Luke i. 21. And if beside this primary and literal, any secondary mystical sense of this phrase, *silence in heaven about half an hour*, need to be observed, it may not unfitly be this, that it denote a short amazement in the faithful persevering Christians, joined with an awful reverence of the Divine Majesty, and compassion of their native country, upon the apprehension of the calamities now to be inflicted. These might justly provoke a sadness and an amazement. But then the consideration of God's glory, arising out of this his justice upon the impenitent, and also of the merciful deliverance of the faithful, not only from this misery, but even by means of this misery, (the destruction of the persecutors being the release of the persecuted,) these make the amazement and compassion not to remain long, and so the *silence* to be for a short space. But this by the way, as a descant, not an interpretation. Then next, the trumpeting of the priests, *the sons of Aaron*, Eccus. i. 16, is here expressed by the *seven trumpets* given to the *seven angels*, ver. 2, then the high-priest's offering the incense is described by the other *angel* having the *golden censer*, &c. ver. 3. And all this representation was here fitly set in the vision to signify the prayers of the true faithful Christians, and their acceptance with God, to which is consequent their deliverance; while all other the impenitent unbelievers have this vengeance poured down upon them, nay, as an effect of the hearing these prayers of the godly, (though they prayed not for judgments on the rest,) is the very vengeance on the wicked, who persecute the godly, (as when *Abel's blood* is said to *cry to heaven for vengeance* against Cain,) for so every where most bitterly did the Jews persecute the Christians. See note [b] on ch. ii, and Gal. vi. 12.

5. [b] *voices, and thunderings, and—*] That φωναὶ and βοῦνται, *voices and thunders*, are all one, (from the equivocalness of the Hebrew word, which signifies both,) hath been often said; and so here, by these two words there is no more meant than either of them would have imported, *thunder*; to which *lightning* and *earthquake* are fitly joined, to signify in general the judgments of God, and vengeance on this people, which are more specially described and represented under the *sounding of the seven trumpets* that follow, and the productions of

each of them. And though the σεισμός, or *earthquake*, here mentioned, may fitly signify the commotions and stirs which are prefigured by the three first angels, (see note [c]), yet this verse here, belonging equally to all that follows, and not peculiarly to those three, will more fitly be interpreted in a general notion comprehensive of all that is after more particularly described, (and so the *earthquake* will signify a shaking, preparative to a fall and desolation,) than by any such propriety of the earthquake be thus confined.

7. [c] *fire*] What is signified by the *soundings* of the three first angels here, will be guessed by the πῦρ, *fire*, observable in each of them here, πῦρ μεμυγμένον ἐν αἵματι, *fire joined with the hail* precedent, (and then *blood* superadded to both of them,) *a mountain burning with fire*, ver. 8, and *a star burning as it were a lamp*, ver. 10. Now there is nothing more fitly resembled by *fire*, than sedition or rebellion is. All kind of contention being indeed a fire, and ordinarily styled πύρωσις, *a combustion*: but the greater it is, as rebellion is of all others the greatest, the better it deserves that title: and this, because as a *little fire* sets a whole house, a whole kingdom, a whole world on fire, James iii. 5, 6, and beginning from very small sparks ascends quickly into a very great flame; so sedition began by one, secretly steals on and increases, draws whole multitudes unto it, and then, as fire also, devours and destroys wherever it comes, lays all waste before it. Now it is observable in the Jewish records of those times, how full the history is of two sorts of most violent disturbers, στασιασταὶ and ζηλωταί, the *seditions* and the *zealots*. And though the *fire* here might properly enough belong to either of these, yet it is very fit to make a distinction between them in the predictions here, as we know there is in the histories of them. The στασιασταί, or *seditions*, stirred up rebellion against the Romans, pretending and designing to cast off that yoke of their conquerors, under the conduct of the ψευδόχριστοι, *false Christs*, which undertook to redeem Israel out of their slavery. But the ζηλωταί, *zealots*, exercised tyranny and all manner of cruelty upon their own countrymen. The latter of these were immediately before the siege, and in time of the siege, and are described by the *locusts* most fitly, ch. ix. 3. But the former, the *seditions*, which raised those stirs and tumults, which caused the Romans to send armies to the subduing of them, and so were the foundation of that bloody wasting war, and by several degrees promoted it, are the subject of this part of the vision, upon the *sounding* of the four first angels. Of this sort was the Egyptian impostor, mentioned Acts xxi. 38, and more largely by Josephus, (Ant. l. 20. c. 6, and De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12, and out of him by Eusebius, l. 2. c. 21,) who led after him to mount Olivet thirty thousand men, meaning from thence to force his passage into Jerusalem, and seize upon the Roman guards, and possess himself of the city, but was prevented and discomfited by Felix, about the end of Claudius's reign. But this is somewhat too early to be referred to here. That which seems most probable is, that these first trumpets in this chapter contain the space of time from the coming of Albinus to his prefecture, and the Jews' sufferings under him, then under Gessius Florus, his successor, as also the spoiling of Galilee, by Cestius Gallus, prefect of Syria, to which fitly follows the siege, and attempt of Gallus on Jerusalem, the importance of the sounding of the fourth trumpet. Under

Albinus and Florus the Jews were much grieved and provoked, and brake out into seditions: see Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 9, and De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13, and so forward. Upon this the war began in the second year of Florus's procuratorship, in the twelfth of Nero, saith Josephus, Ant. l. 20, in the last chapter. This Florus having exercised much cruelty on the Jews in Cæsarea, on occasion of a sedition there, (De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 25,) cometh with an army to Jerusalem, kills a great many, takes and scourges many of the best and noblest of the Jews, and hangs them up. They of Jerusalem send their complaints to the governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus; he sends Politian to see how it fared with them; Politian meets king Agrippa coming from Alexandria, enters Jerusalem with him, sees and returns an account to Cestius Gallus, upon which they hope for relief from him, but in vain. King Agrippa makes an oration to quiet them, and persuade them patience, subjection to the Romans, and obedience to Florus, till the emperor should send another in his stead: upon this oration they break out violently against the king, reproach him, and drive him out of the city. About the same time they seize upon the fort called Mas-sada, kill the Romans, and put in a garrison of their own; and Eleazar, son of Annas the high-priest, rejects the emperor's sacrifices, and refuseth to offer them according as was wont. The chief men, and all that loved peace, betook themselves to the upper city; the forces of the seditious seized on the lower and the temple, from thence brake in upon the upper, burnt the high-priest's house, and king Agrippa's palace, took the tower called Antonia, killed all the garrison of soldiers there. At the same time there is a great slaughter of Jews in Cæsarea, and the Jews over all Syria rise up against the people of the country, and great slaughters are committed on both sides, Joseph. l. 2. De Bell. Jud. c. 13, &c. This occasions Cestius his coming with a great army into Palestine, and after the destroying of some towns of the Jews, he besieges Jerusalem at the feast of tabernacles. This siege of Jerusalem being the close of what befell the Jews, by reason of the seditious, may most fitly be resolved on to be the interpretation of the *smiting the third part of the sun, moon, and stars*, so as to *darken them*, and diminish the lustre both of day and night, which are all but phrases to signify a pressure, and a sad condition which befell Jerusalem. But because the city was not to be taken by this siege, but by the especial providence of God, Cestius, against all reason, *παράλογάτα*, saith Josephus, raised this siege, by that means to give opportunity to the believers to obey Christ's directions, Luke xx. 21, and to *fly out of Judæa to the mountains*, and withal, to make the judgment far ^amore terrible on the rest, (by the famine that after followed,) than it would have been if it had at this time been taken, (as easily it might have been,) therefore follows in this point of time, most fitly, the *angel's flying through the midst of heaven*, ver. 13, and *crying, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of Judæa, by reason of the other voices of the trumpets of the three angels which are ready to sound*. Upon which, saith Josephus, before the coming of the fatal final siege, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων ὥσπερ βαπτίζομένης νεὸς ἀπενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως, *many of the eminenter Jews, as from a ship ready to sink, swam out of the city*. Thus saith

^a See note [a] on ch. ix.

Eusebius, l. 3. c. 5, that there was an oracle, or prophecy, delivered to the *δοκιμοί*, the good men, or Christians, that they should go out of the city before the war should rage, and go to Pella; and so Epiphanius, De Pond. et Mens., that before the city should be taken by the Romans, *προεχρηματίσθησαν ὑπ' ἀγγέλου πάντες οἱ μαθηταί*, all the believers were warned by an angel (as here it is an angel flying) to go out of the city, which was now ready to be utterly destroyed.

[d] *green grass*] What is here distinctly meant by the green grass, *χόρτος χλωρὸς*, can be but conjectured; and that perhaps will be best done by comparing it with Ezek. xx. 47, where God's judgments are described by a fire, (as here,) falling and devouring every green tree, and every dry. What is the meaning of this, appears, ch. xxi. 3, *I will cut off from thee the righteous and the wicked*; where the righteous are evidently described by the green, as the wicked by the dry tree. Thus Luke xxiii. 31, it proverbially signifies, *if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in a dry*? If the righteous escape so hardly, where shall the ungodly and sinners appear? And the elegance and significance lying not in that of the tree, but of the greenness, that doth as fitly hold in the grass as the tree. And thus it is clearly used, ch. ix. 4, where the grass and green thing and tree are opposed to those that have not the seal of God in their foreheads, and so are the righteous opposed to the impenitent, and particularly the Christians in Judæa, on whom the violence of these tumults and seditions fell heavily, as those which were hated by the Jews, and which would not take up arms with them, and join in their seditious practices.

8. [e] *third part of the sea became blood*] That the tumults and rebellions of the seditious are here represented by these three first angels, is more manifest than what those seditions particularly were which are denoted by each of them. Our Saviour saith of these times, that many should arise, and deceive many; and the event hath confirmed it. At every turn some or other arose and undertook to lead them out, and nothing is to be met with in the stories of these times but the raising of seditions among the Jews, and the coming of the Romans to suppress them. And therefore it is not needful to distribute these several representations of the three first trumpets, and apply them severally, but to understand them in gross of this matter. Yet supposing (what hath been shewed, note [b] on c. vii.) that the sea here (noting the sea or lake of Tiberias) may signify Galilee, it will be commodious enough to understand this of that sedition raised in Galilee, which Vespasian was by Nero sent to quell about the year of Christ 69, in the twelfth of Nero. At which time, saith Baronius out of Josephus, he subdued the Galileans, *Gentem fortissimam, totius Palestinæ potentissimam et munitissimam*, "the most valiant, powerful and best fortified country of all Palestine." Which action of his being so considerable and remarkable for the slaughter of above an hundred thousand, and the carrying above forty thousand Jews captive, may fitly be here represented under the third part of the sea becoming blood, and the dying of the third part of the creatures, that is, Jews, in the sea, that is, of Galilee, and the third part of the ships, that is, of the cities, which are to a country as ships to a sea, the places wherein men live and traffick, and wherein they are fortified against enemies, as by ships against the

violence of the sea. And this slaughter falling upon the whole region of Galilee, and not only on the cities thereof, may probably be meant by the vision that follows the *sounding* of the *third angel* also, the *star* that *burnt*, and *fell* upon the *rivers* and *fountains*, which are to the sea as towns and villages to the cities, and of which a *third part* became *wormwood*, ver. 11. And if it be necessary to define who it was who is described by the *great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp*, it may fitly be affirmed to be Josephus, the son of Mattathias, the leader of those of Jotapata; but this not personally, but he and his forces together, who made a very valiant resistance to Vespasian's army, but by doing so brought great slaughters upon them, as is particularly and exactly set down by Josephus, l. 3. De Bell. Jud.

11. [*f*] *Wormwood* is in scripture sometimes used to express that which infecteth others, infusing its bitterness into them; and so it may signify any impostor that seduceth and draws others after him, as many of those seditious captains did to their destruction. Sometimes it is used to signify any bitter effect, any heavy calamity: and so here it may signify also these tumults of the seditious bringing great slaughters on Judæa, as appears by Josephus's story, De Bell. Jud. l. 2 and 3.

12. [*g*] *third part of the sun was smitten, and the—*] That the temple is described and expressed generally in the scripture by *an host*, hath been formerly shewed, note [*f*] on 1 Tim. i. That this *host* is in visions or prophetic dark representations fitly expressed by the *sun*, *moon*, and *stars*, will be easily consented to, when we but remember that those are called the *host of heaven*, and that the temple is commonly a representation of heaven, and sometimes represented by it, (see ver. 1,) and accordingly the Christian church is called *the kingdom of heaven* oftentimes in the Gospel. Then that the particulars of *sun*, *moon* and *stars* are severally mentioned, rather than the heaven the aggregate body, is by that ordinary manner of speaking among the Hebrews, which express the whole by enumeration of the several parts of it, (see note [*e*] on 2 Pet. iii.) And so here it may possibly denote the service of the temple, which was performed by night, (*ye that by night stand in the courts of God*, saith the Psalmist, the watches being then kept,) as well as by day, which is here also mentioned by *ἡ νύξ*, *the night*, as well as *ἡμέρα*, *the day*; which could not severally have been mentioned, had not the *sun* for the day, and the *moon and stars* for the night, been accordingly mentioned also. And if this be it, then when it is said that the *third part* of these was *smitten*, the meaning must be, that an heavy distress now fell upon the temple, and the service of God there was shrewdly disturbed by this siege, but not (at this part of the vision) wholly destroyed. But besides this, there is another interpretation, of which the words are more clearly capable, so as the *sun* signify the temple, the *moon* the city, and the *stars* all the people, and all together the whole nation, (as in Joseph's prophetic dream, *the sun*, *moon and stars* are all the family of Jacob,) against which here the woes are denounced, ver. 13, according to the words in Josephus, *Woe, woe to the city, and the people, and the temple*, (see note [*h*]). And this seems the more probable interpretation. See note [*n*] on Matt. xxiv.

13. [*h*] *Woe, woe, woe*] Concerning this *angel flying in the midst of*

heaven, and crying with a loud voice, Οὐαί, οὐαί, οὐαί τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, *Woe, woe, woe to the dwellers in the land*, the story is remarkable in Josephus, (and out of him in Eusebius, l. 3. c. 7,) which he sets down as a prodigy, presaging that destruction of the Jews. There was, saith he, one Jesus, son of Ananias, a countryman of mean birth, four years before the war against the Jews, at a time when all was in deep peace and tranquillity, who coming up to the feast of tabernacles, according to the custom, began on a sudden to cry out, and say, Φωνὴ ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς, &c. *A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people.* Thus he went about all the narrow lanes, crying night and day, and being apprehended and scourged, he still continued the same language under the blows, without any other word. And they on this supposing (as it was,) δαμονιώτερον εἶναι τὸ κίνημα τάνδρου, *that it was some divine motion*, brought him to the Roman prefect: and by his appointment being with whips wounded, and his flesh torn to the bones, he neither intreated, nor shed tear, but to every blow, in a most lamentable mournful note, cried out, Αἶ, αἶ Ἱεροσολύμοις, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem.* This he continued to do till the time of the siege, seven years together; and at last, to his ordinary note of *Woe to the city, the people, the temple*, adding, *Woe also to me*, a stone from the battlements fell down and killed him. To this I shall add no more, but that ἡ γῆ, *the land*, here being the land of Judæa, the phrase κατοικοῦντες γῆν, *inhabitants of the land*, is as truly agreeable to the Jews, as οὐαί and αἶ are all one also. It is only farther observable, that these prophetic woes are here said to be three, and those inflicted and brought upon the people by that which is represented by the voices of the trumpets of the three angels still behind, the first mentioned as past, ch. ix. 12, the second and third, ch. xi. 14. (see note [e] on ch. xi. And so what is here represented in this part of the vision is but the setting down of this prophecy, which Jesus, the son of Ananias should deliver concerning the judgments, and not the judgments themselves, which follow in the succeeding chapters. And so it is more perfectly parallel to that passage out of Josephus and Eusebius, which was a σημεῖον, or prodigy, to foreshow that destruction, and not the destruction itself.

CHAP. IX.

1. [a] *a star fall*] For the understanding of this ensuing chapter, and the interpretation of the other parts of this vision upon the sounding of these other angels, it will be useful to take the rise from the ἀστὴρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκός, *the star which had fallen from heaven*, for so πεπτωκός signifies in the præter, not present tense. This in all reason must relate to ch. viii. 10, where we read ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστὴρ μέγας, *there fell from heaven a great star*: who that was, was defined most probably ch. viii. note [e], viz. the army of the στασιασταί, or seditious, under Joseph, the son of Mattathias, that defended themselves against Vespasian, in the city Jotapata. For from these sprang the ζηλωταί, zealots, so much spoken of in Josephus, the fore-runners and hasteners of the woes foretold in the end of the last chapter, and which made the latter siege so extremely miserable, and are

now the subject of the visions of this chapter. For it is briefly observable out of Josephus, that (as Galilee had the first and principal of Christ's miracles afforded them, so (that region was to have their first part in the destruction. This was done in a most sad manner by Vespasian, in the 12th of Nero, (see ch. viii. note [e]), and finished at the taking of Jotapata. At which time they that escaped the Romans' sword, ran in vast numbers to Jerusalem, and being gotten into the city helped to devour the provision laid in for the maintenance of the city, and not only so, but plundered them in a most horrible manner. These coming under the pretence of great zeal to the law of God, and customs of their country, were called *zealots*; and these betook themselves into the temple as a place best fortified; and the high priest Annas stirring up the people against them, great slaughters were committed on both sides. The zealots called the Edumæans to their aid: Annas commands the gates to be shut against them: they getting in in a tempestuous night join with the zealots, and both of them together kill a great multitude, Annas himself, and the rest of the priests, and cast their bodies out in the street without burial. And at length the Edumæans, dialiking and detesting the cruelty of the zealots, returned to their own country. The zealots they continue to make havock, pillage and destroy, set guards, that none might go out of the city, and so besiege and shut them up before the enemy comes, and in fine, are the sorest enemies to the city of Jerusalem that they ever felt, and caused the siege that attended to be then much more cruel, the famine more sharp, and the destruction more terrible, than it could have been if Cestius Gallus had continued the siege and taken them. And to make the condition yet more unhappy, whilst these zealots raged so within the city, the Sicarii were as unruly without; and so as it was most unsafe to remain within, because of the zealots, so in case they made any shift to get out of it, they fell into the hands of the cut-throats, under John, who desiring to set himself up for a king, spoiled and slaughtered all, and at last was by the zealots advanced and set over them.

4. [b] *was commanded them*] That ἐπείθη, it was said, is a proper word to signify a command of God's, appears by Matt. v., where the precepts of the Decalogue are set down in this phrase, ἐπείθη ἀρχαίους, it was said to them of old. Now all the wise and gracious acts of God's providence, in protecting his servants, and restraining the malice of their enemies, is the most properly thus expressed, his will being of the same force to produce the effects as his commands ought to be. And accordingly that is here meant, that by God's wise disposal so it was, that in the judgments that fell upon Jerusalem by the zealots, the Christians suffered not. For upon Cestius Gallus's raising his siege, we know the Christians went out of Jerusalem, and fled to Pella, (see note [c] on ch. viii.), and so when the zealots came to Jerusalem, immediately before the siege by Titus, the Christians were gone out of their way, and all their violence fell on the unbelieving Jews, which accordingly continued there. And these are expressed by the phrase, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Θεοῦ, as many as had not the seal of God on their foreheads, (see note [c] on chap. vii.), as the Christians by χάρος, and πᾶν ἡλωρόν, and δένδρον, the grass, and every green thing, and every tree, (see note [d] on ch. viii.)

5. [c] *tormented*] The famine, which the plundering of the zealots was to produce, is here very fitly expressed by βασανίζεσθαι, being *tormented*, as that is opposite to ἀποκτείνεσθαι, *killing*, because famine, as the torture, is a lingering racking death, doth not dispatch men easily or quickly, as the sword doth, but (as it were breaking one limb after another) tearing of the flesh from the bones, consuming and emaciating them. And indeed of the time of the siege, it is literally affirmed by Eusebius, out of Josephus, that these zealots, or seditious Jews in Jerusalem, tearing every man's victuals from him, δυνάμει βασάνων ὁδοὺς ἐπενέουν πρὸς ἔρευναν τροφῆς, l. 3. c. 6, *invented cruel ways of torture to find out food*, when it was concealed from them by the possessors, or on conceit that it was concealed where indeed it was not. And he mentions some of their inventions of torment, Ὁρόβους ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀθλίους τῶν αἰδοίων τοῖς πόρους, ῥάβδοις δὲ ὀξείαις ἀνασείοντες τὰς ἔδρας, &c. A most horrible cruelty not fit to be translated: and, saith he, τὰ φρικτὰ καὶ ἀκοαῖς, it was *terrible even to hear* what some men suffered, to make them confess but one loaf of bread, when they had no more, perhaps not that. These he ordinarily styles there οἱ βασανιστῆς, *the tormentors*; and so that makes this representation here the more proper, and fit to express this matter of their plundering.

6. [d] *seek death*] That which is here said, that *men shall seek death, and shall not find it*, is a most proper expression of a lingering tormenting death, and so of a famine, (which is most eminently such,) and of such vastations and plunderings which leave men life, but nothing to support or sustain it; and such was the effect of the cruelty of these zealots at this time. The very thing here said is after, in the time of the siege, set down by way of story or relation of the fact by Eusebius, l. 3. c. 6, out of Josephus. That when the στασιασταί, or *seditious*, were so lavish of their swords, that they would kill men, run them through, only ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ σιδήρου, *to try their swords*, or to keep them in ure; yet τοὺς ἱκετεύοντας χρεῖσθαι σφίσι δεξιὰν καὶ ἔξοφον, τῇ λιμῇ κατέλιπον ὑπερηφανοῦντες, “when any being ready to famish desired them to lend them their hand and their sword, to put them out of their pain, they through arrogance and scorn of their miseries rejected their beseechings, and left them to the famine to use them more cruelly.”

11. [e] *Apollyon*] That *Apollyon* here signifies the *devil*, is apparent by what is affirmed of him in the former part of this verse, that it is the *angel of the bottomless pit*. And accordingly the famous god of the heathens, called *Apollo*, (a word so lightly changed from this,) must be resolved to be the *devil*, this *destroying angel*, as he is oft called in scripture, employed altogether in destructions and mischiefs. To which purpose the 12th chap. of lib. 5. of A. Gellius is worth considering, where, having taken notice of two ancient names of heathen gods, Dijovis and Vejovis, and having deduced the former from an original which signifies *benign* or *helpful*, he determines the latter to belong to a god, *qui non juvandi potestatem, sed vim nocendi haberet*, “which had not the power of helping, but the force of doing mischief;” adding, that the image of this god is found to have arrows in the hand, prepared for slaughters and destructions; and therefore *Apollo* is thought to be signified by that title. To which purpose, saith he, it is considerable, that Virgil, a man very greatly skilled in ancient knowledge,

doth in his Georgics deprecate *numina læva*, "the unlucky, or hurtful deities;" signifying thereby, *quandam vim esse ejusmodi deorum in lædendo magis quam juvando potentem*, that "such kind of gods had the virtue, or faculty, of hurting, but not of helping any;" and of them *Apollo* is the only one named there by that poet,

(*siquem*

Numina læva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo)

who must be sacrificed to, to avert any evils from them.

14. [*f*] *Euphrates*] What is here meant by *Euphrates* is somewhat uncertain. It may signify literally that known river; for it is said by Josephus, l. 5. c. 6, that the Syrian legions of the Roman army lay as far as Euphrates; and Philo, in his Embassy, mentions *στρατόνεδα πρὸς Εὐφράτην*, the armies reaching to *Euphrates*. But in the style of these visions it may also signify somewhat else: for the river Euphrates, we know, is that which runs through Babylon, and so that *great river* is fitly set to denote that city, as we ordinarily find *Tiber* to be used for *Rome*, the *sea* for *Galilee*, the region which it belongs to, and many the like. Now that *Babylon* in these visions signifies *Rome* heathen, will be hereafter shewn, (note [*a*] on ch. xviii.) And so *ἐν Εὐφράτῃ*, may signify (not *in*, but) *at*, or *about* Rome, which being the seat of the empire, the great changes and affairs concerning the empire are fitly expressed by this phrase; and so we shall see *Euphrates* used, ch. xvi. 12, for the city of *Rome*. Next it must be remembered, that the angels being the officers and ministers of God, to execute his will, to inflict punishments, &c., the Roman commanders under Vespasian, that were such instruments in destroying Jerusalem, are accordingly called his *angels*. And so frequently this destruction of Jerusalem is expressed by *Christ's coming with his angels*, visiting with or by these officers or instruments of his. And of these, it seems, there were four principal ones; or else this certain number is used for an uncertain, as the *fourth* and *third part of the land* are not to be thought that proportion exactly measured or numbered. Lastly, the *binding of these angels* must signify the detaining or stopping of them from doing that work. And so the plain meaning of this verse will be, that upon occasion of the affairs of the Roman empire, the Roman armies were stopt a while from their purpose of besieging Jerusalem. And thus it is evident in the story. When the zealots, after Vespasian's subduing of Galilee, fled riotously into Jerusalem, and wrought those mischiefs there, (set down in the former part of this chapter,) and Vespasian seeing the Jews by their civil broils destroy one another, he made no great haste to set about the siege, till some multitudes that fled out of Jerusalem came and besought him, that he would in mere pity come and take them, and rescue them from this scourge of scorpions, the zealots. Vespasian upon this prepared to go up against Jerusalem with all his forces; but (which is the thing here foretold) hearing of the death of the emperor, deferred this expedition, saith Josephus, De Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 6, expecting to see how the empire would be disposed of. And not only so, but Mutianus, president of Syria, and a chief promoter of Vespasian to the empire, went out from Syria with a great body of horse and foot into Italy, and came to Rome with them the next day after Vitellius was conquered and slain; see Josephus, De Bell. l. 5. c. *μα'*.

Titus also and Agrippa were sent to Rome, saith Baronius, A. C. 70, in fine. And ^{also} Tacitus, as well as Josephus, saith that Titus was sent by Vespasian from Syria to Rome, to congratulate Galba's promotion to the empire, and receive directions about Judæa; but hearing of his death as he went, returned to Syria. And in brief, the changes being so great and many after the death of Nero, and no settlement in the empire, (Galba, Otho, Vitellius coming all to the empire and parting with it again in so short time,) it is Josephus's observation, that the Roman armies remained in suspense what to do, (that is the meaning of δεδεμένοι, *bound*, here,) and neglected their affairs in Judæa, thinking it unseasonable to attempt other nations when there were such disquiets at home, Joseph. de Bell. l. 5. c. κγ'. But within a while, Vitellius being killed, and his party overcome, Vespasian is chosen emperor, being then at Alexandria in Egypt: and the empire being soon confirmed on him, he immediately betakes himself to the finishing his business in Judæa, having seasonably concluded his affairs in Egypt, and so sends his son Titus with select forces to besiege Jerusalem; which is here meant by the *loosing of the four angels that were bound*, that is, detained by that former occasion. Upon which here follows immediately (as it did in the history) the marching of the army toward Jerusalem.

17. [g] *breastplates of fire* What is here said of the *breastplates*, or *armour*, and the several colours of it, may be thought to be interpretable literally, in respect of the several nations of which this army consisted, distinguished purposely by the colour of their armour, for such ways of differencing the soldiers are ordinary and useful in armies: or it may possibly denote no more than that they were of steel, which is observed to cast divers colours. But yet thirdly, these three colours may be set (as in prophetic style it is ordinary) only to describe a terrible appearance: for such is best and most commonly represented by a *flaming consuming fire*, (as when God in his judgments is so called, Heb. xii. 29, and his angels as executioners of his wrath are called a *flaming fire*, Heb. i. 7,) and such do these three colours make up, the lower part being of the colour of *amber*, ch. i. 15, and here πύριμος, *fire-colour*, the next part of the flame, *blue*, and the uppermost of all, *pale*, or of the colour of *brimstone*, (see note [f] on ch. i.) And so in the greatest flames it is ordinary to be seen. And then it is agreeable to the Hebrew style, to express one thing by the enumeration of the severals that make it up, (see note [d] on 2 Pet. iii.) the flaming fire by these three parts of it. And so this may be the meaning of the whole phrase, this army, the captains whereof are called *angels*, ver. 14, came in a most dreadful, formidable appearance, like a flaming consuming fire. And to the same purpose all the following expressions may be expounded. Their *heads were like the heads of lions*; which sure signifies no more, but they looked very terribly, as we know lions' heads are the most frightful part of that dreadful beast, especially when they gape: to which the next part of the description may relate, *out of their mouths cometh out fire, and smoke, and brimstone*, that is, flaming fire again; for the *smoke* here is all one with the *blue* above, (the colour of smoke,) as the *fire* and *brimstone* are again repeated here. As

^a Hist. lib. 2.

a lion gaping or yawning from his prey, and the blood of it about his mouth, looks very dismally, the bloodiness and fierceness of his countenance is as if a *flaming fire*, or *fire and smoke and brimstone*, came out of his mouth. It is not impossible indeed that by the likeness of *fire and smoke and brimstone coming out of their mouths*, might be signified fire-balls, or granadoes, or such like instruments of firing cities, then in use: and so saith Valerius Flaccus of Titus besieging Jerusalem,

Spargentemque faces, et in omni turre furentem,

that he "threw firebrands, or balls, into the city, and set the towers on fire." But this part of the vision being the setting down the march of the army, not yet set down before the city, or displaying their fire-balls, the phrases will not so probably be applicable to that, and so may perhaps signify no more than the terribleness of their appearance as they passed. And then to that also may belong all that follows; as, first, that by *these three plagues*, ver. 18, *the third part of men were killed*, that is, by this *fire and smoke and brimstone going out of their mouths*, that is, by this formidable, dismal army, as by a flaming fire, consisting of those three parts, a great multitude of the Jews were slain in their passage through the country. And so again, ver. 19, *their power is in their mouth and in their tails*. For though it is possible again, that by the *mouth* and the *tail* may be meant the horsemen, and, for expedition sake, a footman took up behind every one of them, (to which will also be applicable that which follows, that their *tails had heads*, and *with them they do hurt*, that is, these footmen set down from the horses were able to fight also, and indeed were the most mischievous;) yet it is very reasonable to expound that also more grossly, that this army cannot better be expressed than by a poisonous killing serpent, that particularly called *amphisbæna*, which hath an head at each end, and so can equally wound by either: which being applied to the whole army, and not to each horseman in it, will denote the two parts of the army, a front and a rear; the former before described, vv. 17, 18, very terrible in their march, and making great slaughters; and then both of them together, ver. 19, that their tail is as formidable as their head, their rear as their front, and in respect of both together they are like that serpent which hath another head in the tail, and can do as much hurt with that as with the other. What is the particular notation of each of these phrases, may be somewhat uncertain, whether either of these, or whether yet some other rather; but for the main or all together there is little doubt but they make up a description of the terribleness of that army in their march toward Jerusalem, and the great slaughters on the Jews by the way thither: and that is all that is necessary to be known for the understanding the vision.

CHAP. X.

3. [a] *seven thunders*] What is meant by the *ἐντὰ ἑσπέραι, seven thunders*, here, must be observed for the clearing the whole matter. That *thunders* are the fittest expressions or emblems of great blows or judgments, is obvious to every man; and so that the number of *seven*, being a complete number, is fitly affixed when any fatal, signal blow is to be inflicted. And so these *seven thunders* here, *sending forth their*

voices, signify the destruction to which such preparation was made in the former visions, the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. This so sad and terrible, that it was not to be committed to *writing*, ver. 4. And this utterly irreparable, never to be made up again; which was the importance of the *angel's oath*, vv. 5, 6. Only some addition there might be made to it, and that should soon be done, the utter destruction should be completed in Adrian's time, called *the days of the voice of the seventh trumpet*, ver. 7. And that is the *third* and last *woe*, ch. xi. 14. And that, when it came, ver. 15, set down in a parallel phrase to this of the *seven thunders*, viz. ἐγένοντο φωναὶ μεγάλας ἐν οὐρανῷ, *there were great voices in heaven*. For φωναὶ and βρονταὶ, *voices* and *thunders*, every where appear to be all one in these books, (see note [e] on ch. xi.), and the addition of *great* will have a force in it, and denote that there under Adrian to be the completing of the destruction. That so great things as these two, the destruction under Titus, and the full measure under Adrian, should be so briefly set down in these visions, as by these two phrases, *the seven thunders uttering their voices*, and, *there were great voices*, or *thunders*, in *heaven*, will not seem strange, if first it be observed that the few words, *seven thunders* and *great voices*, have great force in them, as great as any circumlocution of words could express; and so we know the one single γέγονε, *it was*, ch. xvi. 17, is the description of the destruction of heathen Rome, and accordingly the Latin word *fuit*, "it hath been," or "it is gone," is as full an expression of an utter destruction of Troy, or any the most famous city or people, as can be: and, secondly, if it be remembered what pomp had been formerly used in the foregoing chapters to express it as approaching, which made it unnecessary to describe it again more largely when it came to pass.

6. [b] *time no longer*] The word χρόνος, signifying *time*, signifies *delay* also: and accordingly thus the verb χρονίζω, (rendered by Hesychius, διατρίβω, *to stay*,) is used by the apostle, Heb. x. 37, ὁ ἐρχόμενος οὐ χρονεῖ, *he that comes will not delay*, in the very notion that here, οὐκ ἔσται χρόνος ἔτι, *there shall be no longer delay*, God's judgments shall speedily be executed; and this most agreeably to the expression in Habakkuk, ch. ii. 3, *it will surely come*, οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ, *it will not tarry*, or *delay*, any longer. So Eccclus. vii. 16, of wrath, that is, the judgments of God, οὐ χρονεῖ, *it will make no long delay*, and ch. xii. 15, οὐ χρονεῖ, *he will not tarry*. And so in Demosthenes the word is used, χρόνους ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι, *to cause delay to affairs*.

11. [c] *many peoples*] What ἐπὶ λαοῖς here signifies may be thus collected. The word λαός, *people*, is frequently taken for the Jews, and then here in the plural (see Acts iv. 25, and note [f] on Rev. xi.) it will do the same; or else farther, it may signify this people in all their dispersions, in Africa and Egypt and Greece, &c., where the judgments of God should find them out, as many as continued obdurate, according to that of Christ's prediction, that *wheresoever the carcass was*, the Roman eagles should *congregate* and *assemble* unto them. Then for ἐπὶ, that must rather be rendered *of*, or *concerning*, (according to the looser use of the Hebrew על, answerable to it,) than *before*. And then προφητεύειν ἐπὶ λαοῖς, is an easy and ordinary phrase, to denote the matter of the prophecy, and not the auditors of it; as when Ezek. xxxii. 2. it is said, *take up a lamentation*, על פרעה, it is not *before*, but *concerning*

Pharaoh. Then for the πολλοίς, *many*, that in the ordinary translation is joined with *people*; in the Greek it is the last word of the verse, adjoined to βασιλεύσι, *kings*, and so must in reason be joined in the rendering. Then for the rest that follow, ἔθνησι καὶ γλώσσαις, *nations and languages*, those words most fitly signify the heathen world of distinct languages one from another, and all from the Jews; and agreeably the βασιλεύσι πολλοίς, *many kings*, will signify their princes, or (considering them together in an army) their commanders or rulers over them. And the joining of these with the λαοίς, *the people of the Jews*, in the ensuing prophecy, will then signify their fighting and destroying the Jews; and so it will most exactly belong to the time of Adrian the emperor of Rome, and his commanders, (all such being called βασιλεῖς, *kings*; see note [h] ch. vi.) Marcus Turbo, and Rufus, &c., together with the auxiliaries that came in to him from the Parthians, and many other nations. All which together are the subject of his next prophecy, ch. xi., which is yet wanting to complete the destruction of the Jews, and therefore it is said, δεῖ σε πάλιν, *thou must prophesy again*, or see another vision; and this will be the subject of it, the dealing of the Jews, and the farther destruction that befell them in Adrian's time. By what hath here been said, will appear also what is meant by the *people and kindred, or tribes, and tongues, and nations*, ch. xi. 9, the two former, λαοὶ and φυλαί, *people and tribes*, denoting the Jews, and the *tongues and nations* denoting the Gentiles, viz. the people of Jerusalem, as now they were made up of Jews and Gentiles; neither of which should shew any reverence to the Christians, or express any kindness to them, whilst those seditious people under Barchochebah were in power, but on the contrary use them contumeliously, and triumph over them, ver. 10. And so I suppose φυλαί καὶ γλώσσαι καὶ ἔθνη, *tribes and tongues and nations*, ch. xiv. 7, may denote the Jews and Gentiles, that is, in that place, the saints or Christians wheresoever inhabiting.

CHAP. XI.

1. [a] altar] The word θυσιαστήριον doth in some places signify *the altar of incense*; see note [e] on ch. vi. In other places there is no question but it signifies the *altar of burnt-offering*; but that again sometimes not strictly the altar, but the *court where the altar is placed*. So ch. xiv. 18, and xvi. 7, it cannot be rendered altar, because there is mention of one *going forth*, and another *speaking out of it*; it must therefore signify the *court, or place of sacrificing, wherein the altar is*: so saith the Glossary, θυσιαστήριον, *sacrarium, altarium*; and in Philoxenus, *sacrarium*, ἡρῶν θυσιαστήριον: and in that sense, saith Ignatius, ὁ ἐκτὸς ὧν θυσιαστήριον, οὗτος ὑπηρεῖται τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, *he that is out of the altar, that is, the church, &c.* And agreeably in this place, by that which follows, *and those that worship in it*, (which belongs not to the temple before, but is immediately annexed to θυσιαστήριον,) it cannot reasonably denote the altar, but the place wherein men were which worshipped, and that here most probably is (not the sanctuary, where the altar of incense was, but) ἡ ἔσωθεν αὐλή τοῦ ναοῦ, *the inward court of the temple*, (opposed to ἡ ἔξωθεν αὐλή, *outer court*, that of the Gentiles here,) that where the congregation or people worshipped. See note [i] on Matt. xxiii.

3. [b] *two witnesses*] Who the *two witnesses* are is the main difficulty of this chapter: and the matter here spoken of yielding some directions to pitch on the time of which this vision treats; as, 1. the farther judgments falling on Jerusalem after the destruction by Titus; and 2dly, those after the rebuilding the city, and planting it with Gentiles as well as Jews, vv. 1, 2, which must needs belong to the time of Adrian; it may be reasonable to forsake all other conjectures, and pitch upon that which the learned Hugo Grotius hath resolved on, of making the two churches, which were at this time at Jerusalem, one of the Jewish, the other of Gentile Christians, *the two witnesses* here spoken of; or more distinctly, I conceive, the two bishops of (and together with them) those two congregations. That there were two such plantations in the same city, in many places, before the Jews and Gentiles grew into one, appears by divers evidences. In Antioch, as one church was planted, and governed by Peter, the *apostle of the circumcision*, so another by Paul, the *apostle of the Gentiles*; and that is expressed in the Epistle of the Council of Jerusalem, by *οἱ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν*, &c. ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐξ ἰδνῶν, *the brethren*, that is, the church, at Antioch, those, or that, of the Gentiles, and in the one Euodius succeeded bishop, in the other Ignatius. So in Ephesus and Asia John was founder of the churches of the Jews, and Paul of the Gentiles; and while John continued over the former, Timothy was by Paul made bishop at Ephesus over the latter. So at Rome, Peter was bishop of the Jewish congregation, and Clemens his deacon, Paul of the Gentile part, and Linus his deacon; and after them Clemens succeeds in one chair, and Linus in the other, and after him Cletus or Anacletus; and after him both joined together under Clemens. And thus it is to be supposed at Jerusalem, especially after the destruction by Titus, when there were many Gentiles there, which may occasion the multitude of bishops that Eusebius observes to have been there in few years, till they joined both under Marcus, a Gentile bishop in Adrian's time, (see ver. 15.) And this was in some degree necessary, not only because there was some distance kept betwixt the Jewish and Gentile Christians, (which at Rome Paul endeavoured to make up, Rom. xiv., &c.) but in respect of the several languages which they were of necessity to use in their assemblies, and farther in respect of the several customs for a good while continued among them. Now that all that is said of these *two witnesses* doth perfectly agree to these two bishops, and their congregations of Christians, will appear in the Paraphrase; and to that belong directly the descriptions here bestowed on them. One, like Moses over the Jews, labouring to bring all that people out of their Egyptian blindness and bondage to sin, their unchristian impenitence: and the other, like Elias, preaching down idolatry, bringing the heathens to Christianity. And then to these are fitly adjoined (in the *chorus*, as it were) the twenty-four elders, ver. 16, that is, the bishops of all Judæa, that belonged to the bishops of Jerusalem, (as lesser cities to a metropolis, ch. iv. 4.) and had their part in the benefit of this destruction that fell on Barchochebah and the seditious Jews.

7. [c] *make war against them*] That Barchochebah raised a sedition against the Romans is known in story, and that he called himself by that name, as *son of a star*, but was after more truly called the *son of a lie*, that is, of an idol, which is a lie, and that idol a false god, that

is, the devil; or else more generally the *son of a lie*, that is, an impostor, coming from the *father of lies*, stirred up and agitated by him, and so here *ascending out of the abyss*. The only thing here farther affirmed of him is, that he *was against the two witnesses*, that is, against all the Christians in Jerusalem and Judæa, using them cruelly and bloodily, if they would not join with him against the Romans, and if they would not deny Christ. These two things are distinctly affirmed, the first by Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*: Chochebah, saith he, leader of a faction of the Jews, killed with all cruelty the Christians that would not help him against the Romans. And so likewise Orosius, l. 7. c. 13, *Christianos Judæi, Cotheba* (that is, Cocheba) *duce, quod sibi contra Romanos non assentarentur, excruciabant*, "The Jews under their leader Cocheba tormented the Christians, because they would not comply and take part with them against the Romans." The second by Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, Βαρχοχέβας, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγῆς, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινὰς, εἰ μὴ ἄρνοιτο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι, "Barchochebas, the leader of the defection of the Jews, commanded the Christians, and none else, to be led to cruel torments, if they would not deny Christ, and blaspheme him."

13. [d] *the remnant were affrighted*] That the *remnant* here, that is, all the Jews in Jerusalem that were not now destroyed, did convert and believe in Christ, appears by that which is ordinarily known in story, that Adrian at this time by edict banished all the Jews out of it, that is, all that remained such, or were not converted to Christianity, and set up the picture of a swine at the gates, to keep any of them from thoughts of entering again, and even to banish their eyes from thence, (see b Aristo Pellæus in Eusebius, Τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πάμπαν ἐπιβαίνειν εἴργεται νόμον δόγματι, καὶ Τάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ ὡς ἂν μὴδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν, "the whole nation was from thenceforth forbidden to enter the region about Jerusalem, and this by decree of Adrian, which commanded that none should out of any eminent place so much as behold their native soil." And Tertullian, Apolog. c. 21, *Quibus nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur*, "They were not permitted to salute, or visit, their native country so much as travellers or guests:" and so Advers. Jud. c. 13,) meanwhile the Christians freely returning thither from their dispersions, and inhabiting quietly there. *Christianis tantum permissa civitas*, saith c Orosius, "the city was permitted to Christians only," (see note [c] on Luke xxi.) that is, no Jews were there permitted that received not Christianity.

14. [e] *second woe is past*] Some mistake there may possibly be in this place, by conceiving these words, ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθεν, *the second woe is past*, to denote the description of that *second woe* to end in this place, and consequently that, *behold the third woe cometh quickly*, should signify that the coming of that *third woe* should now next be set down. But this is a mistake, that would be apt to disturb and perplex the vision. For of the *three woes* denounced ch. viii. 13, it is plain that the first is set down from ch. ix. 1, to ver. 12, and there concludes, *the first woe is past*. Then after that, saith the vision,

b L. 4. c. 6.

c L. 7. c. 13.

ἔρχονται ἑτι δύο οὐαί, there come two woes more. These two are coupled together, and not set down so severally as this first was from those two, (those latter two agreeing one with the other in this, that they were both executed by the Romans, whereas the first was by the zealots among themselves) and so described somewhat undiscernibly, yet so that the second may be found to end ch. x. 10, upon which it is said, that *he must prophesy again*, ver. 11, that is, that there was not yet an end of that sad matter, but that the *third woe* was still behind, and that set down from the beginning of this 11th chapter, to ver. 14, where that third (and so both these, *δύο οὐαί*, the second and third named together, ch. ix. 12,) being at an end, in reference to both of them this verse must be understood; that as the second had been fulfilled, ch. x. 10, so within a small time after, no longer than from Titus to Adrian, the third was executed also, only by way of recapitulation the same thing is again set down, ver. 15, very briefly, in the *sounding of the seventh trumpet*, (as had been foretold it should, ch. x. 6, 7,) upon which come out the *great voices*, that is, thunders, (for *voices* and *thunders*, *φωναί* and *βρονταί*, are all one; see note [b] on Acts ix.) signifying that destruction, (see note [a] on ch. x.) And this *third woe* being thus added to the two former, the effect and result of all the *three woes* is, the setting up of Christianity in Judæa. And that is signified by the acclamations, *the kingdom is the Lord's*, &c. Which speech is said to be *delivered by the thunders*, as being a most natural consequent of that destruction. And then a new vision of a new matter begins at the beginning of the twelfth chapter.

15. [f] *The kingdoms of this world are become the kingd—*] What is here meant by this acclamation, *The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord*, &c. may best be understood by these degrees; first, that *becoming the Lord's*, (all one with *לאלהים*, Psal. xlviii. 9, where it is said, *the shields of the earth are the Lord's*,) signifies conversion to Christianity, and that is evident by the addition of *καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, and his Christ's*. Secondly, that *the kingdoms of the world* signifies not here the whole world, and all the kingdoms of that, but as (when it is said, *the world hateth you*, and, *I pray not for the world*, and very often in the same style) *the world* signifies unbelievers, and, *βασιλείαι τοῦ κόσμου*, the whole societies and multitudes of them. And this being by the context applied to Jerusalem and Judæa, the plain meaning of the whole phrase must be, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judæa were now generally converted to the faith of Christ, as in the story it was known to be in Adrian's time, after the defeating of Barchochebah, the unbelieving Jews being finally banished thence, and the city inhabited by Christians of that and other nations indifferently: see Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 5. As for that which follows in the acclamation, *καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, and he shall reign for ever and ever*, that is capable of a twofold interpretation: either more generally, that the Christian faith and church shall continue for ever, (*the gates of hades never prevailing against it*,) and support itself from being utterly destroyed, against all opposition; and this here fit to be pronounced of the church in general, upon occasion of this good success of it in Jerusalem and Judæa, where it had been so long persecuted, but now had gotten the victory: or, secondly, applying it

particularly to this church, the meaning may be, that Christ should have faithful servants in Judæa, and continue to have so to all eternity; which hath yet been made good through all changes and vicissitudes, under the Pagan and Christian emperors first, and since under Saracens and Turks.

18. [g] *nations*] The word *ἔθνος*, or *ἔθνη*, doth not only belong to other *nations* in opposition to the Jews, (the ethnics or heathens, as we call them, though, when the word *ἔθνικοι* is used, that is the particular notion of it,) but also to Palestine, either altogether, (as *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους*, in Orig. cont. Celsum, l. 4, are the Jews in contradistinction to others,) or to the several parts of it divided now into tetrarchies, Judæa one, *ἔθνος*, and Galilee another, &c., and so saith Josephus of Galilee, that it was the valiantest *ἔθνος*, *nation* of Palestine, the power-fullest and best fortified, when he speaks of Vespasian's overcoming it. And so in the Gospels, *ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος*, *nation against nation*, Matt. xxiv. 7, Mark xiii. 8, Luke xxi. 10, and John xi. 48, 51, 52, and ch. xviii. 35, and in many other places; (and agreeably the tetrarch of any one of these was called *ἐθνάρχης*, and in Latin authors, *ethnarcha*; of which see Baronius ad A. C. 2. August. 49.) And not only in the singular number, but also in the plural, *συνοχὴ ἔθνων*, Luke xxi. 25, *the distress of nations*, that is, of the several parts of Palestine, noted by *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, *on the land*, which belongs to that peculiarly, (see note [a] on ch. vii. and to the inhabitants thereof, the Jews, and not to the heathens in the rest of the world. For so that text refers, speaking of their distress and great consternation, (see note [f] on Rev. vi.) *συνοχὴ* and *ἀπορία*, and their deanimation for fear and expectation of what would come upon the *οἰκουμένη*, *world*, that is, that whole people, (see Luke ii. 1.) So Acts iv. 25, out of the Psalmist, the *ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ*, *nations and people*, that murmured against Christ, are sure the people of the Jews, and are expressed, ver. 26, by *βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ ἄρχοντες*, *the kings of the land and the rulers*; by the *kings* meaning Herod, (who had the rule of them under the Romans,) Pontius Pilate, &c., and by the *ἄρχοντες*, the *rulers*, or chief men among the Jews, which, ver. 27, is expressly set down, *Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the nations and people of Israel*, *σὺν ἔθνεσι καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ*: and this is a place directly parallel to that which we have now in hand, both referring to that of psal. 2, and so this also must be taken in that sense. See note [e] on Matt. xxiv.

[h] *destroy the earth*] That *φθείρειν* and *διαφθείρειν* signify *to corrupt*, in that sense that wicked men (*διαφθειρόμενοι τὸν νοῦν*, being themselves corrupted, and *have their very understanding perverted*, by custom of unnatural sins) do corrupt others: see note [b] on 2 Pet. i., and note [b] on 2 Pet. ii.; and that *γῆ* signifies the *land* and *people of the Jews*, see note [a] on ch. vii. And so the Gnostics, that infused their filthy doctrines and corrupt practices into the Jewish believers, may probably here be called the *διαφθείροντες τὴν γῆν*, *they that corrupt the land*, which are here to be destroyed, and so were most notably, saith Eusebius.

CHAP. XII.

1. [a] *clothed with the sun, and—*] What notion is here to be affixed to the *sun and moon*, may thus most probably be resolved; the sun being the spring and fulness of light, communicating to all, but needing not to receive light from any, may fitly represent the Christian religion, as that contains the doctrines of perfect purity, not only external, but of the heart, and is an addition of perfection to all the laws that had formerly been given to men. And then the moon, being a fainter light, and proverbially noted for mutability, it may well signify the imperfect, and accordingly mutable economy of the Mosaical law. That the moon is *under this woman's feet*, may signify that the church, noted by this woman *clothed with the sun*, that is, the Christian church, had now cast off that yoke of the Mosaical observances. Others have applied it to the use that Christian religion makes of the law and prophets, as a footstool to rest upon in some degree. But the phrase *under the feet* rather implies that of bringing low, destroying, than making use of it; as when the *enemies* are *put under the feet*, or made the *footstool*, it notes them to be subdued. And so the Mosaical economy was at this time solemnly laid aside by the Christians, and the nation and temple destroyed in the former visions.

4. [b] *his tail*] Supposing the *great red dragon*, ver. 3, to signify the devil, (see note [d]), the only question is, what is here meant by *ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ, his tail*. To this purpose it must be observed, that the serpent's power of hurting lies principally in his head; and therefore as it is of them observed, that they do all they can to preserve their head, as that wherein they are most nearly concerned, so the punishment that by God is threatened Satan in the shape of a serpent, Gen. iii. 15, is, that *the seed of the woman shall bruise his head*, that is, shall overpower and master him: and accordingly here the Roman imperial power, by means of which the devil is able to kill and persecute Christians, is expressed by the *heads of the dragon*, ver. 3. And then the tail being most distant from the head, and here mentioned distinctly from the *seven heads*, and that which here follows of *drawing the stars*, that is, corrupting the Christians, attributed distinctly to the tail, as that which succeeds, ch. xiii. 1, to the heads; it will follow, that the *tail* of the serpent shall most reasonably have a peculiar notion, and signify his policy and subtlety, which is the engine by which he works, before he proceeds to use his power, or when his power or force cannot prevail. And of this sort the instruments ordinarily are magicians and sorcerers, and false prophets, that by deceits seduce and corrupt men: and none more eminently deserved this title than Simon and his followers; first, in respect of the prodigies that he made show of; secondly, by his doctrine of compliances, which offered all men ways of escaping persecutions, whether from the Jews or Gentiles, by determining it lawful to deny Christ, and offer sacrifices to idols; thirdly, by gratifying all their carnal desires, and giving them liberty for all uncleanness. From whence it is that Cyril of Jerusalem calls Simon by this title, so proper to this place, *ὁ πρῶτος τῆς κακίας δράκων, the prime dragon of wickedness, or wicked dragon*. And so this is most proper to this part of the ecclesiastic story of those first times, that as soon as the wheat was any where sown, the enemy sowed his darnel

also; wherever Christianity was planted, the Gnostics' infusions followed, to spoil and destroy it: and so it was at Rome, and that peculiarly at this point of time here noted in this vision, before the imperial edicts for the persecuting of the Christians came out. For these, we know, followed the destruction of Simon, (see note [b]), and are the subject of the next chapter.

6. [c] *woman fled into the wilderness*] The time of the *woman's flying into the wilderness*, that is, of the banishing of the Christians from Rome, is known in story to have been in the tenth of Nero, at which time having fired the city, he imputed it unto the Christians. That he did it himself is affirmed clearly by Suetonius, in Ner. c. 38, *Quasi offensus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem; et incendium ex turre Mæcenatiana prospectans, lætus flammæ, ut aiebat, pulchritudine, ἄλωσιν Ilīi in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit*, "Not liking the unbeautifulness of the ancient buildings, nor the narrowness and turnings of the streets, he set the city on fire, and there burnt all that was sacred and precious in the city, and looking on the fire from a tower, and delighted, as he said, with the beauty of the flame, sang in his scenical habit the taking of Troy." Thus again we find in Xiphilin, out of Dio. But for this the Christians were accused by him, and cruelly punished, saith Tacitus, Annal. l. 15, and that writer, being an hater of the Christians, is pleased to think them guilty, and falsely affirms, that some of them confessed the fact, whilst not only in the general reputation of all men that then lived, of other writers that wrote of those times, but by the confession of Tacitus himself, Nero was acknowledged the author of it, who meant to have the honour of building a new city, and calling it by his own name by this means. However, the persecution of the Christians began by this pretence, was by Nero's edicts the next year improved and advanced to so high a pitch, that Christianity was quite interdicted the Roman empire. So saith Sulpicius Severus; *Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat quin ab eo jussum incendium putaretur; igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actæque in innoxios crudelissimæ quæstiones, quin et novæ mortes excogitata*—*Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri cæptum, post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat*, "Nero could by no means persuade men but that the city was burnt by his command; whereupon he diverted the envy of it on the Christians, and appointed cruel torments for the examining them, and invented new kinds of death. On this beginning the persecution brake out against the Christians, and after it the religion was prohibited by laws, and public edicts made that no man might be a Christian." And this is it which is here meant by the *woman's flying into the wilderness*, and accordingly is by Tertullian called the *first persecution*; because though the Christians as such suffered before in Claudius's time, yet that was not by any imperial edict, but only by tumults, when the heathen people were incited by the malicious Jews. For as we read Acts xviii. the proconsul Gallio would be no *judge in such matters*, but *drove the Jews from the judgment-seat*. And this was toward the latter end of Claudius, after Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome: in which banishment of the Jews some Christians might suffer occasionally, and St. John be banished into Patmos; but there was as yet no edict against them as Christians, at the least none for

the putting of them to death, as the plea of St. Paul before Felix and Festus, his appeal to Cæsar, (which was at the beginning of Nero.) make it plain. And accordingly we find, that when St. Paul came to Rome, Acts xxviii., he *preached there μετὰ πάσης παρηγορίας ἀκολύτως, with all boldness, or publicness, and was not forbidden.* And at the writing of his Epistle to the Romans, *their faith*, saith he, *was famous in all the world*, Rom. i., and *he had oft desired to come to them*, Rom. xv. 22, and that *for many years*, ver. 23. And all this in Claudius's time, before his going to Rome, which argues also that this *woman* was not yet *fled*, that is, banished, *into the wilderness.* And therefore of Nero it is Tertullian's phrase, that he "first dedicated persecution," *et primum Neronem in hanc sectam ferociisse*, "Nero was the first emperor that persecuted Christian religion."

9. [d] *great dragon*] The Hebrews call Satan הַנָּחַשׁ הַקְדֵּמוֹנִי, *the old serpent*: so again, ch. xx. 2. And the *casting him out* at this time is the prospering of the Christian faith, consequent to this discomfiture of Simon Magus, and the manifestation of the power of Christ. So saith Arnobius, l. 2, *Non distulerunt res patrias linguere, et veritati coalescere Christiana: viderunt enim currum Simonis, &c.* "They delayed not to leave all their worldly possessions, and to cleave to Christianity, (which was now under interdict:) for they saw Simon's chariot and fiery horse dispelled by the breath of St. Peter's mouth, &c." And as by this means the heathens were converted to the faith, by seeing the power of Peter, so were the Gnostics discomfited, seeing their leader Simon destroyed.

10. [e] *accused them*] The accusation that Satan brings against sincere Christians appears by his dealing with Job, ch. i. 9, 11, to be to this effect, that they are hypocrites, and will only serve God as long as he protects and defends them. This it hereby appears that Satan looks on, as the charge of all others most for his turn to bring against men, and therefore that which he most desires to have truly said of them. Now the chief doctrine of the sect of the Gnostics, the followers of this Simon, (who is called *the first-born of Satan*,) was this, that in time of persecution it is lawful to deny and forswear Christ, (which was the very thing that the devil laid to Job's charge,) and consequently all that were by him seduced into that doctrine, Satan might justly *accuse before God day and night*, as really guilty of that accusation. But when the doctrine of the Gnostics and the professors of it were now cast out of the church, then this is here truly said, that *the accuser of the brethren*, that is, of Christians, is *cast out*; that is, Satan can no longer with any justice accuse the Christian church, or, if he do, he is found to be a false accuser.

16. [f] *the earth helped the woman*] The solemn notation of Judæa by *ἡ γῆ, the land*, hath often been taken notice of, and is very pertinent to this place, the seditions that were raised there about this time of Nero's reign diverting the malice designed against the Christians: and the same continued all the time of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian and Titus, and in all this space the Romans being wholly taken up about the Jews, the heathen emperors did nothing against the Christians, till Domitian comes, who is the subject of the vision in the next chapter.

CHAP. XIII.

1. [a] *the name of blasphemy*] *Ὀνομα βλασφημίας, name of blasphemy*, literally signifies such a title as cannot be assumed or owned without blasphemy. Now blasphemy is committed two ways, either by speaking contumeliously of the true God, or giving divine honour to any else; which is also the taking that honour which is due to him alone, and bestowing it upon others, and so as contrary to his being acknowledged the one God, as the using him reproachfully is to his being God. And therefore it is that Paul and Barnabas having divine honours attributed to them at Lystra, *they rent their clothes*, Acts xiv. 14, in the same manner as was usual among them when any man was heard to blaspheme, signifying thereby, that sacrificing to any creature is direct blasphemy against the Creator. Now what this *title of blasphemy* was, which is here referred to, is specified by St. Jerome, Qu. 11. ad Algas. *Æterna cum dicitur quæ temporalis est, nomen est blasphemix*, "The city Rome was called the eternal city." (So Ausonius Gallus,

Urbis ab æternæ deductam rege Quirino

Annorum seriem—

and

Hæc erit æternæ series ab origine mundi.)

"Which to be attributed to any thing which had a beginning and shall certainly have an end, is a name of blasphemy." So in the same words ^d Prosper, *Æterna cum dicitur quæ temporalis est, utique nomen est blasphemix, cum mortales, licet reges, in ea dicantur divi, eisque supplices dicunt, Numini vestro, altaribus vestris, perennitati vestræ, &c.* "For that which is temporal to be called eternal, is the name of blasphemy, when their kings though mortal are called gods, and their suppliants address to them in this style, To your deity, your altars, your eternity, &c." See note [a] on ch. xvii. But beside this, (and what Athenæus says of it, l. 1, where he instyles it *οὐρανόπολις Ῥώμη, Rome the celestial, or heavenly city*,) it appears by many ancient Roman coins, (set down by Goltzius in Thesaurο,) that Rome was called a *goddess*, there being many such inscriptions, *Ῥώμη θεὰ, Rome a goddess*. Accordingly the people of Smyrna built a temple to it, saith Tacitus, Hist. l. 3, and other provinces used the like flattery, erected temples, appointed priests to the *goddess Rome*; and at last Adrian raised a stately temple, and called it *Templum Romæ et Augustorum*, the "temple of Rome and of the emperors," (that is, dedicated to them, as to gods,) saith Dio in Adriano. And accordingly this idolatry or blasphemy is taxed by Prudentius,

—*colitur nam sanguine et ipsa*

More deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen adorant,

"Rome is worshipped by sacrifice, after the manner of a goddess, and they adore the name of the city as a deity." And to this it is agreeable that many other copies read, *ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, names of blasphemy*, in the plural, more such blasphemous titles beside that of *urbis æterna*, "the eternal city," that one of *θεὰ, goddess*, and the erecting temples to it, containing all imaginable blasphemies in it.

3. [b] *one of his heads*] What is here meant by *μία τῶν κεφαλῶν, one of the heads*, will be judged, first, by the notion of *head*; secondly, of

^d Dimid. Temp. c. 7.

μία, one. The *head* is the uppermost part of a man, and so proverbially signifies any thing that is most eminent or conspicuous; and so here, ver. 1, the *seven heads* are most probably the seven hills on which Rome was built. Then for *μία*, that (for want of degrees of comparison in the Hebrew language) is by an Hebraism oft taken for *πρώτη, the first*, as Matt. xxviii. 1, *μία σαββάτων*, (not *one*, but) *the first of the week*. Both these concur to apply this phrase, *μία τῶν κεφαλῶν*, to the capitol at Rome, to which it belongs so properly and characteristically. For first, the word *capitol* certainly comes from *caput*, "an head;" and Livy renders the reason for it, that a man's *head* being found in that place where that was after built, (*caput Toli*, "the head of Tulus," saith Arnobius,) the oracle answered, *Eo loco caput summamque imperii fore*, "that the head and top of the empire should be there." Secondly, in this place was the temple of Jupiter, called therefore *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and he being the first or chief of the gods, the place where his temple stood may well be the principal of the heads of this city. Now that this head is here said, *ἐσφαγμένη εἰς θάνατον, slaughtered, or smitten to death*, this clearly belongs to the burning of the capitol; which fell out twice about these times. First, it was set afire by those that accompanied Sabinus and Domitian thither, and who were there besieged by Vitellius's soldiers, a little before the death of Vitellius; whose successor Vespasian, being returned out of Judæa, and having committed the war against the Jews to his son Titus, in the very next year (at which time the temple at Jerusalem was burnt) rebuilt the capitol most sumptuously, and restored Jupiter's temple in it: which as it was a kind of recovery of Rome from a mortal disease, (expressed by a coin of Vespasian's, inscribed, *Roma resurges*, "Rome thou shalt rise again,") so it was looked on as a great expression of the wrath of God against the Jews, that at that time not only their temple was burnt, but that other of Jupiter at Rome permitted to be rebuilt, and at Jerusalem heathen sacrifices offered in the temple of God by the Roman soldiers, and all God's priests fetched out of their caves or hiding-places, and killed by Titus's command. Of this reedifying the capitol, see Tacitus, Hist. l. 4. And to this the words here would commodiously enough be applicable. But besides this, there was a second wounding of this first *head*, another burning of the capitol, in Titus's reign, which was by lightning, and so esteemed to be sent from heaven. And this is more proper to this point of time, to which this vision belongs, and being done as from heaven might from thence be more fitly objected to idolatry, as a *deadly wound* to that worship of Jupiter. And this was so sumptuously repaired by Domitian, (whose time is the subject of the vision in this chapter.) that Martial makes Jupiter indebted to him for it,

Pro Capitolinis quid enim tibi solvere templis,

Quid pro Tarpeia frondis honore potest?

"What can Jupiter pay thee for his temple in the capitol?" And on this it is said that *the whole earth wondered after the beast*. Where by *ὅλη ἡ γῆ, the whole earth*, or *land*, the Roman territories are most probably meant, (see note [k]), which are to Rome as all Palestine (so often called by that style, *the land*) to Jerusalem; and the *ἐθαύμασεν ὀπίσω, wondering behind, or after, the beast*, signifies their great veneration (wrought in them by this means) to the idol-worship, which is

farther expressed by their *worshipping the dragon*, that is, the devil, ver. 2, called *the old serpent*, ch. xii. 9, and *the Devil* and *Satan*; a dragon being but a flying serpent, by which the devil hath always been represented. Who being here looked on as the maintainer of the heathen worship, he is adored and applauded greatly; and that farther expressed by their *saying, Who is like unto the beast? who can fight with him?* that is, no man or god is able to oppose this idol-worship professed in the capitol, or resist the power by which it is upheld.

5. [c] *a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies*] One special testimony of the heathens' blasphemy against God upon occasion of the Romans' victories over the Jews, is that of Cicero pro Flacco, speaking of the Jews, *Illa gens, quam chara diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod servit*, "That nation hath taught us how dear they are to the immortal gods by their being conquered, and subjected" by the Romans to a king of their sending thither. This hath been thought fit by a learned man to be brought to the illustrating of this place, though indeed it belong to it only by way of accommodation, as a proof how apt the Romans' prosperity and conquests over Judæa were to make them blaspheme God; not that this speech can belong to the point of time now spoken of, being delivered long before by Cicero. Dionysius Alexandrinus, in Eusebius, l. 7. c. 10, applies it to Valerian, 255 years after Christ, who (by the instigation of the chief of the magicians in Egypt, commanding him τοὺς καθαρὰς ἀνδρας καὶ δαίμονας κτείνεσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι, *to kill and persecute the pure and holy men, ὡς κωλύτας, &c. as those that hindered their enchantments*) became a great enemy of the church. The like is again related of Diocletian, that upon a response of Apollo from Delphi, that the just upon earth hindered him from speaking truth, he fell on persecuting the Christians: see Eusebius de Vita Const. l. 2. c. 49, 50. But that which is more pertinent to the times whereof, I conceive, the vision speaks, is Domitian's styling himself *Dominus et Deus noster*, and forbidding *ne scripto quidem ac sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter*, "that any, whether in words or writing, should call him otherwise," and appointing his statues of gold and silver to be set up in the capitol, and his professing his contempt of thunder and lightning. See Suetonius in his Life, c. 13.

[d] *continue forty and two months*] That which is read in some copies, ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα δύο, *to wage war forty-two months*, that is, three years and a half, is in other the best and ancientest copies (without πόλεμον) ποιεῖν μῆνας, &c., and then that is, *to spend or stay* so many months. Thus the king's MS. hath it: and so in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 10. Dionysius Alexandrinus, citing this place, reads it, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ μῆνες (or, as another reading of Eusebius hath it, μῆνας) τεσσαράκοντα δύο, *power was given him forty-two months*. And then *to stay* so many months, is to live so long; which was punctually true of Domitian, who began his persecution in the thirteenth, and died in the sixteenth year of his reign. And so this is directly answerable to the space wherein Antiochus had vexed the Jews, Dan. vii. 24. (see Eusebius Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 13,) and so is fit to be expressed in the same form of words, as we see it is.

8. [e] *names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain*] That the words here should not be read thus, *the Lamb slain from the*

beginning of the world, (though it be perfectly true that Christ was, in the designation and decree of God, so *slain from the beginning*,) but thus, *ὧν ὀνόματα οὐ γέγραπται ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, *whose names were not written from the foundation of the world* (that is, were never written) *in the book of life of the Lamb that was slain*, may sufficiently appear by comparing this expression here with ch. xvii. 8, where the words are, *whose names are not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world*. Now some difference there is betwixt *the book of life of the Lamb slain* here, and *the book of life* in that place. There *the book of life* signifies the register of all the good Christians on earth, such as at that time, when their *names* are said to be *written* in it, are true believers; but *the book of life of the Lamb that was slain*, signifies peculiarly the register or catalogue of confessors, such as already have, or are now about to venture their lives for the confession of Christ, to *take up his cross and follow him*, and so are *conformable to this image of Christ*, this of the paschal lamb, (by which he was anciently represented,) the sacrificed, crucified Saviour. And so these *men of the land*, that is, the Jews here that *worship the beast*, the Gnostics, that to avoid persecution go to their idol-feasts or sacrifices, are justly thus described, they *whose names, from the foundation of the world, have not been written in this book of life of the slain Lamb, or in the slain Lamb's book of life*.

10. [f] *leadeth into captivity*] *Αἰχμαλωσίαν συναγειν*, is to *gather together a captivity*, that is, a number of captives, as he that undertakes to bring them back out of their captivity, to be their captain, and lead them against their conqueror that hath taken them, as *συναγειν εἰς πόλεμον*, to *gather to war*, ch. xvi. 14, 16, and ch. xx. 8, and as the word *gathering* is particularly applied to captives, and so used by the psalmist, *Gather us, O Lord, from among the people*, &c. psal. cvi. 47, having in the former verse mentioned, *τοὺς αἰχμαλωτεύσαντας*, *those that had carried them captive*, which concludes the *ἡμᾶς, us*, there to be the *αἰχμαλωσίαν*, *captivity* here, (in like manner as *περιτομή*, *circumcision*, is the Jews which were circumcised, and many the like,) just as the *וַיַּצֵּק*, or, *ἐπισυνάγαγε*, *gather together*, is all one with the *συναγειν*, *gathering*. This is after farther expressed by *killing with the sword*, that is, making violent resistance and opposition against the persecuting emperors; which for a Christian to do is quite contrary to the faith and patience of the saints, which consists in suffering, not in resisting, in *having their names written in the slain Lamb's book of life*, (see note [d]), not in the military list of those that will fight against their lawful superiors rather than suffer under them. Now as God hath in the fifth commandment of the Decalogue commanded obedience, and (in the Psalmist, and in the sermon on the mount, *meekness*, with the promise of temporal blessings; so here doth he deter from resistance or rebellion, even against persecuting emperors, by denouncing of temporal judgments of an higher nature than those which by that means any man desireth or attempteth to avoid. He that goeth about to deliver those conquered captives out of the emperor's hands, out of his oppressions or persecutions, shall do them no good, but shall himself be justly punished by him, by the righteous judgment of God, who loves not thus to be assisted (any more than Christ by St. Peter's

sword) against his enemies, but denounces (as there in the gospel, so here) *perishing by the sword* against him that thus useth the *sword* against a lawful superior, though acting wickedly against Christ or Christianity. And so the only Christian weapons against persecuting princes are demonstrated to be patience and faith, enduring meekly what comes from them, and referring our cause to God only. And by these means (so necessary for every Christian to observe, ver. 9.) hath Christianity ever flourished, and by none other.

11. [*g*] *another beast*] What this ἄλλο θηρίον, *other*, or *second*, *beast* signified in this vision, is determinable by the consequents (vv. 13, 14.) thus far, that it must denote some one or more sorcerers or magicians, to whom it is peculiar to do the *great wonders*, to *make fire come down from heaven*, ver. 13, to *deceive by means of those miracles which he hath power to do before the beast*. Of this therefore so signally set down there can be no place of question, nor consequently that these *sorcerers* were heathens, being by the devil made use of to support and advance heathenism and idolatry. This appears, 1. by his *speaking like the dragon*, that is, the devil, (see note [b]); 2dly, by his *exercising all the power of the first beast before him*, that is, assisting of the heathen worship, ver. 1, *whose deadly wound was cured*, that is, which was newly restored to a flourishing condition again by Domitian's reedifying of the capitol, (see note [b]); 3dly, by his *commanding to make an image to the beast*, ver. 4, (which must be again the advancing of heathen worship,) and so the *giving breath to the image*, as shall anon appear. It is therefore most reasonable to interpret this *second beast* of Apollonius Tyaneus, that did such feats at this point of time, and was the person whose life is so solemnly written by Philostratus, and his miracles by Hierocles compared with and preferred before Christ's, that he cannot be looked on as a person too mean to be thus represented in this vision. But this not so as to confine it to his person, (for Christ himself is oft not the person of Christ, but he and his followers, the Christians together,) but to comprehend also the magicians, sorcerers, augurs, heathen priests, *λεποσκόποι*, that divined by the entrails of beasts, flying of birds, the whole sort and profession of these. For that it belongs not to Simon Magus, and his followers, Menander and Basilides, &c. (though they were all sorcerers,) appears, 1. because Simon was worshipped in time of Claudius; and though in Nero's reign he came a second time to Rome, yet he was then worsted and destroyed by the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and the Christian religion advanced by that means, not heathenism, as here it is; and, 2dly, the contexture of these visions, and other characters in the former part of this chapter, determine this of the *second beast* to Domitian's, and not to Nero's time: and for Menander and Basilides, &c., they kept and taught in Palestine, Egypt and Syria, whereas this *second beast* must have a larger influence, and that particularly on heathen Rome, and the heathen worship there, denoted by the *first beast*, whose *deadly wound had been cured*. And for the confirming of this interpretation, it is to be observed, (what is most evident,) that this *second beast*, and the *false prophet*, ch. xix. 20, had the same design. For as here the *second beast* doth his *miracles before the first*, ver. 12, and commands to *make an image to the beast*, ver. 14, and *causeth them to take the mark*

of the beast upon them, ver. 16, so there the *false prophet* had done his signs before the beast, by which he had deceived those that received the mark of the beast, and worshipped his image. And that there the *false prophet* signifies the heathen diviners, that foretold out of the oracles of the Sibyls, &c. will appear ch. xvi. 13, 14. (note [g]). This being thus evinced, that this whole sort of deceivers (who by their arts were serviceable to the confirmation of heathen idolatry) are denoted and represented by the *second beast*, the several phrases in this vision and parts of the representation will be very intelligible; as will appear in the following notes.

[h] *two horns*] *Κέρατα*, horns, in the scripture most commonly signify power or strength, because the horns of beasts being their weapons, their power of defending themselves, or hurting others, doth most properly consist in them: see note [n] on Luke i. And though it be here the *horns of a lamb*, which is no strong or formidable beast, yet still the *horns of the lamb*, or *sheep*, are the only strength which that creature hath, and horns cannot properly signify any thing else but strength. As for the whole phrase here, *κέρατα δύο ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ*, *two horns like unto (a or) the lamb*, it must be interpreted by analogy with what we read ch. v. 6. There Christ having been slain, and risen again, and installed in his regal power, is represented by a *lamb having seven horns*, which are the denotation of his several branches of power, useful to him for the subduing his enemies. And so here of this *second beast* it is said, that it hath *two horns like the lamb*, that is, this lamb before described, ch. v. in like manner as the beast's speaking *ὡς δράκων*, as the dragon, refers to the dragon, vv. 2, 4. And though the demonstrative article *ὁ* be not prefixed, yet that is so ordinarily left out in all writers, when it must be retained in the sense, that no objection can be drawn from thence. This then being thus far clear, it remains only to inquire what acts of power are here meant by the *two horns*. And, 1. it must be resolved that they are two such as are like two of Christ's; for that is concluded from the *ὅμοια ἀρνίῳ*, like the lamb. Of which number as the power of miracles and of prophecy are certainly two, so there is great reason here from the context to resolve these to be the two that are here meant. For it being already cleared, that *κέρατα*, horns, signify powers, two powers are here named distinctly in the following verses; first, the *power of working signs*, ver. 14; secondly, of *giving breath to the image of the beast*, ver. 15. For that is the denotation of *ἐδόθη αὐτῷ* in those two (and very ordinary in other) places, it was given to him, that is, power was given to him, or he had power, (see note [p] on Luke i. Now the *σημεῖα*, signs, doth acknowledgedly denote miracles; and so it is specified, ver. 13, *he doth great signs*, so that he makes fire come down from heaven, &c., and so that is the first horn of this *second beast*, the magicians' and sorcerers' power of working some prodigies, like unto those that Christ the Lamb (himself, and in his apostles afterwards) had wrought, resembling them, but not truly such, false, deceitful miracles. And for the *power of giving breath to the image of the beast*, that is expressed in the next words to be the enabling the *image of the beast to speak*, which clearly denotes the receiving responses from the devil, or the devil giving of oracles, foretelling things to come; which is another imitation of what the

Lamb or Christ had done, who left the power of prophecy in his church after his ascension, as he saith of the Paraclete, *he shall shew you things to come*, and as St. Paul saith, Ephes. iv. 11, that for the founding and confirming a church, Christ *gave some apostles, some prophets, &c.*

13. [i] *maketh fire come down*—] The first of these horns or powers, being shewed to be the power of miracles wrought by the magicians through the power of the devil, contains under it all the deceitful wonders wrought by sorcerers in those times; and the strangest of all these that were by any of them pretended to, was this of *making fire descend from heaven*, in imitation of Elias, as Jannes and Jambres did by their magic some miracles after Moses. And this is particularly related by Philostratus of Apollonius Tyaneus, l. v. c. 5, that he *called down fire from heaven*. And this is a signal evidence that these sorcerers were this *second beast*.

14. [k] *make an image to the beast*] The design of these sorcerers to advance heathenism by that means, and to oppose Christianity, and the successfulness of their attempt, so far as to incense the emperors against the Christians, and to engage them to favour and encourage heathenism or idolatry, is sufficiently known in story, and appears by that book of Hierocles, (to which we have Eusebius's answer, though the book itself be not extant,) wherein he compares Christ and Apollonius, the evangelists, the writers of Christ's story, and Philostratus, the writer of Apollonius's life, and prefers Apollonius and Philostratus very much before the other. And this is the meaning of ver. 12, *he did all the power of the first beast before him*, that is, he confirmed men in the belief and practice of all the heathen worship which was then afoot; and, as it follows, *makes all the inhabitants of the land*, that is, the generality of the Roman empire, to *worship the first beast, whose wound had been cured*, that is, to continue those heathen worships of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the like, which seemed to have been shaken by the burning, but were settled again by the reedifying of the capitol. And not only so, but, as here it is added, *he saith to the inhabitants of the land*, that is, commands them, *ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ ὃ ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρας, καὶ ἔζησε*, to *make an image to the beast which hath the stroke of the sword, and lived*. That that beast which *hath the stroke of the sword, and yet lived*, is the beast, ver. 1, *one of whose heads was wounded to death*, and the *πληγὴ θανάτου*, mortal wound, (all one here with *πληγὴ τῆς μαχαίρας*, stroke of the sword,) was cured, is manifest; and that hath been cleared to denote the heathen worship, as it then stood at Rome, the prime part of which was the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus. The only difficulty then is, what is the *εἰκὼν*, image, of this beast. And, first, it may signify the inventing and introducing of some other heathen worships or temples besides those, yet agreeable and like unto those which they had already: and to that sense may be applied what we read of Domitian his adding of new deities, and erecting *Flavia templa, Flavios sacerdotes*, of which saith Martial, l. 8. Epigr. 80.

Sic nova dum condis, revocas, Auguste, priora :

Debentur quæ sunt, quæque fuere, tibi.

“ Whilst he built new temples, and reedified the former, both were to be acknowledged due to him, what now are, and what were before.”

But there is one objection against this interpretation, viz. that as this *second beast* (sorcery or the magicians) is said at the beginning of the verse to *deceive those that dwell on the land*, so this *beast saith to the inhabitants of the land*, ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα, *that they should make the image*. And there is no reason to think that κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆς, *the inhabitants of the land*, should denote Domitian the emperor. What ἡ γῆ signifies we have oft explained, not *the earth*, but *the land*, that is, the whole region or dominion: and that to be defined by the context. While the discourse was about the Jews, there it signified constantly Judæa, and the rest of the tetrarchies, all Palestine, and now in this chapter (see note [b]) the discourse is about the Romans, it must by analogy signify the whole Roman empire, as οἰκουμένη, *the world*, which sometimes signifies Palestine, elsewhere signifies the Roman empire, (see note [e] on Matt. xxiv.) And consequently οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, *the inhabitants on the land*, will signify, ver. 7, and here, the princes and people of the other regions, within the compass of the Roman dominion; and then most probably the meaning of the verse will be, that by the deceits of these magicians, Apollonius, &c., (who, as Philostratus makes it evident, went about all the regions, and did their wonders, and drew men after them,) the people of all those countries were persuaded to admit the like worships (and build the like temples) to those in the capitol at Rome, which may be meant by the θαυμάζειν ὀπίσω, *to wonder after the beast*, (see note [b],) that is, to receive universally the worship of Jupiter, and to build temples to him. As for the conceit that Achilles's ghost, which Apollonius in Philostratus is said to have raised, should be the *image of the beast* here, or that the image of Apollonius himself, which his scholars appointed to be worshipped, should be it, there are many inconveniences which lie against either of those interpretations. This which we have set down is the most simple, and agreeable to the context.

15. [I] *life*] That πνεῦμα signifies *breath*, not *life*, is sufficiently known, and consequently to *give breath* must be to enable to speak, as it here follows; and to *give this to the image of the beast* (in the notion of that forementioned, note [k]) must signify, to devise arts by which oracles were now given, or the devils raised to give responses in those other places where these Roman worships had been received. That the oracles at Cumæ, at Dodona, at Delphos, in all Bœotia, and in most other places, were become dumb before this time, is acknowledged by all heathen writers: and Plutarch's discourses of that subject are very considerable to shew the influence that the Christian faith had on this, and how idol worship lost much of its reputation by this means. These augurs then and heathen priests, as they did undertake to divine by looking into entrails of sacrifices, and by many other ways, so did they contrive the delivering of oracles in new places, as in Pontus by Æsculapius, and the like, as may be seen in Lucian's Pseudomantis. This practice continued public as long as the emperors continued pagan, and afterwards more privately: but about the time to which this vision belongs, that is, in the reign of Domitian, (as also of Trajan and Adrian,) upon the great defection of oracles, the devil in these his agents was most active to repair the loss by setting up new impostures in this kind; and this as a branch or effect of that prophetic power signified by the *second horn* (of this *second beast*) *like unto the Lamb*,

ver. 11; and to this must be applied that in the end of that verse, subjoined immediately to the mention of the *two horns*, ἔλαλει ὡς δράκων, *the second beast spake* (that is, these augurs prophesied or delivered oracles) *as the dragon*; first, wickedly and cruelly, for the advancing of Satan's kingdom, as when by this means they stirred up the emperor and his officers against the Christians. See Lucian in Pseudomant. concerning Alexander the magician. And so saith Baronius, An. 272. §. 20, the Gentile priests did out of the oracles of the Sibyls incense the emperors against the Christians. Secondly, cunningly, doubtfully giving their responses in obscure forms, veiling their predictions in equivocal speeches, as the devil, that knows some futures, and guesseth at others, is wisely and politicly wont to do. The former of these seems chiefly to be meant by ὡς δράκων, *as the dragon*, because in this, ver. 15, after the *image of the beast speaking*, is immediately added, *and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed*.

16. [m] *a mark in their right hand*] The giving χαράγματα, *marks in the right hand or forehead*, was ordinary in Syria and the neighbour countries, not as a brand or στίγμα, (as it is among others, by way of punishment, see Gal. vi. 17,) but as a note of servants, or to discriminate the servants of one master from another. These marks were either in *their right hands* (or *arms or wrists*, as χεῖρ oft signifies, and not only the *hand*, which is ἀροχείρ, see note [a] on Mark vii.) or *in their foreheads*: Στίγματα ἐστὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, saith Julian, "Marks of soldiers are in their hands or wrists;" and Lucian de Dea Syr. hath στίζεσθαι εἰς καρπούς, "to be marked on the wrists." So that to *cause all to receive this mark*, is to force all to the receiving these idol-worships; and the way of forcing them is specified, ver. 17, ἵνα μή τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι, *that no man might buy or sell*, that would not; that is, incensing the emperor and his officers in the provinces to make interdicts against Christian assemblies, and to proceed severely and capitally against all that used any but these heathen idol-worships. This whole passage seems to allude to the tyranny of Ptolemæus Philopator upon the Jews in the third of the Maccabees, Προέθετο δημοσίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους διαδοῦναι ψάγον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν πυργου στήλην ἀναστήσας, ἐξεκόλαψε γραφὴν, Μηδένα τῶν μὴ θυνόντων εἰς τὰ ἱερά αὐτῶν εἰσιέναι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς λαογραφίαν καὶ οἰκετικὴν διάθεσιν ἀχθῆναι — Τούτους τε ἀπογραφομένους χαράσσεσθαι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρασήμερ Διούσου κισσοφύλλῳ — "He made an edict to bring disgrace upon the nation; and upon a tower joining to the court he erected a pillar, and engraved on it, that no man should enter but those who sacrificed after the heathen manner to their gods; and that all the Jews should be forced to be enrolled and put in a servile condition, and that those that were enrolled should be marked also with fire upon their body with Bacchus's ensign, an ivy-leaf." Which passage seems to be taken notice of by the author of the Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα, who speaks of Ptolemæus Philopator *marking men* διὰ τὰ φύλλα κισσοῦ, *with ivy-leaves*. All which we see signifies the marking them out as servants with the ensign of their heathen god Bacchus, as here with *the mark of the beast*, that is, of idol-worship.

17. [n] *name of the beast*] Beside *the mark of the beast*, here is mentioned *the name of the beast*, and *the number of the name*, which are in

like manner to be received on their *wrists* or *foreheads*, as the mark was; for so the construction carries it, *He causeth all ἵνα δώσῃ αὐτοῖς, that he may give them a mark*, ver. 16. *And that no man should buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name, or the number of the name.* Where, as their having a mark given them is all one with receiving and having it, so the *having the name and number of the name of the beast*, must be all one with their receiving it. And then this will signify no more than the several ways whereby servants or worshippers of the heathen idols were initiated or received, and discriminated from others; first, by a mark or ensign of that God whose worship it was, an ivy-leaf for Bacchus, (from whence they were called *thyrsigeri*, and *ναθηκοφόροι*,) and the like; secondly, by the name of the god engraved on them, as *Φοῖβος, Διόνυσος, Apollo, Bacchus*, &c.; and therefore, ch. xiv. 11, we have *χάραγμα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ*, which must there best be rendered *the engraving of his name*; thirdly, by numeral letters, which make up the same sum that the name of the god makes, which is but a mystical or cabalistical way of having the name understood by them that use it, but not easily understood by any man else. Of these Servius on Virgil makes frequent mention; and Martianus Capella mentions XN as the mystical name of the sun, that is, the number of the name. And an example of this manner of describing a god, even Christ himself, hath been set down from the Sibylline oracles, note [f] on 1 Pet. iv. Having gone thus far, it is now observable that these four phrases, *worshipping the image of the beast*, ver. 15—*having the mark of the beast—having the name of the beast—having the number of the name of the beast*, are all here used in the same matter, (as things commanded under severe interdicts, either capital punishment, *ἵνα ἀποκτανθῶσι, that they may be killed* that do it not, or expulsion from human society, that they may *not buy or sell*, but be discommuned,) and perhaps thus differently expressed to set down the several degrees of complying with heathenism that the persecutions brought Christians to, known and mentioned by the ancients, that is, the several *species* of the *lapsi*; first, *apostatae, apostates*, that openly renounced the Christian religion; secondly, *sacrificati, they that sacrificed to idol gods*; thirdly, *thurificati, they that burnt incense to them*; fourthly, *libellatici, they that received tickets to acknowledge that they had done so*, though they had not; which being, in respect of the scandal of it, and by way of interpretation, all one with having sacrificed, may properly be expressed by *receiving the number of the beast's name*, which is in effect all one with receiving his name or mark.

18. [o] *Here is wisdom*] What *ὅδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν, here is wisdom*, signifies, is somewhat uncertain. It may refer to God: *Herein is wisdom shewed*, that as the heathen priests veil the names of their gods in secret numbers, so God hath here set down in cypher the name of that heathen god whose worship is by these edicts prescribed. And then that which follows, *ὁ νοῦν ἔχων ψηφισάτω, let him that hath understanding count, or reckon*, will be no more than, *Let him that knows what belongs to mystical expressions of names by numbers take notice of this number now given him, and he shall find how it fits the event.* But it is also possible that the phrase *here is wisdom*, may refer only to man: It is an act of special wisdom to do it: and then to that sense

will be agreeable what follows, *Let him that hath understanding cast the account*; where again the *wisdom* and *understanding* may either signify skill and sagacity to find out the meaning of this mystery, or else prudence to manage it wisely, that it shall bring no danger upon him, it being that which was not fit publicly to be discovered; but *if any man had the skill* to discern it, he would, if he were wise, *reckon* it to himself, and say nothing, not discover that openly which might bring danger or persecution along with it. To this purpose it is observable, that in the first ages of the church (which were most likely to have understood and given us light in it) they made no conjectures about it; and it is Irenæus's saying, that if in his time it were fit publicly to be declared, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρήθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος, οὐ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς, "it would have been declared by him that saw the revelation, for that was but a little while ago, almost in our age, about the end of Domitian's reign." Intimating, that the reason of St. John's not discovering it was somewhat proper to those times, that is, surely, because somebody that lived in his time, or was suddenly to come, was concerned in it. It will now, at this distance of so many hundred years, be more difficult for us to find it out, and less advantageous to afflict our minds in the search of it. That conceit of Irenæus, that the number is to be found out by the Greek account of letters, hath been taken for the rule by which the work must be wrought, and so the Greek alphabet hath had all the applications made to it to expound this riddle: whereas, first, these kind of arithmetical mysteries were not ordinary among the Greeks of that age; and, secondly, the Greeks had anciently another way of numbering, beside that of the letters of the alphabet in their order, viz. by six letters only taken out of the alphabet, which did comprehend all numbers: and who knows whether that be not the way of numbering by which the operation is to be wrought? And, thirdly, it is much more probable that St. John had respect to the Hebrew custom of finding out mysteries in the number of letters, that being very usual among the rabbins of that age, under the name of *gematria*, which was a mysterious and abstruse art, and, in their account, a special depth of wisdom among them. Whatever this number is, it is somewhat, which, as a note of discrimination, is imposed, ver. 16, on all men of that time and place, whereof that vision treats, and which some *had upon them*, ver. 17, was *received* by some, chap. xiv. 11, and *not received* by others, chap. xx. 4. All this and much more might be said to demonstrate it unreasonable to take any pains in finding out the precise name, whereof this of 666 is the numeral expression. The sense of the verse and the whole passage is clear without it, that the heathen priests, and augurs, and sorcerers, should incense the emperor against the Christians in all the provinces, and cause them to make edicts of great severity against all that did not some way comply with their heathen worships. And I shall not trouble the reader with any (as more scrupulous, so) uncertain inquiries.

CHAP. XIV.

1. [a] *I looked, and, lo, a Lamb—*] The sum of this ensuing vision, and the propriety of it to this part of the story, is here fit to be set down as preparative to the interpretation of it; and it is this: The state of heathen Rome being set down in the former chapter as it was in Domitian's time, that time of persecuting of Christianity, and reviving of heathenism, (that had lost a little of its lustre,) here is now a general view given of all that is more largely set down in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth chapters, that is, of all from Domitian to Constantine, or the prediction in gross of what is there particularly executed; just as the sixth chapter was the representation of the several degrees by which the Jews' polity came to its dissolution, and the premising in short what was afterwards to be acted on the Jews in the following chapters. And as there the total destruction of the Jewish state is chiefly insisted on, from ver. 12 to the end, so here in this, the period of the Roman idolatrous power, and the destruction thereof by an immense effusion of blood, is described, from ver. 14 to the end; but preparatory to that, a description of the pure, constant, primitive Christians, in the first five verses; an angel declaring happy tidings to the whole Christian church for the time to come, and requiring them to walk in a religious fear, and to give *glory to God*, because he would now appear and *judge their persecutors*, vv. 6, 7. Then another angel foretelling the destruction of heathen Rome, ver. 8, and another, the bitter punishments and utter ruin of apostatizing, complying Christians, vv. 9, 10, 11; then a declaration from heaven, that most sore persecutions should fall upon the church immediately before this happy change, so that they should be *happy* who were well *dead*, and were come to enjoy their reward, and not left to undergo so sore a trial, ver. 13. And this to point at the time of persecution under Diocletian, Maximian Herculius, Maximian Armentarius, Maximinus, Maxentius, Licinius, which was long and most sharp.

6. [b] *everlasting gospel*] That the word *εὐαγγέλιον* signifies *good news*, and by a figure only is appropriated to the gospel, (as being most eminently such,) is sufficiently known. And therefore here in all probability it must be taken in the native sense, and denote simply *good tidings*. And what they are appears ver. 7, where the words of this *good news* are, *The day of God's judgments are come*, the former words, *Fear God, and give him praise*, being the preface to it. Which though they are a sad proclamation of judgment, and ill news to the impenitent, yet they are a special piece of *good news* to the pious, constant confessors, *that fear God, and confess and give him praise*, that is, courageously confess him, whatsoever the danger be, (for so *δοξάζειν Θεόν*, *to praise God*, signifies, 1 Pet. iv. 16.) Now for the addition of *αἰώνιον* to *εὐαγγέλιον*, that sure must signify this *good news* to be such, as not only the present but future ages were concerned in. Thus was this (here mentioned) the freeing of the Christian church from public universal persecution of the heathen power, which was to be afforded at the time pointed at in this vision, that is, at the *fall of Babylon*, ver. 8. For after that the heathen persecution was taken off by Constantine, there never came any such universal persecution, but that in one place or other Christians have had the benefit and liberty of assemblies. And

though it cannot absolutely be affirmed that there can never come such universal persecution, yet in that this flourishing estate hath continued the *thousand years*, ch. xx. 11, it may well carry the name of *εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον*, the *everlasting good news*, in proportion to what we read of the punishment of the heathen persecutors, whose *smoke* is said to *endure for ever and ever*, Rev. xix. 3. That the *devil* shall be *let loose again*, after this *everlasting good news*, is affirmed, ch. xx. 7. But then not *Babylon*, (whose destruction here is the subject of this *good news*,) but *Gog and Magog* shall *encompass the camp of the saints, and the beloved city*, ch. xx. 9. And though *Gog and Magog* in the Ottoman family hath overran that part of the church, yet in other places, to which the Roman power did never extend, that loss is repaired by the accession of Christian princes that reign in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Russia, &c., so that still it may be *εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον* in the largest sense, as *good news* concerning all future time, as when Daniel prophesies that *the saints of the Most High shall possess the kingdom for ever and ever*, ch. vii. 18.

8. [c] *Babylon is fallen*] That by Babylon heathen Rome is signified in these visions shall be shewed at large, note [a] on ch. xviii. Here only it will be observable, first, why it is called *the city, the great*, (for so ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, is best rendered,) viz., first, in respect of her dominion, see ch. xvii. 18, *that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth*; and accordingly it was generally known by that title of *urbis dominatrix, regno superba, sanctorum debellatrix*, &c., “the imperial city, proud of her dominion, the subduer and destroyer of the saints.

— *regina tui pulcherrima mundi,*

in Rutilius Numatian. “the beautiful queen of thy world.” So in Cicero it is *lux orbis terrarum*, “the light of the world;” *ἀστρον τοῦ κοινὸν τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης*, in Marcianus Heracleota, “the common star of the whole world;” *regina et domina*, in Julius Frontinus, “the queen and ruler of the world.” Secondly, for the large circuit of the city, to which purpose this testimony of Athenæus is worth observing, lib. 1, Ἐπιλείποι δ’ ἂν γε οὐχ ἡμέρα μία ἐξαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐρανοπόλει Ῥώμῃ ἀριθμουμένας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι αἱ κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀριθμούμεναι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, “If I should reckon the cities that are numbered in Rome, that heaven-city of the Romans, not only one day would fail me, but as many days as make up a year, the number of them is so great.” Secondly, why this title of *Babylon* is here adapted to it, viz., to keep a special *decorum*, observable in these visions, in representing the Christian church by the ancient Jewish. This is observable in many lesser particulars, but most eminently in this description of her persecutors. There were three most remarkable calamities that fell upon the seed of Israel; the bondage in Egypt, the captivity in Babylon, the persecution of Antiochus. And the like is prophesied in this book to befall Christians. First, miseries by Jewish persecution, and therefore Jerusalem is called *Egypt*, Rev. xi. 8; the second by Roman idolatry, which is therefore called *Babylon* here, and chapters xvii. and xviii; and the third, when *the devil* is *let loose* by *Gog and Magog*, Rev. xx. 8, which are most perfectly parallel to Antiochus, (see the paraphrase there.) And there is little reason of doubting but these allusions were intended, and there is great *decorum* and method therein, which ought to be carefully attended.

10. [*d*] *the wine of the wrath*—] That *χολή* and *θυμός* are all one, that they both promiscuously signify those intoxicating poisoning mixtures which were put into wine, hath been shewed in note [*f*] on Matt. xxvii. And agreeably to that notion, *οἶνος θυμοῦ* is applied in this chapter to signify two things, abominable sin, and intolerable punishment. The former of them, in the 8th verse, is joined with *πορνείας*, *fornication*, and it is the same in effect which it would be if the words had been *οἶνος ἐμυρρυσμένος τῆς πορνείας*, a *myrrhate* (bitter poisonous) *cup of fornication*. Then for punishment it is here used, ver. 10, being spoken of God, *οἶνος τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, not as if *θυμός* signified *wrath*, (any more than the same word could signify so, ver. 8, where it is applied to fornication,) but again as *θυμός* and *χολή* are all one, and as they signify all those poisonous bitter mixtures put into wine; and so *οἶνος τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ* is God's myrrhate cup of punishments, which he there threatens to pour out on them, expressed again in that that follows, *κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου*, *mixed unmixed*; *ἀκράτος* being the word to signify *wine not mingled* with water, *merum*, strong wine, or red wine, (as *רָמָה*, which is rendered *ἀκράτος*, *unmixed*, psalm lxxv. 9, signifies,) and *κεκρασμένος*, *mixed* with these inebriating spices, meant by *θυμός*, which the Septuagint in that place of the psalmist, psalm lxxv. 9, express by *πλήρης κεράσματος*, *full of mixture*: and then both these put thus together are very proper to express the *cup of malediction*, (see note [*f*] on Matt. xxvii.) and consequently the curses and fierce punishments of God. Thus, ch. xvi. 19, *οἶνος θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ*, *the bitter wine of his wrath*, not *the wine of the anger of his wrath*. Many the like phrases we find scattered in authors; *κύνδυν πικρίας*, in ^c Eustathius, a *cup of bitterness*; *κύπελλον δλείθρον*, in Manasses, a *cup of destruction*; and again, *συμφορῶν ὑπερχειλὴ τὸν σκύφον*, a *cup of afflictions above brim full*, and *ἀφινδιάζοντα πικρὸν ἐκέρασε κρατήρα*, a *bitter cup of the taste of wormwood*; and *τὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ ποτήριον*, in ^d Nicetas Choniata. See Gaulmin on Eustathius, p. 35.

13. [*e*] *from henceforth*] The word *ἀπάρτι* (be it so read, or *ἀπ' ἀρτι*, in two words) signifies, saith Euthymius, *within a short time, not long after, quickly*; see note on Matt. xxiii. 39, and Matt. xxvi. 64. In both which (as here) the ancient Latin reads *amodo*, *within a while*. This verse belongs to that which went immediately before, ver. 12, *ὥδε ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστὶ*, *here is the patience of the saints*, to signify a time of persecution, (see ch. xiii. 10.) And to that nothing can be more proper than this, that they are to be accounted happiest that die soonest, that *within a while* are taken out of this life, from having their part in the *evil to come*, Isa. lvii. 1. So Eccl. iv, upon mention of the oppressors and strength on their side, and the *no-comforter*, ver. 1, it follows, *wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead*, &c., ver. 2. And to this belongs the answer of the Spirit in the words following, *they shall have rest from their κόποι*, that is, from those persecutions which attend them here, (see note [*c*] on Heb. iii.) and which only death can give them an end of.

14. [*f*] *a golden crown*] That the *στέφανος χρύσεος*, *golden crown*, is an ensign of regal power, is sufficiently known, and little doubt but here it is so, denoting that which in the New Testament is oft ex-

pressed by the style of *the kingdom of God, or Christ*, the destroying and subduing of his enemies, it being the special part of the king's office *debellare superbos, to subdue all that hold out against him*. And as by the *golden crown* this regal office of Christ is here expressed, so by the *δρεπανον ὀξύ, sharp sickle*, the approach of that exercise of it; the *sickle* referring to the ripe harvest, when the reapers come armed to cut down the corn, and *sharpness* denoting the preparedness of this instrument for that work, and withal the swiftness and universality of the excision, cutting the whole field down together. And the destruction of the Romans (that is, of the heathen part of that people) is here fitly represented by it. So in the gospel, in the parable of the wheat and darnel, the *harvest* was the time of the excision of the Jews. So Jer. li. 33. *Yet a little while and the time of her harvest shall come*, that is, of judgments and excision, before expressed by *it is time to thresh her*, to which reaping is preparative. And whereas in this chapter there are two *sickles*, one to cut down the corn, another the clusters of grapes, both these sorts of harvests are to be seen, Joel iii. 13, and both for judgments on a people; *Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, get ye down; for the press is full, the fats overflow; for wickedness is great*. And the reason of the phrase is clear, because God's judgments being attendants and rewards of the sins of men, when the measure of their sins is filled up, they are then like to a field of ripe corn in time of harvest, fit to be reaped, ready for God's vengeance to fall on them; or again to bunches or clusters of grapes ready for the winepress. And so here at the point of time, represented in this part of the vision, (the time of Diocletian,) the sins of heathen Rome were fully ripe, ready for the vengeance of God, when their rage had continued a sharp persecution for ten years without intermission, and pillars were erected to Diocletian, as trophies that he had abolished Christianity, and enlarged paganism. See Baronius, A. D. 304, §. 8.

18. [g] *power over fire*] The *θυσιαστήριον, altar*, here, being that whereon the beasts were offered, and those beasts to be burnt with fire, and that fire being a denotation of the wrath and vengeance of God against the wicked, this angel coming from the altar, and *having power over fire*, is consequently a minister or executioner of God's wrath upon the wicked impenitents, who are those beasts to be sacrificed to God, to be destroyed before him.

20. [h] *a thousand and six hundred furlongs*] That the *thousand and six hundred furlongs* here do refer to the bounds or extent of Judæa, is the opinion of the learned H. Grotius; and his proof for it is, because St. Jerome, which had lived in those parts, and examined it very accurately, affirms that Judæa was in length 160 miles, which, accounting every mile to contain ten Greek *stadia*, or *furlongs*, amounts to 1600 furlongs. But if it be first adverted that the *winepress* is here said to be *trodden without the city*, and the *blood* to have *extended* to this space of 1600 *furlongs*; secondly, that Jerusalem was in the midst of the country, and consequently that from thence to the utmost bounds of it the space will be but half so much as is the longitude of all Judæa; this conjecture will not be so agreeable to this place. And therefore it will be more proper, and accordant to the context, which speaks not of Judæa, but of Rome, to apply it to the adjacent regions about Rome,

to represent the bloodiness of the wars, and many battles that should in the times of Maximinus, Licinius, and Maxentius, lie so very heavily upon those countries, which were parts of the Roman empire, that they cannot be better expressed than by the *blood coming to the horse-bridles*, a vast effusion of blood among the Romans.

CHAP. XV.

5. [a] *temple of the tabernacle*] What is here literally meant by *ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, ordinarily rendered *the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony*, may thus be collected: *the tabernacle of the testimony* clearly signifies that tabernacle among the Israelites in Moses's time before the building of the temple, called *מִזְבֵּחַ מוֹעֵד*, *the tabernacle of meeting*, Exod. xxvii. 1, and elsewhere *the tabernacle of the testimony*, Acts vii. 44, because God was there pleased to exhibit himself, and give testimony of his presence, Acts xxvii. 22. In that there were two regions; the first called *the sanctuary*, the second *דְּבִיר*, or *oracle*, *the holy of holies*: and this is here, and ver. 6, called *ναὸς*, and so again, ch. xvi. 1 and 17, not as that signifies the whole *temple*, but a part of the tabernacle, viz. *the holy place*, or *holy of holies*. What *ναὸς* elsewhere signifies, see note [e] on Acts xix, and note [c] on Rev. xiv, out of the Scholiast on Nazianzen, *Στηλιτευτ. α'*, who distinguishes *ναὸς* in the Christian church from *σηκὸς* and *τέμενος*: the two latter, saith he, signify *ἱερὸν ὅλον*, *the whole temple or church*, but the former the place where the communion table stands, which being divided from the rest of the quire, is to that as *the holy of holies to the sanctuary*. And in this sense of *ναὸς* it is that psalm lxxxii. 2, the vulgar Latin, and from thence the English in our Liturgy, read *temple*, where the Hebrew have *דְּבִיר*, and from thence our Bibles read *oracle*. From this place God promises to speak to Moses of *all things which he would give him in command to the people of Israel*, Exod. xxv. 23. And accordingly this *opening of this holy place*, or this *holy of holies*, in this *tabernacle of the testimony*, is a representation of God's revealing his will as from the oracle concerning heathen Rome; and so straight *the seven angels came out* from thence, habited like the high priest, (who alone was permitted to go into the holy of holies in the temple,) and as executors of this decree have *the seven plagues, or blows, or judgments*, ver. 6, that is, come ready to act a complete destruction, such as was before meant by the *ἐντὶς βρονταί*, *seven thunders*, in the vision about the Jews, note [a] on ch. x.

CHAP. XVI.

2. [a] *upon the earth*] What is here meant by *ἡ γῆ*, and *ἡ θάλασσα*, and *οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ πηγαί*, *the earth, or land*, and *the sea*, and *the rivers and fountains of waters*, vv. 2, 3, 4, may appear by ver. 1, where the angels are appointed to *pour out their vials upon the earth or land*. That in all reason signifies the Roman empire, the thing represented in these visions, as before it signified the nation and people of the Jews, (note [b] on chap. vii.) And there is no reason to affix any nice critical notation to either of these single, that *the land*, ver. 2, should signify severally, and so *the sea*, ver. 3, and *the rivers*, ver. 4, but to take all together for that which was meant by *the land*, ver. 1, for so the *series* here requires, where the angels, that were commanded to *pour out their*

vials on the earth, pour them out upon these three, evidently noting these three to be the distribution of that one, and so all one with it. So ch. xiv. 7, God is described as *the Creator of the heaven, and earth, and sea, and fountains of waters*, where all those latter three are set to denote that which is elsewhere ordinarily called *the earth*, and no more, in opposition to *heaven*, that is, this inferior, terrestrial globe, and all in it. To this may be added, that when the judgments are represented to fall upon Judæa, some are said to fall on the *land*, others on the *sea*, others on the *trees*, ch. vii; not necessarily signifying such a separation of the judgments, some on this, some on that part, but the whole nation together, on which all those judgments fell; and this indeed agreeable to what we read of the judgments that fell on Egypt, where though some of them were caused by the signs that Moses wrought upon the *land*, Exod. viii. 16, others by *smiting of the waters, streams, rivers, and ponds, and all their gathering together of waters*, Exod. vii. 19; and so again, ch. viii. 5; yet it is manifest that the judgments thus produced by every of these, (each *smiting* of his *rod* there being proportionable to the *pouring out of a vial* here,) fell indifferently on the whole land, and not one judgment on one part, another on another: and so sure it is to be understood in this place. Many judgments were to be poured out upon the Roman empire, and by all of them together the whole heathen part of it destroyed. This consideration makes it unnecessary further to inquire into the productions of the several *vials*, what each of them distinctly signified, it being sufficient that each of them notes some kind of destruction; and the number of *seven* being a perfect number, the *seven angels*, and their *seven vials*, and their *seven effusions*, signify utter destruction, and not necessarily any more, unless it be this, that it was not all at once, but by several degrees and several sorts of judgments, those that ordinarily bring destructions upon provoking people, that have *filled up the measure of their iniquities*, λοιμός, λιμός, πλεσιμος, *infectious diseases, famines, and wars*: and that these in a very remarkable manner fell upon the Roman empire about these times, appears as by all histories ecclesiastical and profane, so especially by St. Austin, in his first books De Civ. Dei, written on purpose to defend Christian religion from that charge which was laid upon it, that it brought down all judgments upon the empire. Which being false, as it was urged by the heathens to the prejudice of Christianity, viz. that the judgments came for that sin of permitting Christianity in the empire, and contempt of their idol-worships; so was it most true, that for the heathens standing out and persecuting the Christian faith, most heavy wasting judgments were come upon them. Of the three first vials it may be yet further noted, that they may have a peculiar aspect on the plagues of Egypt: the first, that of the *ἐλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, the evil and grievous boil*, that is, *infectious* and very painful, will be answerable to the *boil breaking out upon man and beast through all the land*, Exod. ix. 9, and signify some infectious disease, plague, and pestilence, which we know breaks out in boils. So likewise the second and the third, *the sea becoming as blood*, ver. 3, and *the rivers and fountains becoming as blood*, ver. 4, are answerable to Moses's stretching out his hand and *smiting upon the waters of Egypt, their streams, and their rivers, and their ponds, and all their pools, or collections of water, upon which they became blood*, Exod. vii. 19, 20. Now for these three

the histories of those times are very remarkable, viz. for the great pestilences and horrible effusions of blood. That which Herodian tells us of Commodus's reign, will sufficiently qualify that for the time of the *pouring out* of these three *vials*. At that time, saith he, l. 1, "a very great pestilence reigned over all Italy, but especially in the city of Rome," (and Dio tells us, that there "died above two thousand a day in the city," "and a vast number both of beasts and men perished thereby." And so this may be commodiously the *pouring out the vial upon the earth*, belonging not only to the city of Rome, but to all Italy, as $\eta\ \gamma\eta$, *the land*, was wont to signify not only Jerusalem but all Judæa. Hereupon the emperor was persuaded to remove to Laurentum, so called from the grove of bay trees there, the smell whereof the physicians thought useful against the plague. And in like manner they prescribed "sweet unguents and odours to anoint their ears and noses, to keep out or overcome the pestilential vapour. But nevertheless," saith he, "the disease daily increased, and swept away a multitude of men and beasts." As for the *blood* that was then spilt, the same author gives us a large story; "Cleander," saith he, "a servant of the emperor's, bought out of Phrygia, and grown up with him from his youth, and advanced to greatest offices in court and army, aspired to the empire; to that purpose bought up a vast quantity of corn," (which caused a great famine also at Rome,) "thinking thereby in time of need to oblige the citizens and soldiers, and to gain them all to his party." But the event was contrary; for the famine raging, and the cause of it being visible, all the citizens run out of the city to the emperor, requiring this encloser to be put to death. Cleander by his power keeping them from the emperor, (whose voluptuousness made this easy for him to do,) sends out the emperor's forces armed and horsed against them, which made an huge slaughter among them; and in driving them into the city gates, by their horses and swords, saith he, meeting with footmen unarmed, they killed a great part of the people. Which when they that were in the city understood, they got to the top of the houses, and with stones and tiles threw at the soldiers, and by this means put them to flight, and in the pursuit beating them off from their horses, killed great multitudes of them: and this continued very cruelly for some time. And the appeasing of this cost a great deal more blood, the emperor causing Cleander to be put to death, and his sons after him, and then a great many more, saith he, not daring to confide in any body. To which that author immediately adds the many prodigies which followed at that time, and the burning down of the temple of peace; which beside that it was the treasury of a great part of the wealth of the city, and was accompanied with the burning of a great deal more of the buildings of the city, and among them of the temple of Vesta, the fire continuing for many days, till rain from heaven put it out, (which made them impute the whole matter to the anger of the gods;) besides all this, I say, it was by all then looked on as a presage of great wars, which, saith he, accordingly followed. And so in this one passage of story in that author we have the interpretation of these *three vials*. As great a plague as ever hath been read of, to be suitable to the first; and a great deal of killing, both in the sedition, and by the cruelty of the emperor, and by the fire, and by the wars that followed, (wherein the whole region, and

not only the city of Rome, was concerned,) answerable to the two latter, *the sea*, that is, the multitude of the city, and *the rivers and springs of waters*, the other provinces and cities become *blood*. But beside these under Commodus, there was store of the like judgments in the following emperors' times, until Constantine: a very great pestilence under Gallus, another under Gallienus, both described by Zosimus; another at the end of Decius, on occasion of which St. Cyprian wrote his book of Mortality. And in Maximinus's time, saith Eusebius, whilst he and his armies were sore distressed by a war with the Armenians, the "rest of the inhabitants of the cities were grievously devoured with famine and pestilence, infinite numbers dying in the cities, more in the countries and villages, *καὶ αἱ πάσαι τῶν ἀγροικῶν πολὺ αὐτῶν ἀπογραφαί*, and the numbers of husbandmen, which had formerly been very great, were almost all of them swept away by famine and pestilence," saith Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 9. c. 8. And for wars and effusion of blood and slaughters, the histories are all along full of them, and need not be here recited.

5. [b] *and shall be*] Instead of *ἐσόμενος*, *he that shall be*, the copies generally read *δσος*. That is answerable to the Hebrew *חסיד*, *pitiful* and *merciful*, as that is more than *דקדק*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *justice* or *righteousness*, as hath oft been said. And so it is fitly superadded here to the *δικαίος εἶ*, *thou art just or righteous*, preceding. That the justice of God, here acknowledged in these vengeance on heathen Rome, denotes his punitive justice, there is no doubt, and accordingly follows, *ὅτι ταῦτα ἐκρίνας*, *because thou hast judged these*. Where the *ταῦτα* seems to denote the persons neutrally set down, the inhabitants of the empire, which are here supposed to be *judged*, that is, justly punished, and of whom it follows, *ὅτι αἷμα τῶν ἁγίων καὶ προφητῶν ἐξίχεαν*, *because they have shed the blood of thy saints and prophets*, that is, of the Christians, and those that by their preaching would have wrought reformation among them, and so did act as prophets, and had the portion of prophets, were resisted and slain by them. But besides this punitive justice expressed by these judgments, there was also *δσιότης*, *pity*, compassion to the persecuted Christians, whose sufferings were abated and taken off by this means. Thus it is often to be observed in Eusebius's story, particularly at the end of the great slaughters, and famine, and plague in Maximinus's time, l. 9. c. 8, (mentioned note [a].) "Here-upon," saith he, "God, the defender of Christians, having shewed his wrath and indignation against all mortals for their persecuting us, restored the pleasant and bright splendour of his providence toward us, so that from that time peace and light, with the great admiration of all, shined out and was revealed to us that sat in darkness before, shewing us that God hath the oversight of our affairs continually, chastising and afflicting us for a time, but after he hath disciplined us sufficiently, appearing favourable and propitious to us again."

8. [c] *with fire*] If *ἐν πυρὶ*, *by fire*, were here literally to be understood, many computations there would be of it, by great fires, in the city of Rome especially, within the space referred to by this vision. One remarkable one hath been mentioned in Commodus's time, note [a], out of Herodian, l. 1, falling on the temple of peace, and at length coming to the temple of Veeta, and burning many great houses, and so continuing for many days, till the rain from heaven put it out, and

so by the heathens. saith he, conceived to be begun also, as it was ended, by the gods without human means. And this being such, coming from heaven, not from any lower cause, may the more probably belong to this place, where *the sun* is said to *have power given it to scorch men with fire*, the sun in the firmament, the great fire of the world, being commodiously enough said to *scorch* them, or to *set them on fire* (so *καυμάτισεν* signifies) who were burnt by fire from heaven. But it is not improbable that the *sun's scorching of men*, denoted ordinarily by *καῖμα*, may signify that scorching and drying up the fruits of the earth from whence a dearth proceeds, and so be here set to express a famine: so it is said of the *seed on the stony ground*, that *as soon as it sprang up, ἐκαυματίσθη, it was scorched*, and, as it follows, *ἐξηράνθη, withered away*. And many such dearths there were in the stories of those times. A most eminent one in Maximinus's time, mentioned by Eusebius, l. 9. c. 8, "Some," saith he, "for the least bit of victuals parting with that which was most precious to them: one measure of corn sold for two thousand five hundred attics: some, *κατὰ βραχὺ*, in a little time selling all their possessions to buy bread: others eating grass, and therewith poisonous herbs. Noble women going out of the city to the country to beg bread. Others staggering and falling down in the streets, and howling out for one bit of bread, and able to speak no word but that they were famished." And at length "the dogs raving for hunger, and falling upon the men, in their own defence they fell on killing and eating dogs." As sad a description of raging famine as hath been read of, save in time of sieges. Another famine there was in Commodus's time, (mentioned from Herodian, note [a],) which put the whole city into a sedition, but that not comparable to this, and caused by Cleander's insatiate covetousness and ambition, more than the *scorching of the sun*. That which here follows, as the effect of this famine, that they *blasphemed the name of God*, may most probably be the heathens' railing at the Christians as the cause of all their evils; for so the ancients observe of them, that whenever plague or famine befell them, presently they cried out, *Christiani ad leones*, "Let the Christians be put to death," as the authors of their miseries. An eminent place we have to this purpose in Arnobius, l. 10, where, naming the very judgments which are here expressed by the foregoing vials, *pestilences, wars, and dearths or famines*, he saith of the heathens, that when these befell them, they presently cried out, that "since Christians began to be in the world, *terrarum orbem periisse*, the whole world was destroyed, and all mankind afflicted with all sorts of evils." And St. Cyprian, in that known place, *ad Demetrian.*, "that many wars break out, that plagues and famines, that the earth is kept long without any rain, *nobis imputari*, it is by the heathens imputed to us Christians."

10. [d] *seat of the beast*] What *θρόνος θηπίου, the throne, or seat, of the beast*, signifies, may thus be gathered: *θηπίον, the beast*, signifies idol-worship, ch. xiii. 1; and as *the throne* of that may signify the place where it resides, so it may signify also that which sustains and supports it, a seat being that which sustains and holds up from falling that which rests upon it. This was the power of the Roman empire, the strength and dignity thereof, to which so great a part of the world

was subjected, and which it made use of to maintain the idol-worship against Christianity. And so *the throne of the beast* is expounded in the next words by βασιλεία, *the kingdom or empire* of Rome. Now that which is here said to befall the empire by the *pouring out* of the *fifth vial* is that it was ἐσκορμίσθη, *darkened*, that is, lost much of its splendour which before it enjoyed, which belongs clearly to the incursions of the barbarians, Persians, Goths, Almans, &c., about these times which are here described, as everywhere appears in story. As for the πόνος, *pain*, that here follows, it is the great grief and anxiety that it cost them to contend and secure themselves from these barbarians, who being so contemptible in the eyes of the Romans, it was matter of great indignation to them to be thus infested by them, as Egypt by flies and lice. And whereas, ver. 11, ἔλκη, *boils*, are joined with πόνος, *pains*, I suppose those *boils* may again refer to that plague of Egypt, (as the *darkening* of the *kingdom* plainly doth,) and denote the effects of the barbarians' incursions: as the *boils*, Exod. ix. 9, were produced by *scattering ashes of the furnace toward heaven*, to which the inroads of those barbarians in respect of their multitudes might fitly be resembled. And then their *blaspheming of the God of heaven*, is their railing at Christ and Christianity, as that which in the heathens' opinion brought all these evils upon them. See Salvian De Provid. and note [c].

12. [e] *Euphrates*] That it is agreeable to the calling of Rome *Babylon* (see note [a] on chap. xviii.) to set *Euphrates*, the river that belongs to Babylon, to signify *Tiber*, that belongs to Rome, hath been formerly shewed, note [e] chap. ix. And that it so signifies here, there is little doubt. From hence it follows, that the *drying up* of *Euphrates*, being an allusion to the history of Cyrus, prophetically set down, Jer. l. 38, and *drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up*; and ch. li, where is mention of the *drying up her sea, and making her springs dry*, ver. 36, it must in reason be interpreted thereby. There, in the taking of Babylon, Cyrus *turned away the river Euphrates*, and entered the city through the channel thereof. (See Orosius, l. 11. c. 6.) And so the *drying of the river* being the preparative to the taking the city, and the making that weak and accessible which otherwise was impregnable, this phrase of *drying up the water of Euphrates* is thought commodious to be made use of to express the weakening of the strength of Rome, and making it conquerable, or, as it here follows, *that the way of the kings—might be prepared*. To *prepare a way*, we know, is to remove difficulties and obstructions, to level and plain a passage, and that in the prophets expressed by *exalting valleys, and bringing hills low, and plaining the rough places*. And when rivers or waters are in the way, then the *drying them up*, is *preparing the way*, making them passable. And so the fitting the city of Rome for conquest by Constantine and his sons (who are here called *kings from the rising of the sun*, see note [f]) is the full interpretation of *drying up Euphrates, that the way of the kings might be prepared*. Of this the history is clear in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 9. c. 9, (and so in Zozimus also,) that Maxentius having fastened himself in Rome, (out of which he went not himself, having no confidence in the love and fidelity of the people,) "he fortified every place and region and city with armies for guards, and

had a thousand troops of soldiers to lie in ambush in every part of Italy, and the rest of his dominions where the enemy was likely to come: these sure were the obstructions or difficulties in Constantine's way to Rome," which are here to be *dried up*, or removed; and accordingly it follows in the history, that "Constantine, being assisted by God, set upon his first and second and third army, and overcame them all; and possessing himself of the greatest part of Italy, came close up to Rome." And so it is visible what this *drying up the river*, by which their *way was prepared*, signifies, the subduing those armies in Italy, so that now nothing withheld his passage from Rome; which is here looked on as a very great thing, proportionable to Cyrus's turning the river Euphrates, and entering Babylon through the channel of it. But there was yet one difficulty more to be conquered before Constantine could enter Rome. For his only design being to deliver the Romans from the tyranny of Maxentius, and not to do any hurt, but rather bring relief to the inhabitants of the city, there was now no way to reconcile this difficulty whilst Maxentius remained fortified in the city. And therefore in God's wonderful providence it was so disposed, that Maxentius and all his party came out of Rome, but instead of joining battle with Constantine, fled from him immediately; and having formerly built a treacherous bridge over Tiber, on design to draw Constantine's army over it, and so by the failing of the bridge to drown them, Maxentius himself and his forces are forced that way, and drowned in the *pit which they had prepared for others*, and himself and his life-guard were the first that thus perished. This so signal a destruction Eusebius thinks fit to compare to the Israelites' victory over Pharaoh in the Red sea, and saith it was according to the prediction of the divine oracles, in all probability referring to this vision here. The conclusion of it was, that this being done, Constantine came conqueror to Rome, where, without any opposition, he was "received by young and old, senators and nobles, and all the people of Rome, with cheerful countenances and joyous acclamations, as the preserver and benefactor of them all; and commanding the sign of the cross to be set on the right hand of his statue, he affixed these words in Latin, *Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio, civitatem nostram jugo tyranni ereptam liberavi, et S. P. Q. R. liberatum prisco splendori et claritati restitui*, By this salvific sign, the true expression of fortitude, I have freed our city, and delivered it from the tyrant's yoke, and have restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient splendour and brightness." And in like manner the senate dedicated to him a triumphal arch, *Liberatori urbis, fundatori quietis*, "To the deliverer of the city, and founder of their peace," as may be seen in Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen and others. And so this was a further completion of this prophecy, and a last part of the *drying up Euphrates*, (parallel to that of the drying up of the Red sea before the Israelites,) and preparing Constantine's peaceable entrance into the city.

[*f*] *kings of the east*—] What ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου, *from the rising of the sun*, signifies, may be resolved by these two considerations: first, that the kings or magi that came to worship Christ, soon after his birth, whilst Herod designed the killing of him, are said to come

ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν, *from the rising of the sun*, Matt. ii. 1. And agreeably to that, Constantine and his sons, which had given up their names to the Christian faith, and were promoters of it, whilst Maxentius persecuted it, may be thus in prophetic style fitly described by *the kings from the rising of the sun*. Secondly, Christ himself is called ἀνατολή, *the rising Sun*, (see note on Luc. i. 78,) and so seems to be called here, ch. vii. 2, where *the angel ascending from the east* is one sent immediately by Christ; and then βασιλεῖς ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν, *kings from the rising of the sun*, may be a very fit phrase to express Christian kings. And it is to be observed, that βασιλεῖς, *kings*, in this book, is not confined to the emperors or supreme governors, but is more loosely used for commanders, all in authority, (see note [g], and note [f] on ch. xi.) and so may in the plural be applicable to Constantine and his sons, and the Christian commanders under him.

13. [g] *unclean spirits*] What is here meant by πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, *unclean spirits*, may in part be resolved by Eusebius in the story of Maxentius, Eccl. Hist. l. 9. c. 9, where the first thing that he saith of him is, that he "relied on magical arts in this whole matter, and thereupon kept himself up close in Rome, and would not go out of it." So again, De Vita Constant., l. i. c. 30, "At last he fell to magic and sorcery; sometimes cut up women great with child, sometimes ript up the bowels of tender infants, sometimes killed lions," all to divine thereby: "he often used wicked adjurations to raise up devils," saith he, "by whose help he might avert the violence of the war from him, hoping that they would help him to the victory." Now these impure spirits are here said to be *three*, but the king's MS. wants that word *τρία*, *three*. If we read it without *three*, then it is already explained that he made use of magic and augury. But if the word *three* be retained, then either may it signify that he betook himself wholly to these arts, (the number of *three*, as of *seven*, having oft no other importance in it but to signify a great deal,) or else peculiarly these three sorts: first, augury, or divination by entrails; secondly, calling up of devils, (both particularly mentioned by Eusebius;) and thirdly, the use of the Sibylline oracles, which the Roman sorcerers and diviners generally dealt in, and Maxentius made use of; see Zozimus, l. 2. Of these it is further said, that they were ὡς βάτραχοι, *as frogs*, referring to those creatures brought forth upon Egypt by the magicians at Pharaoh's command, Exod. viii. 7. Of which, as it is known that they are impure creatures, breeding and dwelling in the mire, and so these impure spirits or arts are fitly compared to them; so it is also observable how useless and unprofitable they are; they croak, but do nothing else, and so they fitly resemble these magical arts, which made a great noise, but never brought him the least advantage, but rather hastened his ruin by relying on them. Then these *frogs* are said to *come out of the mouth of the dragon, and the beast, and the false prophet*: which again, if the word *three* be not retained, will conclude these magical arts, which he made use of, to proceed promiscuously from these *three*; but if the word *τρία*, *three*, be retained, then it will be proper to confine the responses of the devils, when they were raised by him, to the first of the *three*, those that *came out of the mouth of the dragon*, for that is everywhere the devil's title in this book, (see note [d] on ch. xii. and

note [δ] on ch. xiii.) and the devils being (as was said) raised by Maxentius to direct and assist him, the first of these frogs is said to have *come out of the devil's mouth* immediately. Secondly, the art of divining by entrails, and to that purpose killing of women and children as well as beasts, being directly a piece of heathenism, confined to their augurs and priests; the second of these frogs is said to have *come out of the mouth of the beast*, that is, idol-worship, so called, ch. xiii. 1, the priests being the mouth thereof. Thirdly, the heathen prophets undertaking to fetch grounds of their predictions most frequently from the books of the Sibyls, such fragments thereof as were remaining among them, the third frog is said to *come out of the mouth of the false prophet*, that is, of the college of diviners, which thus by study in those oracles undertook to foretell things to come. And of all these it is said, that they *did signs*, either by foretelling sometimes things that came to pass, which gave them authority among men, or else by shewing some deceitful wonders: and that they *went out, ἐν, upon, or to, the kings of the whole world*, that is, to Maxentius the emperor, and his commanders under him, called βασιλεῖς, *kings*, in the plural, (see note [f].) and incited them to *the war of the great day of God*, that is, to fight with Constantine, that instrument of God's to bring in Christianity into the empire.

16. [h] *Armageddon*] What *Armageddon*, which is here said to be an Hebrew word, signifies, or of what composition it is, is a matter of some question. The learned H. Grotius conceives it to be מַגְדוֹן, *the mount of meeting*, to note the place and battle where the armies met, viz. on Constantine's side, 90,000 foot and 8000 horse, of Germans, Gauls, and Britons; on Maxentius's side 170,000 foot and 18,000 horse, of Romans, Italians, &c., in Zozimus: and that this is here said in reference not to the *valley of Megiddo*, where Josias was slain, but to the *waters of Megiddo*, Judges v. 9, where the Canaanites were slain by Barac, which appears the more probable, because the Hebrew מַגְדוֹן is in Greek rendered Ἀρ, as Ἀργαζίν, in Eusebius Præp. for גֵּרִיזִין, *mount Gerizin*. But another composition of the word may be yet more probable, viz. that of Drusius, that it be made up of חֲרֹמָה and נִדְחוֹן, *the excision or destruction of their armies*, as נִד in Hebrew, or *their fortunes*, (all their former good successes,) as נִד in Chaldee signifies. And so the clear meaning of the verse is this, that *the evil spirits*, ver. 14, the magicians and augurs, &c., *gathered them together*, (so it is said, ver. 14, συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς, and to them in the plural neuter belongs the συνηγαγέν in the singular,) caused them to fight this great battle with Constantine, which was the utter destruction of that great army of the heathens, and so a very heavy judgment or excision, the effect of the *vial of the sixth angel*. This victory of Constantine over Maxentius was so signal and considerable, that, as Onufrius tells us, Fast. l. 2, the indictions (that known way of computing of times among the Romans) were taken from thence: *ab eaque die primam indictionem inchoari*, saith Baronius, "and from that day the first indiction began;" *ut liberatam a Maxentii tyrannide urbem et ecclesiam indicaret*, "that it might proclaim and commemorate the freeing of the city and church from Maxentius's tyranny." By which it may appear how memorable a passage this was, and how fit to be the matter of this vision. See Abr. Bucholcer's Chronology, an. Chr. 312.

17. [i] *It is done*] It is usual in prophecies to set down the sad events most covertly. Thus ^e Scaliger observes, *Augures sedentes in templo abstinebant vocibus male ominatis, ideoque Alteram avem potius quam Aversam dicebant*, "The augurs, sitting in the temple, abstained from the sadder expressions; and therefore when they meant to signify any ill abode, they called it not the Averse but the Other Augury. Accordingly is that style of Horace,

^f *Sperat infestis, metuit secundis,
Alteram sortem*————

This the Grecians call $\xi\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \phi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, and ^h $\mu\eta\ \beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$, *not to deliver any sad thing, not to speak any hard or evil saying*. And their name for this figure is $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$. Agreeable to this is the ordinary style of *fuit*, or *visit*, *he hath been*, or *he hath lived*, for *mortuus est*, *he is dead*; *fuius Troes*, *fuit Ilium*——*we have been Trojans*, *Troy hath been*: and in ⁱ Demosthenes, $\nu\tilde{\nu}\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\pi\omicron\rho\acute{o}\rho\epsilon\iota$, *now it shall be rich*, to signify that it hath been, and is yet poor. $\Delta\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$, *καὶ μὴ βλασφημεῖν*, saith he, "for thus I must speak, and not use groes or harsh expressions." And just such is $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon$ here, *it hath been*, that is, now it ceaseth to be, it is destroyed, by this figure, $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, fit for prophecies.

CHAP. XVII.

3. [a] *a woman sit upon a scarlet*——] That the *beast* here must signify the idolatrous heathen worship, may be thought, by comparing this verse with ch. xiii. 1. There the *beast*, whereby that is acknowledged to be represented, is said to *have seven heads and ten horns, and upon the heads the name of blasphemy*: and so here, much to the same purpose, *the beast is full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns*. But it must be observed, first, that there are more beasts than one mentioned in these visions, and not all signifying the same, but visibly divers things, and that difference observable from other circumstances. As, first, here is the addition of $\kappa\acute{o}\kappa\kappa\iota\nu\omicron\nu$, *scarlet-coloured*, which refers to the colour of the imperial robe, which was such, saith Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 22. 2. And so that inclines it to signify the emperor in this place: and though $\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, *a beast*, may seem a mean title to represent so great a person, yet when it is considered that rage and cruelty, and all manner of uncleanness, may be found in an heathen idolatrous emperor, all these being so fit to be represented by a $\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, or *wild beast*, such an emperor as this may well own that title. And so when Julian introduceth C. Caligula, it is in this style, $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\nu\eta\gamma\acute{o}\nu$, *an evil beast succeeds*, in his Satire against the Cæsars; and in like manner of Vindex, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\grave{\iota}\ \tau\alpha\ \theta\eta\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}$, *these beasts*; and of Domitian, with a peculiar epithet, to denote his cruelty, (such as was proverbially observed in Phalaris,) $\tau\omicron\ \Sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, *the Sicilian beast*; and again, $\phi\omicron\nu\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, *the bloody beast*, exactly parallel to the *scarlet-coloured beast* in this place. Secondly, here is *a woman sitting upon that beast*, which makes it differ again from that representation, ch. xiii. And this woman appears to be the *whore*, in the first verse of this chapter: for being there told by the

^e Annot. in Festum.

^h Id. cont. Leptin.

^f Od. 10. l. 2

ⁱ Cont. Lept.

^g Demosth. κατ' Ἀνδρῶνιστος.

angel that he shall see the judgment of the great whore, it follows immediately, *he carried me, and I saw a woman, &c.* Now that this woman, or great whore, is the imperial power of heathen Rome, appears by her sitting upon many waters, sitting there noting rule and dominion, (as the many waters is great multitudes of people,) and so by the kings of the earth committing fornication with her, ver. 2. Agreeable to which it is that the beast whereon she sits should be the person of the emperor, in whom that power was vested, or seated, as we say; which is further expressed, ver. 7, by the beast's carrying the woman, the Greek word βαστάζω there being that which belongs to carrying of burdens, &c. on shoulders, and that we know is figuratively applied to power or government, Isaiah ix. 6, *the government shall be upon his shoulders.* And so likewise by ver. 18, it is as evident that the woman is that great imperial city which reigneth over the kings of the earth. As for the ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, the names of blasphemy, they are most signally applicable to Domitian, who called himself Lord God, (see note [c] on ch. xiii.) and opposed the true God, and set up many false idol-gods in defiance of him, which is the most real blasphemy, and is so styled by the author of the book of Maccabees. And to conclude, that this beast here is a person, and an emperor, (and not the heathen worship, ch. xiii. 1,) it is evident by ver. 11, where, of the kings mentioned, ver. 10, this beast is said to be the eighth; and by the addition of *he that was, and is not*, it is as clear that it was Domitian at the time when he had delivered up the empire to his father Vespasian at his return from Judæa, being shortly to return to it again. Which, with the rest of the description of him, ver. 8, is applicable to no other but to him: see note [d].

[b] *ten horns*] That these ten horns, or kings, were those barbarous nations that lay on the north of the Euxine sea, and of Danubius, and the Rhine, (which were the ordinary bounds of the Roman empire on that side,) the number of them will sufficiently evince. Procopius reckons them up to that number of ten, Ostrogothi, Wisigothi, Vandali, Gepidæ, Longobardi, Heruli, Burgundions, Huns, Franks, Saxons. Of these it is said, ver. 12, that they were ten kings, οἵτινες βασιλείαν οὐκ ἔλαβον, which had not yet received the kingdom. This cannot be understood that they had as yet (in that point of time to which the vision belonged) no dominions of their own, for they are called δέκα βασιλεῖς, ten kings; and it is evident in story, that those barbarous nations had their several kings in that time. The meaning then must be, that they had as yet no dominion within the Roman territory, (but only made sudden incursions into it,) their receiving the kingdom being when they shared the empire among them. So the fathers in the time of persecution interpreted it, *Romani imperii abscessio in decem reges dispersa*, saith Tertullian, "The departure of the Roman empire dispersed into ten kings:" *et decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium*, saith Irenæus, "The ten kings, into which the empire which now reigns shall be divided." And then, before they came to this having a kingdom, dominion in the Roman territories, it is said of them, that as kings they receive power with the beast, that is, join and comply, and act with the beast, assist heathen Rome in persecuting the Christians, (but that only μίαν ὥραν, one hour, a small short while,) which is further expressed by having one mind, and giving their strength

and power to the beast. What point of time it was when this was done, being but *μῖαν ὥραν*, for a short space, is the only matter of difficulty. And here, first, it is clear that this time here pointed to is before they took kingdoms within the Roman territory, both by the βασιλείαν ὄντων, they had not yet received the kingdom; and because when they did so, they did make desolate and eat her flesh, ver. 16, and therefore the vulgar Latin's reading, *post bestiam*, after the beast, (as if it were *μετὰ θηρίων*, not *μετὰ θηρίου*,) must needs be an error. Secondly, it must be before the emperors became Christian; for *θηρίου*, the beast, signifying the Roman idolatry, not simply, but having power and persecuting Christians, their giving that power to the beast supposes it to be while it is the beast, that is, heathen and persecuting. Thirdly, it must be before these barbarous nations had received the faith, for after they would not join with the beast; and that is an argument again that it was before they got possession of any piece of the Roman dominion: for it is manifest in story, that a great part of these nations were Christians, though Arians, before that. For the first of them that came on the south of Ister, (which is Danubius, when it toucheth upon Illyricum,) were those who in the time of Valens obtained of him to come into Thracia, and to dwell on that side of Ister, and to defend that limit of the empire against the other Goths that were pagans; see Theodor. l. 4. c. ult., Sozom. l. 6. c. 3, 7, Paulus Diaconus, Hist. Miscell. l. 12. c. 14, and Ammian. Marcell. And from these Arian Goths swarmed afterwards those which invaded Italy, Afric, Spain. As for the short incursions which the Goths made into Asia, or the Franks into Gallia, in the time of Gallienus and of Claudius, wherein the Christians suffered much by them, (and the space would fit *μῖαν ὥραν* well,) that cannot be it neither, because then they did not give their strength and power to the beast. Fourthly, then that which is the most probable is this, that the Christian religion was propagated among those barbarous people, and was not publicly persecuted by them, while the Roman emperors from time to time did most bloodily pursue it. That it was spread among them, that one place in Tertulian, Adv. Jud. c. 8, may suffice: *Et Britannorum inaccessa loca Romanis, Christo vero subdita, et Sarmatarum, et Dacorum, et Germanorum, et Scytharum, et abditarum multarum gentium, &c.*, "The places which the Romans had not come to were subdued to Christ, the Britons, the Sarmatians, the Dacians, the Scythians, the Germans, and many secret nations." Which words do plainly point at those very nations which afterwards overrun the empire. And there are not related any persecutions in those parts, which would not have been altogether omitted in ecclesiastical history, if there had been any public authoritative persecution there. And it is observable here in England, from the days of king Lucius until the reign of Diocletian, (when Alban the protomartyr of England suffered,) the Christians continued in peace and quietness. See Bede, Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 4. Hereupon it may be collected that Diocletian being a violent and furious persecutor, that extended his persecutions to all parts of his empire, at least in the two last years of his reign, a vigorous and active prince, that enlarged the limits of the empire, particularly to those northern parts, *Dacia restituta porrectis usque ad Danubii caput Germania Rhetiaque limitibus*, "having recovered Dacia, and reached out the limits of Germany and

Rhetia as far as the head of Danubius," as it is said of him in the Panegyric ad Dioclet. et Maximian. (and more particularly Pomponius Lætus, in that short history which he gives of Diocletian, speaks to the very point of time, *Diocletianus, rebus toto oriente compositis, Europam repeliit, ubi jam Scythæ, Sarmatæ, Alani et Basternæ jugum subiverant, una cum Carpis, Cattis et Quadis*, &c., "Diocletian, having composed affairs over all the east, returned to Europe, where the Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans and Basternians, together with the Carpi, Catti, and Quadi, and others had already undergone and submitted to his yoke;" so that at the time when he triumphed for the Persian victory, these northern people were brought under some yoke, which was in the eighteenth year of his empire. See Euseb. in Chronic. And then in the same year he and Maximian contrived and decreed the general persecution over the whole empire, which before that time was but in some parts. See Euseb. l. 8. c. 1 and 9.) From these considerations, I say, it may be collected, that this was a time in which the pagan bordering princes might be stirred up in compliance with such emperors to persecute poor Christians within their territories, and yet that persecution last but a very short time; partly because the condition of that sort of people is to be restless, and always attempting somewhat upon their neighbours that did thus awe them; being impatient of any yoke; and partly because Diocletian resigned the empire about two years after. That we cannot attain unto a full knowledge of the proceedings of that time, the reason of Baronius is good, because no writer of that time (who did set down by way of history the actions of Diocletian) is extant, the work of Claudius Eusthenius, his secretary, who did write the actions of him and his three colleagues, being perished. In this obscurity of the time we can but guess: but this conjecture is probable, and suits well with *μῖαν ὥραν*, the short space, and all other circumstances of the context.

5. [c] MYSTERY] The word *μυστήριον* signifies a *secrecy*. It is also an unclean word, set by Achilles Tatius to signify the nakedness of a woman. Among the Gentiles it was used to denote their secretest idol worships, their *τελεταί* and *ἐποντεῖαι*, which being for the most part very unclean and abominable, as in their *Eleusinia sacra*, &c., they were generally styled *μυστήρια*, and divided into *μεγὰ* and *μικρὰ*, their *greater and lesser mysteries*. These, saith Tertullian, the Gnostics imitated, and had in their worships curtains drawn, and silence strictly kept to veil and keep secret what they did. Hence is it that this word is here thought fit to express the idolatry and heathen worship of this city, which had generally this of uncleanness joined with it.

8. [d] *that was, and is not*] That Domitian had and exercised all power at Rome in his father Vespasian's time whilst he was employed abroad in Syria, &c., appears by Tacitus, who saith of him distinctly, *Domitianum Cæsarem consalutatam*, &c., "that Domitian was saluted by the name of Cæsar," Hist. l. 3, in fine; and, *nomen sedemque Cæsaris Domitianus acceperat*, "Domitian had received the name and throne of Cæsar," l. 4, in initio; and by all other writers of those times. At the return of Vespasian he was divested of his power; and so though he had been emperor, and still continued alive at that point of time to which this part of the vision refers, yet it is true of him, *οὐκ ἔστι*, he is

not: by which it may be guessed at what time these visions were written, at least to what time this vision refers, viz. to the time of Vespasian, after his return out of Syria, the war being left unto Titus. And this distinctly appears, ver. 10, by the enumeration of the eight emperors there, of which Claudius being the first, Nero second, Galba third, Otho fourth, Vitellius fifth, it is there said, *five are fallen, and one is*, that is, is now alive at this point of the vision, viz. Vespasian, and Titus, the seventh. is not yet come; and after his short reign, then, ver. 11, follows this successor of his, Domitian, described, as here, by the title of *he which was, and is not, and is the eighth*, (for so he was,) and is *ἐκ τῶν ἐννὰ, of, or from, the seven*, that is, the son or offspring of one of them, viz. of Vespasian. This person being a great persecutor of Christians, God's judgments were remarkably to fall upon him, which is the meaning of *ὑπάγει εἰς ἀπώλειαν, he goeth to perdition*, ver. 11, for he was butchered by his own servants: and Apollonius Tyaneus, the great magician, is said to have cried out at Ephesus, many miles off, at the minute when he was killed, *Strike the tyrant, strike the tyrant*, and to have told them, *Believe it, the emperor is killed this very moment*; which the devil, it seems, (whether from this and the like prophecies of God here, or by his speedy conveyance of what he saw, I cannot affirm,) by his familiarity with that magician enabled him thus to declare.

14. [e] *war with the Lamb*] *Warring with the Lamb* signifies opposing and persecuting Christianity; not as if there were set battles between them and Christians, but such as are supposable against those whose principle was to suffer, not to resist the persecuting emperors, (under whom they were;) for this is the condition of the *Lamb* here, to endure, to be *slaughtered*, but not to fight again. This is here said of these *ten kings*, (confederate with the Romans,) that they should thus *war*, that is, be used as soldiers to execute the Romans' bloodiness upon Christians: and this is true of the Goths and others, while they were confederate with heathen Rome; though soon after they themselves came over to Christianity, (though most to Arianism,) (*Gothi per legatos supplices poposcerunt, ut illis episcopi, a quibus Christianæ fidei regulam discerent, mitterentur. Valens imperator doctores Ariani dogmatis misit. Gothi primæ fidei rudimentum, quod acceperunt, tenuerunt*: "The Goths desired by their ambassadors that bishops might be sent them, from whom they might learn the rule of faith. Valens the emperor sent them Arian doctors. The Goths retained those rudiments which they first received," Oros. l. 7. c. 33,) no doubt much forwarded therein by seeing the patience and constancy of Christian martyrs, who have no other way to overcome their enemies, and so in that only respect are said to *conquer* them here, that is, to bring them to Christianity, and subject them to Christ's kingdom. For of Alaricus it is clear that he was then a Christian, and sent embassies to Honorius by bishops, (see Sozomen, l. 9. c. 8,) and that Attalus was baptized by Sigisarius, a Gothish bishop, and by that was the dearer to Alaricus and all the Goths, c. 9. And that in reverence to St. Peter Alaricus gave mercy to all those that fled to his temple for sanctuary, and restored all that was taken out of the church, (by a Gothish soldier, who, astonished with the richness of the sight, told Alaricus of it,) and at the putting

all in their places sung an hymn to God, barbarians and Romans together, saith Orosius, l. 7. c. 20, 39, and so it is clear of the greatest part of the army, of whom saith ^kOrosius, *Christiani fuere qui parcerent*, &c. "They were Christians that spared, Christians who were spared, Christians for the memory of whom there was any such thing as sparing." To the manifestation of this pertains that passage set down by ^lHieron. Rubeus, that Saul, an Hebrew, or, as others affirm, a pagan, who had the chief command under Stilico, designing to take advantage, and set upon the Goths when they were not prepared, did it upon Easter day. And Alaricus, discerning their approach, sent to desire he would defer the fight till the morrow, in respect of the religion of the day, promising then to meet him. But Saul would not hearken to it, but set upon them unarmed, and holding up their hands and eyes in prayer to heaven for aid, in *tam sancti mysterii celebratione*, "in the performance of the duties of the day," and so killed many of them; till Alaricus, after the space of an hour, saying that they had now satisfied the religion of the day, and exhorting his soldiers to follow him stoutly, brake in upon them with a great army, and repulsed and put them to flight; and if Honorius and Stilico had not come to their relief, *eo omnino die de Roma terrarum domina, quæ victori præmium erat futura, actum fuisset*, "Rome had been destroyed upon the fate of that day."

16. [*f*] *make her desolate*] The Goths and Vandals overrunning Italy and Rome itself, (Alaricus the Goth and Gensericus the Vandal kings, and divers others, πολλῶν ἐπανισταμένων τυράννων, *many kings making insurrections*, saith Sozomen,) is famously known in story. See Socrat. l. 7. c. 10, Sozom. l. 9. c. 6. Of the spoils also that were made by them historians are plentiful, especially Procopius. Of Alaricus and his, that they left nothing behind them, either of private or public treasure, the commander giving order to his soldiers, saith Sozomen, l. 6, 9, ἐκάστω τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλοῦτον ἀρπάξαι, *to plunder all the wealth of the city, and as he was able every house*. Of Gensericus, that he brought by sea to Carthage a vast deal of gold and silver; and that he robbed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, or Olympius. So Socrates of Alaricus, that they took the city and rifled it, and τὰ πολλὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων θαυμάτων κατέκαυσαν, *burnt many of those admirable spectacles*. So also that they conquered many provinces of the Romans, and possessed them as their own, as Dacia, Pannonia, Thrace, Illyricum, France, Spain, Afric, Italy, and Dalmatia, which is here called *the eating of the flesh of the whore*. As for their *burning of the city*, (though that signify not their burning it all down to the ground, but only πολλὰς τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομὰς, *many buildings of the city*, and in Socrates, *the many admirable spectacles there*,) that is known to be done by Totilas at the first entering the city, though Belisarius was a means that it was not all burnt down; see Procopius Goth. 4, and Sozomen l. 9. c. 6. This being done in the time of Honorius the emperor, and Innocentius bishop of Rome, and so in time of Christianity, may be thought not to belong to heathen Rome. But then it is observable, first, that by the providence of God not only Honorius himself was out of the city, but

^k L. 11. c. 10.

^l Hist. Raven. l. 2. p. 64.

that Innocentius (after the first taking of it, before the second) was like Lot out of Sodom (saith Orosius, l. 7. c. 39.) removed out of that city to Ravenna, where the emperor was, on occasion of an embassy mentioned by Sozomen, l. 9. c. 7, and by Zozimus: secondly, that there were at that time very many professors of gentilism there, in the senate, not only in the city, as may appear by that passage in Sozomen, that at the first siege, ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει τοῖς Ἑλληνίζουσι τῆς συγκλήτου θύειν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναοῖς, "The Gentiles of the senate," or those of the heathen profession there, "thought it necessary to worship and sacrifice in the capitol and other heathen temples," (which it is clear were then among them,) some Thuscian magi being sent for by Attalus, the ὑπαρχος or governor of the city, who promised by thunder and lightning to drive away the barbarians. *Continuo de repetendis sacris celebrandisque tractatur*, "Presently they entered into consultation about restoring their Gentile sacrifices, and offering them," Oros. l. 7. c. 38. And another passage there is in Sozomen, c. 9, that upon the miscarriage of Attalus, (his losing that dignity of emperor, of which he was so ambitious that he would not be content to be a partner with Honorius,) ἰδυσφόρουν Ἑλληνίζου τε, &c., the Gentile idolaters that were in the city, and those of the Arian party, were extremely troubled; the Gentiles guessing by Attalus's inclination and former course, (being but now lately become Christian, since from being ὑπαρχος, governor, of Rome, he was now joined with Alaricus, and christened by a Gothish bishop,) εἰς τὸ προφανὲς ἐλληνίζειν αὐτὸν ᾔγουντο, "did verily believe that he would professedly favour and set up gentilism," καὶ τοὺς πατρίους ἀποδιδόναι ναοὺς καὶ ἐορτὰς καὶ θυσίας, "and restore the ancient temples and feasts and sacrifices." And indeed it is clear by the passages of the story, that though the heathens in Rome were the men that called Alaricus to their assistance, to take the patronage of them, yet by God's turning of things it fell out that they beyond all others found the vengeance of his coming to light heavily upon them. Nay, it is Orosius's observation, that God permitted Alaricus to enter the city that he might bring contumely and reproach upon the idolaters or heathens there, and give the triumph and victory to Christian religion over gentilism, now conquered and laid prostrate; and that many Gentiles or pagans, astonished with what they saw thus brought to pass quite contrary to their expectation, turned Christians by this means, l. 7. c. 39. Thirdly, it was the common complaint of the Gentiles at that time, that the reception of Christianity had provoked the gods to send these vastations upon them, the direct contrary of which is at large shewed by Salvian de Providentia, viz. that the Christians were the only preservers of the world: and indeed it is clear by the story, that had it not been for them Rome had been quite destroyed; for, saith Sozomen, Alaricus, when he took it, commanded his soldiers to rife the city, &c., but αἰδοί τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον, ἀσυλὸν εἶναι προστάζει τὴν περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σορὸν ἐκκλησίαν, μεγάλην τε, καὶ πολὺν χῶρον περιέχουσαν, "through reverence to St. Peter he commanded that the church built about his tomb, which takes up a great circuit," and could hold a great multitude, "should be a sanctuary" to all that would make use of it: and so saith ^m Orosius, *Gothi, relicta intentione prædandi, ad confugia salutis (hoc est sanctorum*

locorum) *agmina ignara cogentes*, "The Goths gave over their intention of rifling, and forced troops of Christians, not knowing what they did, to save themselves by flying to consecrated places." (And Isidore adds, that of those that were by the soldiers found out of the churches, as many as named the name of Christ, or the Christian saints, were constantly spared by the soldiers; and that thus many thousands did escape.) By which means the Christians were generally delivered and saved from the general destruction, (and also with them some Gentiles, saith St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. 11. c. 1, which fled with the Christians to the monuments of the martyrs and the basilicæ of the apostles,) and so were the *σωζόμενοι*, or *escapers*, here too, as before among the Jews at the destruction of Jerusalem. And, as he saith, *τοῦτο γέγονεν*, &c., this was the cause that Rome was not quite destroyed, those that were saved there in that sanctuary (*διασωθέντες*, saith he) being many, who afterward rebuilt the city, c. 9. And Sozomen, c. 10, hath a famous story to this purpose of a young soldier, that having taken a very handsome Christian woman, and being by her constancy kept from defiling her, carried her to the basilica, that so she might be safe from all others, and kept pure for her own husband. And St. Jerome, on the other side, tells of some Christians, which, thinking by dissembling or concealing their religion to save themselves, were miserably used, but at last being discerned to be Christians, were released, and carried safe to the basilica. See Jerome, Ep. 16. ad Princip. and Ep. 8; in the former mentioning this of Marcella and Principia, in the latter of Proba, Juliana, and Demetrias. But then, fourthly, (which is most to be considered,) even the sins of Rome Christian at this time were so great as most justly to bring these judgments upon them, those Gentile sins of all manner of unnatural villany being most frequent among them, which were with as much reason now to expect the fury of God's wrath to be poured out on such vile impure Christians, as before we found the judgments that fell on the impenitent Jews to have lighted on the Gnostic Christians of that people and that age. To this purpose, first, it is Sozomen's affirmation, that it was then the judgment of prudent men, that this that befell Rome was from the wrath of God, (*ἐπὶ θεομηνίας ταῦτα συμβαίνειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ ποινὴν ὧν πρὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ πολλῆς ῥαστώνης καὶ ἀκολασίας εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ξένους ἀδίκως ἡμαρτον*), as "a punishment of what they had done upon themselves and strangers through sloth and incontinence," (which sure refers to the sins of Sodom, pride, pampering, and idleness, and the effects of that, all unnatural lusts, both on themselves and strangers, as the Sodomites on the angels that came among them, and therefore Orosius said of Innocentius that he was rescued as Lot out of Sodom,) though the translator there make it to be but *injustice and oppression* of the poor, mistaking them for the *ξένοι*, *strangers*, there. Secondly, It is the joint affirmation of Socrates and Sozomen, that a monk of Italy coming in haste to Rome to intercede and persuade Alaricus to spare the city, he answered him, *ὡς οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐπιχειροί*, "that he did not voluntarily set upon this enterprise," (just as Titus professed of Jerusalem,) *ἀλλὰ τις συνεχῶς ἐνοχλῶν αὐτὸν βιάζεται, καὶ ἐπιτάττει τὴν Ῥώμην πορθεῖν*, "but that somebody continually importuned and enforced him, commanding him that he should destroy Rome," which at last he did. These are the words in Sozomen, and in Socrates to the same sense,

Οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐβελοντὴς τὰ ἐκεῖ πορεύομαι, ἀλλὰ τις καθ' ἐκάστην ὀχλεῖ μοι, βασανίζων καὶ λέγων, ἀπίθι, τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόρθησον πόλιν, "I go not a volunteer about this business, but somebody is very troublesome to me, tormenting me, and saying, Go, and destroy the city of Rome:" which as it is the clearing of those words here, ver. 17, *God put it into their hearts*, &c., so it signifies the great sins of this place, which thus brought God's judgments upon them. Thirdly, it is the plain acknowledgment of Salvian everywhere throughout his books *De Providentia*, that the impieties of Christians were so great, and particularly those abominable commissions and customary practices of all unnatural uncleannesses, (which have been constantly the destroying not only of the Canaanites, &c., but of the Jews and the Christians,) that it was God's will they should thus be punished by the barbarians, who though they were very weak and slothful, not fit for war at all, in comparison of the Romans, yet were, saith he, more chaste and pure than they, and so were appointed by God to be scourges of them. See l. 7. And again, that the barbarians being Christians, though Arians, were much more tolerable than these, which, though not all Arians, were many very abominable livers.

17. [g] *God hath put in their hearts*] The strangeness of this judgment on that city, and the immediate hand of God in it, will appear (beside what hath been said of somebody *molesting* and *forcing* Alaricus to it note [i]) by these three things. First, By the suddenness of the taking of it, so suddenly, that when word was brought to Honorius to Ravenna that Rome was destroyed, he thought they had meant a cock called by that name, *Roma*, as Prosper hath it in *Chronico*: and this is referred to in the vision, ch. xviii. 10, *For in one day thy judgment cometh*, and ver. 19, *For in one hour she is become desolate*. Secondly, That they made such speed in rifling it, that when one would think three years had been little enough to obey Alaricus's command, in searching out and taking away all the treasure of the city, all historians agree, that they were but three days about it; only Marcellinus saith that the sixth day after Alaricus entered he went out again. Thirdly, That Alaricus having thus taken and rifled and possessed the city, should neither stay in it and keep it, nor go on with his army against the emperor, but absolutely retire so soon after so strange a success; as if God that had sent him on this message or service on purpose, and never suffered him to be quiet till he had done it, as soon as the work was done for which he sent him, had immediately recalled him, and not permitted him to go one step further, and so only used him as a means to deliver up the city to the Christians, the idolaters being generally destroyed out of it by this means, and the Christians as generally preserved.

CHAP. XVIII.

2. [a] *Babylon*] That the title of *Babylon* here is bestowed on Rome in the vision of her destruction is resolved by St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. 18. c. 2, *Ipsa Babylonia quasi prima Roma, Roma quasi secunda Babylonia est*, "Babylon was as a first Rome, and Rome is as a second Babylon;" and, c. 22, *Condita est Roma velut altera Babylón, et prioris*

^a See Orosius, l. 7. c. 39.

filia Babylonis, "Rome is built as another Babylon, and daughter of the former Babylon." And the ground of it may probably be this, because Babylon was the seat of the Assyrian monarchy, as Rome of the Roman; and the Assyrian monarchy being the first, as the Roman the last, (*illud primum, hoc ultimum imperium*, saith Orosius, l. 7. c. 2.) Rome, that thus succeedeth Babylon, may well be called by that name. And so by Tertullian, Adver. Mar. l. 3. c. 13, *Babylonia apud Joannem Romanæ urbis figura est, perinde magnæ et regno superbæ, et sanctorum Dei debellatrix*, "Babylon in St. John is the figure of Rome, as being, like that, a great city, proud of its dominion, and a destroyer of the saints of God;" and the same words are again repeated, l. 3. Adv. Jud. So 1 Pet. v. 13, the *συνεκλεκτὴ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι*, the fellow-chosen or fellow-church in Babylon, the assembly of Christians in that heathen city, is by the Scholiast affirmed to denote the church of Rome, διὰ τὸ περιφανὲς, because of the splendour of it, saith he. And so generally the ancients understood it; and Orosius hath set down the parallel betwixt them in many particulars, l. 7. c. 2. And this being premised will be a key to the whole chapter: for Babylon is the note of an heathen, unclean, abominable city; and so belongs only to so much of Rome as was then capable of that title, saith St. Jerome, ad Algas. qu. 11, and, *Cecidit Babylon magna: est quidem ibi sancta ecclesia, tropæa apostolorum et martyrum, est Christi vera confessio, est ab apostolis prædicata fides, et gentilitate calcata in sublime se quotidie erigens vocabulum Christianum*, The profane heathen "Babylon is fallen, Babylon the great: in the place thereof is the holy church, the monuments of the apostles and martyrs, the true faith of Christ, or profession of Christian religion, that which was preached by the apostles; and heathenism being trodden down, the Christian name is daily advanced on high," Ep. 17 ad Marcellam: and not to the Christian part of it, called by the other title by St. Peter the church in Babylon, (and Babylon itself never set to signify the church;) not to the emperor Honorius, who was then a Christian, and at Ravenna, safe at that time from the invaders; nor again to Innocentius the bishop, who was by the ordering of God's providence, betwixt the first and second siege, rescued (like Lot out of Sodom, or the Christians out of Jerusalem) out of the city to Ravenna also; nor generally to the Christians, who were some of them, saith o Palladius, gone out a little before, being persuaded by Melania to a monastic life, and carried to Sicily first, and thence to Jerusalem, where, saith he, *ἔχαιρον μὴ συμπαρεσόντες τοῖς ἀνηκεστάτοις κακοῖς τῆς πόλεως*, "they rejoiced that they were not together involved in the miserable evils of that vastation," *δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῇ ἀρίστῃ μεταβολῇ τῶν πραγμάτων*, "glorifying God for the excellent change of affairs," καὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ αὐτῶν σωτηρίᾳ, "and for their own wonderful deliverance;" and the rest which were left in the city at last saved by flying to the basilicæ, and many carried thither by the very soldiers that they might be safe, (see note [e] on ch. xvii.) who consequently survived to restore and reedify the city, a more Christian city than it had been before: but to the heathen part of the city, and that polluted profaner sort of Christians, who (as was said note [e] on ch. xvii.) called this judgment (these enemies as their patrons) on the city, and

by the admirable disposition of God's overruling hand of providence, were themselves the only men that suffered under it. So that the sum of this *fall of Babylon* is the destruction of the wicked and heathen, and preserving of the pure and Christian Rome, and so in effect the bringing that city and empire to Christianity. To this purpose, see St. Hierome Adver. Jovinian. l. 2. *Ad te loquar qui scriptam in fronte blasphemiam Christi confessione delesti, urbs potens, urbs orbis domina — Maledictionem quam tibi Salvator in Apocalypsi comminatus est, potes effugere per penitentiam*, "I will speak to thee who hast blotted out the blasphemy written in thy forehead by the confession of Christ — Thou potent city, thou city, mistress of the world — Thou mayest avoid the curse which Christ in the Apocalypsee hath threatened to thee, by repentance;" adding, *Cave Joviniani nomen quod de idolo derivatum est*, "Beware of the name of Jovinian, which is derived from the idol-god Jupiter:" and this peculiarly in respect of those remaining heathens and heretics, which now at the time when St. Hierome wrote, not long before the coming of Alaricus, were at Rome, and at length set up their idol-service again in the time of the siege, and were signally destroyed at this taking of it. So again, St. Hierome in Præfat. de Spiritu S., speaking of Rome, *Cum in Babylone versarer, et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus*, "When I lived at Rome, and was an inhabitant of the purple whore." All noting this heathen Rome to be the subject of these prophecies. This being here set down obscurely in prophetic style by way of vision, was but darkly understood before the coming of it, yet so far expected by Christians, that the heathens did take notice of this their expectation, and looked upon them as men that had an evil eye upon that city and empire, and muttered ruin to it. Thus in Lucian's Philopat., (or whosoever that dialogue is, if it were not his,) the Christians, charactered (though not named) by the mention of the Trinity in the beginning of the dialogue, and described by that scoffer as a sottish fanatic people, are brought in (as at that time, when Trajan (under the title of *αυτοκράτωρ*, *emperor*, toward the end) was warring in the east against the Persians) and set down as those that wished all ill to the city, that is, Rome, and consequently to that army in Asia, by their discourse of the news of the times, betraying their wishes and expectations that it might be defeated by the Persians. Thus, saith he, in the person of Critias, of these *ἐπιεκυφότες καὶ κατωχρωμένοι*, *stooping, pallid* people, that when they saw him, they came cheerfully toward him, supposing that he brought *τινὰ λυγρὰν ἄγγελίαν*, *some sad news* or other; *ἐφαίνοντο γὰρ οὗτοι ὡς τὰ κάκιστα εὐχόμενοι, καὶ ἔχαιρον ἐπὶ τοῖς λυγροῖς*, "they seemed to be men that prayed for all that was ill, and rejoiced in sad events:" and their first question, saith he, was, *πῶς τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου*, "how the affairs of the city and the world went," (that is, of Rome, and the Roman empire, as that is called *οἰκουμένη*, *the world*, in the scripture; or else the affairs of the world, meaning the Roman enterprise against the Persians;) and being answered by him that all was well, they nodded, saith he, with their brows presently, and replied, *Οὐχ οὕτω. δυστυχεῖ γὰρ ἡ πόλις*, "It is not so, but the city is in ill condition:" and afterwards, *ὡς μεταλλαγῶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἀταξίας δὲ καὶ ταραχαὶ τῇ πόλει καταλήψονται, τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡττονα τῶν ἐναντίων γενήσονται*, "that there should be a change, that disorders and troubles should seize

upon the city, their armies should be worsted by the enemies ;" adding that they had "fasted ten days," καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς παννύχους ὑμνοφῶν ἐπαγρυπνοῦντες, "and watching all nights, and spending the time in singing hymns, had dreamed" these things ; which may obscurely refer to these visions which John saw on the κυριακῇ, *Lord's day*, that is, probably on the annual day of Christ's resurrection, which followed a time of fasting and praying, the Christian lent, which, as appears by the story of the first times, was uncertainly observed in respect of the number of days, by some more, by some fewer than ten days. Or if this be but a conjecture, yet the time of seeing visions being in scripture oft set down after, or in a time of fasting, (as Acts x. 10, of St. Peter, and ver. 30, of Cornelius.) it is agreeable to the character of Christians, whom he desired to describe in that dialogue, thus to set it. And then he advises them τὰς ἀλλοκότους ταύτας φαντασίας, καὶ τὰ πονηρὰ βουλεύματα, &c. μήπω Θεὸς ὑμῶν εἰς κόρακας βάλοι, διὰ τὸ τῇ πατρίδι ἐπαρῆσθαι καὶ λόγους κηδεῶν ἐπιφημίσειν, "to leave off those strange fancies, and wicked consultations, and divinations," (which may well refer, in his dark manner of speaking, to this book of Revelation,) "lest God," saith he, "destroy you for cursing your country, and spreading such false reports," when (saith he) the Persians are subdued by the Roman forces. And so he gives them over as doters, and means not to heed what they say, with αὐτοὺς δὲ ληρεῖν ἑάσομεν, and οὐ φροντίς Ἰπποκλίδῃ. That this opinion he conceived of Christians, and their ill affection to the Roman empire and city, and their boding ill concerning them, was the effect of some sparkles of this prophecy, flown abroad among the Gentiles very early, even in Trajan's time, is more than probable out of these passages thus set down. So in a narration of P Hippolytus set down by Palladius, we have a virgin Christian accused to the heathen judge at Corinth, ὡς βλασφημοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς, καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα, "as one that blasphemed the seasons, and the kings, and the idols," in probability that she foretold evil, talked of ruin that should befall the government or idolatry of the heathens, and that the seasons of it now approached. For that is the meaning of the like phrase, when the Jews say of Stephen, that *he ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against the holy place and the law*, Acts vi. 13 ; for so it follows, ver. 14, *we have heard him say that Jesus shall destroy*, &c. To which it will not be amiss further to add, that the Jews in their paraphrases on the Old Testament, taking Rome under the prophetic title of Edom, (which is very agreeable to the style of Babylon here,) do frequently foretell the destruction of it. And thereupon they that set out the later Venice edition of the Bible leave out many passages of the Chaldee paraphrase and the rabbins looking thus directly against Rome, which are extant in the former Venice Bibles, and in what hath been printed at Paris by Stephanus. As when, Obadiah i, Kimchi saith, *What the prophets say of the destruction of Edom in the latter days, they say of Rome*, they leave out the words of Rome : and when it is there added, *For when Rome shall be destroyed, there shall be redemption of Israel*, those words are quite omitted. So in the last verse of Obadiah, *The fenced great city of Esau, and that fenced city is Rome*, that latter part is left out

again. So the Chaldee paraphrase on Lament. iv. 21, 22, for *thou daughter of Edom, hath, thou Rome in the land of Italy*; but those words are left out in that edition. See M. Taylor's poem to the translation of the Jerusalem Targum. The like interpretations of *Rome* for *Edom*, and the destruction thereof, may be seen in the Jerusalem Targum, Gen. xv. 12, where these words, *Terror tenebricosus magnus cadens super eum*, are thus mystically rendered, *Terror is est Babel, tenebricosus hic est Media, magnus hic est Græcia, cadens iste est Idumæa* (i. *Romanum imperium*). *Illud est imperium quartum, quod cadere debet, neque resurget in secula seculorum*. And so again, on Levit. xxvi. 44, after *Babel, Media, Greece*, they name again *regnum Idumææ*, meaning, no doubt, the Roman empire thereby; adding, *in diebus Gog*, which that it belongs to the Romans that destroyed Jerusalem, and, say they, should after be destroyed by the Messias, see that paraphrase on Numb. xi. 26, in these words, *In fine extremo dierum Gog et Magog, exercitus eorum Hierosolymam ascendent, et manibus regis Messiae illi cadent*, "They shall be destroyed by the hands of Messiah the King." So in the Sibylline oracles, where Βελιάρ, *Beliar* or *Belial*, is set to denote the Romans, as appears by

Ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἦξει Βελιάρ μετόπισθεν,

"*Beliar shall come from the Augusti, or Roman emperors,*" at length coming to the great destruction threatened by God, under the expression of *fire*, this is to fall upon *Beliar* peculiarly,

Ἄλλ' ὅπταν μεγάλου Θεοῦ πελάσῳσιν ἀπειλαί
καὶ δύναμις φλογέουσα δι' οὐδατος εἰς γαῖαν ἦξει,
καὶ Βελιάρ φλέξει, καὶ ὑπερφιάλους ἀνθρώπους
πάντας, ὅσοι τοῦτο πιστὶν ἐνεποιήσαντο.

"The flaming power of God shall burn *Beliar*, and all the proud men that trust in him." And of the Jews it is clear that there hath been a tradition among them, that in the ~~last~~ days there should come a great enemy, which they call ארמילוס, *Armilus*, which in Hebrew is *Romulus*, lightly changed by the transposition but of one letter, (see note [b] on John xi,) and that he should be destroyed by the Messias; which may well be (as all the rest) but the mistakings of this prophecy here delivered, and from hand to hand conveyed among the Jews to their posterity, who, looking on the Romans as their destroyers, thence persuaded themselves that their Messias (whom they still expect) should destroy them.

8. [b] *she shall be utterly burnt*] The κατακαυθήσεται, which is ordinarily rendered *shall be utterly burnt*, may seem to have some difficulty in it, and be objected against our interpretation of this vision, because it is known that the desolation and firing by Alaricus, Gensericus, and Totilas, was not an utter desolation or firing of the whole city, but of a part thereof. And to this the answer is insufficient, that κατακαίεσθαι is *conflagrare*, to be set on light fire, and doth not necessarily import that fire's consuming of all that might be consumed, because other expressions here follow in this matter which cannot be so answered: as, ver. 21, where *the stone like a millstone is cast into the sea*, which seems to signify a total destruction; and it is added, *Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no longer*, οὐ μὴ ἔτι. And so again, ver. 22, 23, *The voice of harpers, &c., and*

the sound of a millstone shall be found no more in thee, and the light of a candle shall shine no more in thee, &c. To all which the answer must be by observing that all these three expressions are phrases taken out of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and are in all reason to signify here, as there they shall appear to have signified, that is, only as prophetic schemes of expressing a subduing, or victory, and no more. Thus *the burning* here is an allusion to Dan. vii. 11, *his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame*, which yet signified no more than the translating of the monarchy from the Seleucidæ to the Romans; and proportionably here the subduing this heathen city to the faith of Christ, which was the effect of this blow that befell Rome. So the *throwing the great stone into the sea*, ver. 21, alludes to Jer. li. 63, *Thou shalt cast a stone into the midst of Euphrates, and say, Thus shall Babylon fall, and shall not rise, &c.* And yet Babylon long continued a great city, though the dominion of it was translated from the Chaldeans to the Medes. And for *the voice of the harpers, &c.*, ver. 23, it alludes to Jer. xxv. 10, *I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones, and the light of candle.* And yet Judæa, of which that is spoken, still had people inhabiting it. And so these expressions, thus interpreted, as in the Paraphrase they have been, are perfectly agreeable to the sense which must needs belong to them in these other places where they are used by the prophets. Meanwhile how great the destruction was that now befell that city, may competently appear by one testimony of Palladius that lived at that time, Lausiac. Hist. c. 118, in these words, *Θυελλά τις βαρβαρική ἢ καὶ ἐν προφηταίς πάλαι κειμένη ἐπέστη τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ οὐκ εἴσεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀγορᾷ ἀνδράντας χαλκοὺς, ἀλλὰ πάντα πορθήσασα βαρβαρικῇ ἀπονοίᾳ παρέδωκεν ἀπωλείᾳ, ὥς γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην τὴν ἐν χιλιῶσι διακοσίοις ἔτεσιν φιλοκαληθεῖσαν, κατὰ τὴν τῆς Σιβύλλης ῥῆσιν, ῥύμην*, “A certain barbarian tempest, which the prophets of old had foretold, seized on Rome, and left not so much as the brazen statues in the streets, but plundering all with a barbarous madness, delivered it up to destruction, so that Rome, which had flourished a thousand and two hundred years, according to the Sibyl's word, became a desolation.

13. [c] *slaves* Σώματα, saith Julius Pollux, signifies, when it is taken simply by itself, without any additament, those that are not bondslaves but freemen, which sell or hire themselves for money, Σώματα ἀπλῶς οὐκ ἂν δοῦλα σώματα, &c. And this, because freemen have power over their own bodies, whereas slaves have nothing but souls. As for the *ψυχὰι ἀνθρώπων, souls of men*, the phrase is taken out of Ezekiel, ch. xvii. 13, who, speaking of Tyre, a city of merchants, saith that they *traffick* נַפְשׁוֹ בַּמָּדָה, *super anima hominis, for the soul of man*, which St. Hierome renders *mancipia, slaves*, and so the latter Greeks call slaves *ψυχάρια, little souls*; and so Gen. xii. 5, *the souls which they had gotten in Haran*, may be their *bondservants*, because, as was said, slaves have souls, though nothing else, in their own power.

23. [d] *thy merchants* Who are *thy merchants* here, may be thought uncertain, because the word *thy* either may refer to foreign nations, who trade with thee, or else may be *thy traders or traffickers*, the chap-

men in Rome. In this latter sense some learned men have chosen to take it, that the Roman luxury was so great, that tradesmen that dealt in selling of commodities lived there like princes. But if we compare this place with what is said of Tyrus, Ezek. xxvii, the former will appear to be the sense of it: for there, ver. 12, *Tarshish was thy merchant*; and, ver. 13, *Javan, &c. were thy merchants*; and so the meaning is clearly this, that the merchants of other nations that trafficked with Rome had such vent for their commodities there at any rate that they grew very rich by it.

CHAP. XIX.

8. [a] *righteousness of saints*] Some difficulty there is in this phrase, τὰ δικαιοσύματά ἐστι τῶν ἁγίων, which is ordinarily rendered *the righteousness of the saints*. For the word δικαιοσύματα is not thus used in these books, (see note [b] on Rom. viii.) but for the ordinances of the Mosaical law. And then ἅγια being the very word which is used to denote *the sanctuary*, Heb. viii. 2, ἁγίων λειτουργός, *the minister of the sanctuary*, and ἅγια, *the sanctuary*, ch. ix. 2, and elsewhere, and τῶν ἁγίων being the neuter as well as the masculine gender, and by consequence capable of being accommodated to this sense, it is not improbable that δικαιοσύματα ἁγίων should denote *the ordinances of the sanctuary*, the Levitical laws or customs, among which this was one, that the priest, when he went into the sanctuary, should wear that vesture of fine linen, pure and white. Thus, Levit. xvi, it is appointed, *Thus shall Aaron come into the holy place, ver. 3, he shall put on the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with a linen girdle, and with the linen mitre shall he be attired: these are holy garments, &c.*, that is, the garments which he is to use when he goes into the sanctuary, which being appointed him by this law of God to Moses, may fitly be called δικαιοσύματα τῶν ἁγίων, *the ordinances of the holies*. And if it be so, then it will most fitly be applied to this spouse of Christ, the Christian church, (to which Christ was ready so solemnly to be married, ver. 7, in respect of the public profession of the Christian religion by the emperor Constantine and his courtiers,) that it should now be clothed after the manner of the priest when he went into the sanctuary, to note the great liberty and immunities and privileges now bestowed on the church by the emperor. This we have formerly seen expressed by our being *kings and priests unto God*, (note [c] on chap. i,) *priests* in respect of liberty of assemblies, and executing the office of bishops, &c., in the church: which being so eminently bestowed on the church by Constantine, above all that ever had been in the church before, may here in like manner be most fitly expressed by being *clothed in the holy garments*, which denoted the priest's going into the sanctuary.

16. [b] *on his vesture and on his thigh*] The mention of the ἱμάριον and μηρός, *vesture and thigh*, are here put together, to denote the robe imperial by the former, and the sword, which is girded on the thigh, by the latter, as ensigns of supreme power and authority, especially when on them both, on the robe and the hilt of the sword, as the ensign of that office, is written that most honourable title, *KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS*, thereby noting him to be superior to all power and force in the world, triumphantly victorious over all.

CHAP. XX.

4. [a] *lived and reigned with Christ*] The meaning of the *thousand years living and reigning with Christ* of those that were beheaded, &c. may perhaps be sufficiently cleared and understood, by observing these three things: first, that here is no mention of any new reign of Christ on earth, but only of them that were *beheaded*, and of them which had not *worshipped*, &c., *living and reigning with Christ*. The doctrine of the *millenaries* supposes the former, that Christ must come down on earth, and have a new kingdom here in this world. But this those men's *living and reigning with Christ* doth not suppose, but rather the contrary, that the kingdom of Christ here spoken of is that which he had before, and which is everywhere called *his kingdom*, and that now only those that had been killed, and banished out of it before, were admitted into a participation of that kingdom *μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, with Christ*. Now what this *living and reigning* of the *beheaded*, &c., (then beginning,) was, may appear by considering what is meant, first, by *the beheaded*, and others here named; then, secondly, by their *living and reigning*. The *beheaded* are they that *resisted unto blood* in their combats against the heathen idolatry and practices, the constant servants of Christ that persevered so till death, and that in opposition to *the beast and his image*, to that which was practised in Rome to Jupiter Capitolinus, and the transcripts of it in other places, (see notes [g] and [r] on chap. xiii;) and so all those phrases conclude the subject of the proposition to be the pure, constant, persevering Christians. One thing only is to be observed of these, that by them are not signified the same particular persons or individual members of the church that had formerly been slain, any more than the same individual persons of the *rest of the dead*, ver. 5, (that is, of the apostatizing unchristian livers,) can be thought to have *lived again* after the end of the *thousand years*, when they are said to be *revived*, and so Satan to be *let loose a little while*; but rather on the one side, as on the other, a succession of such as they were, the church of Christ being to be considered as a transient body, such as a river, &c., which always runs in a succession of parts, one following the other in a perpetual motion and mutation: in which respect I suppose it is said of the church that *the gates of hades shall never prevail against it*, that is, that it shall never be destroyed, which of any particular persons, or the church of all the Christians of any one age, cannot so fitly be affirmed, but only of the church in the perpetual succession of Christians. And then for these men's *living and reigning*, first, it must be observed, that it is not here said that they *revived*, or were *raised*, as the *millenaries'* pretensions suppose, but only that they *lived and reigned*; which two being opposite to *dying* and being subject to others, will denote a peaceable, prosperous, flourishing estate of the orthodox professors, instead of their former sad and persecuted condition. For that is the meaning of *living*, as may appear by the title *ὁ ζῶν, living*, given to Christ, ch. i. 18, in opposition to *ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς, I was dead*, his illustrious, instead of his despised condition; and so of *reigning*, as of being *kings*, (see note [d] on ch. i,) and of being *kings* and *reigning upon the earth*, chap. v. 10. And all this together will be one way of evidencing the truth of this interpretation. Secondly, the meaning of the phrase will appear by

comparing it with that other phrase, by which the same thing is expressed, vv. 1—3, *binding of Satan, and casting him into the abyss, shutting and sealing him up, that he should deceive the nations no more*, that is clearly the restraining of Satan's malice, and shortening of his power in persecuting and corrupting the Christian church: by consent with which their *living and reigning* must needs signify their persevering and enjoying quiet. Thirdly, by their *having and sitting on thrones*, and *judgments being given unto them*, which literally signifies the quiet possession of judicatures and censures in the church, that discipline by which purity is preserved, and which is never enjoyed quietly in the church but by the countenance and favour of princes; which therefore is to be resolved the meaning of their *reigning*, (as most remarkably they began to do in Constantine's time, see ch. xix. 8, who set up ecclesiastical judicatures in his empire,) as it is of their *sitting on thrones*, whereas the *letting Satan loose* is the casting off these cords from them. And this is the clear meaning of *the first resurrection*, see note [c]. As for the space of *a thousand years*, see note [e].

5. [b] *the rest of the dead*] It follows here that the *λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν*, *the rest of the dead revived not till the thousand years were done*. Who *the rest of the dead* are is manifest; not all beside the martyrs, as the millenaries pretend, but all but those formerly named, ver. 4, that is, all that *worshipped the beast, or his image, or received his mark in their foreheads or hands*, that is, all the idolaters and apostates, and remainders of Gnostic Christians, and all that complied with either, which are called *λοιποὶ νεκρῶν*, *the rest of the dead*, most fitly. For, first, it hath been manifest, ch. xix. 18, 21, that there were others *slain* beside those that were *beheaded* for the constancy of their confession of Christ; nay, secondly, at this part of the vision it is clear, that as the constant professors were not all slain, but only some of them *beheaded*, and others *preserved*, (and so beside the *beheaded* here are enumerated those that had not *worshipped the beast, nor his image, nor received his mark upon their foreheads or hands*,) so the idolaters, apostates, and Gnostic Christians, &c., had their universal slaughters, ch. xix. 2, 3, xx. 21, and therefore these may well be *οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν*, *the rest of the dead* here, it being punctually said of them, ch. xix. 21, *καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκράνθησαν*, *the rest were slain*. And then *that they revived not till the thousand years finished*, must needs signify that the church was now for that space freed from such heathen persecutors, and purified from such avowed mixtures of those vile unchristian practices, which is but the negative part annexed to the positive preceding.

[c] *first resurrection*] What is meant by *the first resurrection* here, may be discerned by comparing it with *the second resurrection* in the ordinary notion of it. That signifies the resurrection to eternal life: proportionably this must signify a reviving, a restoring to life, though not to that eternal. Here it is figuratively used to express the flourishing condition of the Christian church for that *thousand years* wherein the Christian professors, in opposition to idolatrous heathens and Gnostic Christians, live safely and happily in the enjoying the assemblies; which is, saith he, as if the primitive martyrs were fetched out of their graves to live again here in tranquillity upon the earth. Where only it is to be noted, that *the resurrection* here is of the church, not of the particular persons (*the beheaded, &c.*) thus to be understood, that the

church that was persecuted, and suppressed, and *slain* as it were, and again corrupted and vitiated in its members, now rose from the dead, *revived* again.

6. [d] *the second death*] This phrase *the second death* is four times used in this book, chap. ii. 11, and here chap. xx. 6, then ver. 14, then chap. xxi. 8. It seems to be taken from the Jews, who use it proverbially for final, utter, irreversible destruction. So in the Jerusalem Targum, Deut. xxxiii. 6, *Let Reuben live, and let him not die the second death, by which the wicked die in the world to come.* Where, whatsoever be signified among them by *the world to come*, (*the age* of the Messias in whatsoever Jewish notion of it,) it seems to denote such a death from which there is no release. And according to this notion of it, as it reflects fitly on *the first death*, (which is a destruction, but such as is reparable by a *reviving* or *resurrection*, but this past hopes, and exclusive of that,) so will all the several places wherein it is used be clearly interpreted: ch. ii. 11, *he that overcomes shall not be hurt by the second death*, that is, if this church shall hold out constant, it shall not be cut off, that is, though it shall meet with great *persecutions*, ver. 10, and *death* itself, yet that *utter excision* would no way better be prevented than by this of constancy and perseverance in suffering of all. So here, speaking of the flourishing condition of the Christian church, reviving after all its persecutions and corruptions to a state of tranquillity and purity, *On these*, saith he, *the second death hath no power*, that is, they have not incurred that utter excision, (having their part in *the first resurrection*,) *but they shall be priests to Christ and God, and reign, &c.*, that is, have a flourishing time of Christian profession for that space of *a thousand years*. So in the 14th verse, where *death and hades* are cast into the lake of fire, that is, death and the state of mortality utterly destroyed, (*O death, I will be thy death*,) it is added, *This is the second death*, that is, mortality is utterly destroyed; there shall now be no more death; the life shall be eternal: so chap. xxi. 8, *the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone* (the utter irreversible destruction, such as fell on Sodom, called *alôvior nîp*, *eternal fire*, utterly consumptive) is called *the second death*, into which they are said to go that are never to appear in the church again. And though in these different matters some difference there must needs be in the significations, yet in all of them the notion of *utter destruction*, final, irreparable excision, may very properly be retained, and applied to each of them.

7. [e] *thousand years are expired*] When these *thousand years* of the peaceable Christian profession should begin, and when determine, is a thing of some doubt. And the cause of the doubt is, the several points of time wherein the destruction of heathenism in the Roman empire may be placed. For as in every so great a change there are several stages or degrees of motion, so was it here. Constantine's receiving the faith, and concluding of the persecutions, and by decree proclaiming liberty of Christianity, may most properly be styled *the binding of Satan, the dragon*, that sought to devour the child as soon as it was born; and then the beginning of *the thousand years* will fall about A.D. 311, at which time the conversion of heathen Rome to Christianity is set down, and celebrated by Prudentius, l. 1, cont. Symmachum, beginning thus,

Cum princeps gemini bis victor cæde tyranni, &c.

To the same purpose see Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. l. 10. c. 1. But then after that the emperors were Christian, heathenism still continued in Rome and in the empire in some degree, (see note [f] on chap. xvii,) till by the coming of the Goths and Vandals and Huns, under Alaricus, Gensericus, and Attilas, the city and empire of Rome was, all the heathen part of it, destroyed, and Christianity fully victorious over it. And if this be the beginning of *the binding of Satan*, and *casting him into the abyss*, then the *thousand years* must have another date about the year of Christ 450 or 455, the city having been taken by Alaricus and the Goths, A. C. 410, and by Gensericus and the Vandals an. 455; but the war between Theodosius and Gensericus beginning an. 441, and the great fight between the Romans under the emperor Marcion and the Huns under Attilas, (in which 162,000 were killed,) being A. C. 451, the greatest slaughter that hath ever been read of, as it is described by Jornandes, "a little river being by the blood of the slain raised," saith he, "into a torrent." Agreeable to this double beginning may be assigned a double end to these *thousand years*. For if the *letting loose of Satan* here were at the rising of the Ottoman family, and bringing Asia and Greece to Mahomedism, that will be about the year 1310, and so about a thousand years from Constantine's edict: but if it were at the Turks' taking of Constantinople, (mentioned here, ver. 9.) and turning the temple of Sophia to Mahomedan worship about the year 1450, then will that be about a *thousand years* from the sacking of Rome by Gensericus. But the former of these interpretations is most fit for the place, that from Constantine's edict to the planting of Mahomedism in Greece by Ottoman. For the taking of Constantinople is mentioned after this *letting loose of Satan*, and therefore is not itself in any reason to be defined that point of time wherein he was let loose, but rather that other wherein Mahomedism began to prosper; for then the Christian religion fell under heavy persecutions again, which is contrary to the *martyrs living and reigning*, (as it hath been explained to signify, (note [a] and note [e] on ch. i,) which was to last for the whole *thousand years*; and did so in the former account, but wants seven score years of it in the latter. I can foresee but one objection against this beginning of the *thousand years* from Constantine, and that is the practices of Julian against the Christians, which soon followed Constantine's favour to them; which may consequently be thought unreconcilable with the truth of this prediction thus interpreted, the peace of the church, and cessation from persecution for that space. But to this the answer will be easy, that Julian, although himself an apostate, was yet for some time so far from attempting to persecute the Christian religion, that he chose rather to dissemble his own, and to make as if he were a Christian. So saith Asterius that lived in his time, Hom. 3. de Avarit. τὸ προσωπεῖον τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ ἀθρόον ἀποθέμενος, γυμνώσας δὲ τὸ δράμα τὸ κομικόν, ὃ ἐν πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ καθυπεκρίνατο, &c., "He put off the vizard of the Christian, and laid open the scene, by drawing the curtain, which he had a long time kept close:" and to that purpose, *Epiphania festo templum Christianorum ingressus est, solenniter numine invocato*, "he went to the Christians' church at their Christmas festivities, and solemnly joined in the service," saith Ammianus Marcellinus. After, when he came to put off the disguise, and to appear, as he was, an enemy of the Christians, yet this he did

more by subtilty than violence, *arte potius quam potestate*, "he made use of art more than power," saith Orosius, l. 7. c. 30, as all writers, both profane and ecclesiastical, acknowledge. All that Ammianus mentions of his cruelty is; that he permitted not the schools of grammar or rhetoric to be open for them, *Inter quæ erat inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ne transirent a numinum cultu*, "One of his faults was his cruelty to the Christians, that he forbade the masters to teach them, for fear they should forsake the worship of the gods," l. 25. c. 4; to which the Christian writers add, that he admitted them not into the army, nor offices, nor to honours. *Ut negaretur fides Christi, honoribus magis provocare, quam tormentis cogere studuit*, "That the faith of Christ might be denied, he more endeavoured to provoke men by honours than to constrain them by torments," Oros. l. 7. c. 30. So Asterius, Hom. 3, de Avarit., speaking of his apostasy, adds, *Καὶ τοῖς τοῦτο βουλομένοις ποιεῖν πολλὰ προετίθη τὰ χρέα*, "Many advantages were proposed to them that would do the same:" and again, *Πόσοι τὸ τῶν ἀξιομάτων δέλεαρ εἰσδεξάμενοι, μετ' ἐκείνου κατέπιον τὸ τῆς παραβάσεως ἄγκιστρον;* "How many, receiving the bait of dignities, swallowed down the hook of apostasy?" *δακνυλο-δικοτούμενοι προδότες, καὶ οὔτοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' ὀλίγον ἀργύριον, &c.*, "pointed at as traitors, and those of Christ, for a little money." *Militiæ singulum non dari nisi immolantibus jubet, procuracionem provinciarum jurisque dicendi Christianis statuit non debere committi, utpote quibus etiam lex propria gladio uti vetuisset*, "He would not allow the military girdle to be given to any that did not sacrifice, permitted not the government of the provinces, or making of laws, to be committed to the Christians, objecting that their own law forbade them to use the sword," Ruffin. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 32. To the same purpose it is thought it was that he promoted the building of the temple of the Jews at Jerusalem, but God permitted not that to prosper; but, as Ammianus, l. 23, confesseth, *Metuendi globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris insultibus erumpentes fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum, hocque modo elemento obstinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum*, "Great flames oft broke out near the foundations and burnt the workmen, and kept them off, and so the fire obstinately resisting, the attempt was given over." And Ruffinus's observation is very pertinent to this whole matter, l. 1. c. 32, *Prosciebat quotidie in hujusmodi legibus exquirendis, quibus et si quid versutum vel callidum, tamen quod minus videretur crudele, decerneret*, "He daily sought out new laws, wherein, though he shewed great subtilty of invention and cunning against the Christians, yet he abstained from all that might have any show of cruelty." And though St. Jerome, Theodoret, and ^r others, affirm of him that at his expedition against the Persians he vowed to offer up to his gods the blood of the Christians, in case he returned conqueror; yet we know that God so disposed, that he was wounded and died in that ^s expedition, and that in the prime of his strength at one and thirty years old; and, as Orosius saith, *Deus impia consilia impii morte dissolvit*, "God brought the wicked counsels to nought by the death of this wicked man." And accordingly Athanasius is said

^r See Orosius, l. 7. c. 30.

^s Oros. *ibid.*

to have foretold of him in these words, comforting the Christians, who feared a persecution, *Nolite, o filii, conturbari, nubecula est, et cito pertransit*, "Be not troubled, it is a little cloud, and passeth away quickly," Ruffin. l. i. c. 34. And a Christian being asked by Libanius, Julian's instructor, what the carpenter's son was a doing, answered, that he was making a coffin for Julian: which befell him so soon after, that St. Jerome on Habakkuk, c. 3, relates a speech of a witty heathen on occasion of Julian's death; "How," saith he, "do the Christians say of their God that he is patient and long-suffering, whereas by this emperor's death it appears that he could not defer his indignation," *ne modico quidem spatio*, "for the least space:" *nihil iracundius, nihil hoc furore presentius*, said he, "there could not be greater and more sudden anger and fury expressed." And although Athanasius himself was by him designed to the sharpest part of persecution, yet God was pleased to avert it from him, as Ruffinus relates the story, l. i. c. 34. And when at last, upon occasion of the removal of the body of the martyr Babylas, he commanded the Christians to be seized on and punished, the story mentions none but only Theodorus, a young man, that suffered by it, who sang all the while under the tormentor, and complained when his punishment was at end that he was a loser by his release. See Ruffinus, and Socrates, and Theodoret. By all which appears the power and fidelity of God in making good this promise of his to the Christian church, and restraining this apostate's malice from disquieting the church; and so it is a very great and convincing argument for the truth of this interpretation, rather than an objection against it. Having said thus much for the interpreting of these *thousand years* in a way which is very remote from the conceits of the millenaries, I must expect this objection and suggestion of theirs against it: 1. that the chiliasts' opinion and interpretation of this place was received universally in the first ages of the church; and, 2dly, that it was delivered down from the apostles, and that Justin Martyr hath affirmed the former of all orthodox men in his time, and Irenæus produced testimonies of the latter. For the testimony of Justin Martyr, it is true that he hath these words of this matter, τ'Εγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ταῦτα φρονοῦμεν, "But I and many others are of this opinion;" and again, Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ εἰ τινὲς εἰσω ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, "I and as many Christians as are orthodox in all things." From hence indeed it is rightly concluded, that Justin was *himself* of this opinion, and *some*, nay, if we believe him, *many others* with him. But that either this was the *uncontradicted doctrine* of the church in his age, or that Justin saith it was so, is falsely collected from hence. For, first, they are the plain words of Justin, p. 306, b. Πολλοὺς δὲ αὐ καὶ τῶν τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν ἐσήμανά σοι, "I have signified to you that many do not acknowledge this doctrine," (of Christ's reigning here a *thousand years*,) "and those Christians of pure and pious opinion and judgment;" and that either the αὐ should, against consent of all copies, be turned into οὐ, or that the μὴ, *not*, should be left out, were a bold criticism, and of very ill example to the evacuating the force of all testimonies, (making men's

† Dial. cum Tryph. p. 307.

words mutable into the direct contradictory,) and beside would render it a very perplexed period. Secondly, it appears by Trypho, that he thought Justin had equivocated in telling him he believed it, upon this ground, because other Christians were not of this opinion. Hereupon he saith to Justin, *Εἰπέ μοι ἀληθῶς*, "Tell me truly whether you are sincerely of that opinion," ἢ ἵνα δόξης περικρατεῖν and Justin answers, that he "would not say it if he had not thought it," and thereupon repeats his having told him, "that he and many others were of that opinion," and promises to write a book of this disputation, and confess it to others as well as him; and adds, that he means not to "follow men and their doctrines, but God:" which argues his acknowledgment that the opinion was not uncontradicted by men, nor generally consented to by Christians. Thirdly, those words which seem most to the contrary, *Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἐστὶν ὀρθογνώμωνες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανὸς*, "But I, and as many as are orthodox in all things," will not come home to the proving any more than this, that he was of this opinion, and "some others in all things consenting with him." For it being supposed that he was of that opinion, it cannot be expected of him that he should affirm any, that held it not, to be of "right opinion in all things." Fourthly, it appears that he speaks of three sorts of men; the first that denied both the resurrection and the *thousand years*, and those he calls *λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοί, ἄθεοι, ἀσεβεῖς, αἰρεσιῶται*, nominal Christians, atheists, impious, heretical leaders;" the second, that acknowledged the resurrection, and denied the millennium; and those are contained under "Christians of pure and pious opinions;" the third, that held and maintained both, as "himself and many others, and (if there were, or) as many as were orthodox in all things," that is, that in his opinion were such. As for Irenæus, it is true he sets down the doctrine of the chiliasts for a tradition, but withal renders an account of his doing so, *Presbyteri qui Johannem viderunt meminērunt audisse se ab eo, et hæc Papias Johannis auditor, Polycarpi contubernalis, vetus homo, testata reliquit*, "The elders that saw John remember that they heard this of him; and Papias, St. John's auditor, that dwelt with Polycarp, an ancient man, left these things testified." By which it appears that this testimony of Irenæus amounts but to little more than the assertion of Papias, who hath not been a person of any reverend authority in the church of God. And indeed upon the same grounds Irenæus takes up another opinion, and mentions it as a tradition too, (which is sure far enough from being tradition, or true,) that Christ lived till betwixt forty and fifty years old, for which he voucheth scripture, and the authority of *omnes seniores*, "all the elders," *qui in Asia apud Johannem discipulum Domini convenerunt*, "that were in Asia with John, who," saith he, "witness that John delivered this to them; and further, that they that saw the other apostles heard the same of them, and bear witness of such a relation." Whatsoever can be built on such an authority may as competently be refuted by the authority and reasons of Dionysius Alexandrinus, that lived not much above an hundred years after St. John, and opposed himself directly against it: and though some others were otherwise minded, yet was this doctrine of the chiliasts condemned by the church, and since that time all accounted heretics that maintained it.

8. [f] *Gog and Magog*] What is meant by *Gog and Magog* must first be fetched from the prophecy of Ezekiel, ch. xxxviii. 39, where by both these together Antiochus, the great enemy and destroyer of the Jews, is signified, as having the dominion of Syria and Asia both: see the learned H. Grotius on Ezekiel. Answerable to this is it that *Gog* should here signify the *Lydian Asia*, or *Lydia*, and the neighbouring regions, the princes whereof are called *Gygæ*, which is lightly deduced from hence. And so in the collection of the Sibyline oracles, *Lydia* and *Pamphylia* are expressed to be the interpretation of *Gog*. And by this the Ottoman family is fitly described, not only in respect of their malice and mischief wrought on the people of God, which makes the resemblance betwixt them and Antiochus complete, (see note [c] on ch. xiv.) but because they first shewed themselves in *Lydia*, and so peculiarly may be called *Gog*. By *Magog* Syria is meant, or indeed, in a greater latitude, *Scythia*, as St. Jerome affirms from the Jews, on Ezek. And so saith Josephus, *Μαγώγας Σκύθας ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευομένους*, "The people of *Magog* are called by them *Scythians*." By these two together the Ottoman family seems to be signally meant, of which was Mahomet the Second, who besieged, and after fifty, or, as Crantzius saith, sixty-six days' siege, took Constantinople, the seat of the Eastern empire, called from thence *new Rome*, and of the principal patriarchate there, and converted their chief church, *Templum Sophiæ*, the *Temple of Wisdom*, into a temple for Mahomedan worship, and this, as Leunclavius's *Annals*, as Crantzius, and other the most diligent chronologers set it down, A.D. 1453, a thousand one hundred twenty-two years after the building of it (and changing the name from *Byzantium*) by Constantine. Of this see *Æneas Sylvius* *Europ.* c. 3. and 7, and *Ep.* 131, 155, 162, who, by what he saith of it out of ancient writers, viz. that when it was in its flourishing condition, they that saw it looked upon it *ut deorum potius in terris habitaculum, quam imperatorum*, "as an habitation of the gods on earth, rather than of the emperors," affords us one further reason why it is here called *ἡγαπημένη πόλις*, the *beloved city*, (and so also in respect of the ancient learning preserved there, which made all men prize it,) as its being an eminent Christian city, gives it the title of *παρεμβολὴ τῶν ἁγίων*, the *camp of saints*.

CHAP. XXI.

1. [a] *new heaven and a new earth*] That *heaven and earth* signify no more than the world, hath been shewed in note [b] on 2 Pet. iii; and consequently *a new heaven and a new earth*, instead of the old, which is *put away*, must signify no more than a new world. And this in the prophetic style is most proper to denote a flourishing state and condition of the church, as there in St. Peter, *the new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness*, is a pure Christian church planted by Christ, instead of the old Judaical mode; but this here with some difference, noting the flourishing condition of it, in opposition to the former persecutions it was under, the change consisting in that. And this from Isaiah lxxv. 17, where *creating new heavens and new earth* is sending the Jews a joyful deliverance, and that a very permanent one, ch. lxxvi. 22. To which is applicable that of the Jews, who say that

whensoever שר חדש, *the new song*, is mentioned, it is meant of the future age, that of the Messias, (so R. Solomon on psalm xcvi. 1,) and R. Gaon renders the reason, *because there shall be a new heaven and a new earth*.

2. [b] *new Jerusalem*] The true meaning of *the new Jerusalem*, mentioned here, ver. 2, and again with the addition of *holy*, and *the glory of God* upon it, ver. 11, will be a key to the interpreting this chapter. That it signifies not the state of glorified saints in heaven, appears by its *descending from heaven* in both places, (and that, according to the use of that phrase, ch. x. 1, and xviii. 1, as an expression of some eminent benefit and blessing in the church,) and so it must needs be here on earth; and being here set down with *the glory of God* upon it, it will signify the pure Christian church, joining Christian practice with the profession thereof, and that in a flourishing condition, expressed by *the new heaven and new earth*, (see note [a].) In this sense we have *the supernal Jerusalem*, Gal. iv. 26, *the new Jerusalem*, Rev. iii. 12, where to the constant professor is promised that *God will write upon him the name of God, and the name of the city of God, the new Jerusalem*, which there signifies the pure catholic Christian church. To which purpose it is observable, that Eusebius in the setting forth the flourishing of the Christian church in Constantine's time, particularly the building of a magnificent temple to Christ at the place of his sepulture in Jerusalem, saith of it, that it was *καινή καὶ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ ἥς περὶ μακροὶ* (I should think it should be *ἱεροὶ*) *λόγοι μυρία δι' ἐνθίου πνεύματος θεσπίζοντες ἀνυμνοῦσι*, "the new Jerusalem, concerning which the holy scriptures prophesying by divine Spirit do sing many things," l. 3. De Vit. Const. c. 32. Where there is little doubt but this book and place of this prophetic revelation is referred to by him, wherein this *new Jerusalem* is so magnificently set out: and though his application of it to the building of that temple at Jerusalem (both there and before, *ἡ νέα κατασκευάσεται Ἱερουσαλήμ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ παλαιᾷ βοιωμένη*) be somewhat too much restrained, yet the time of Constantine is perfectly agreeable to the notion which we have given of it; and the flourishing condition of Christianity, not only at Jerusalem (of which the building that temple was an instance) but over the whole habitable world, (the full importance of it,) is not any way excluded by this stricter accommodation of his, but is rather evidenced by these passages to have been the interpretation affixed to this prophecy in those times wherein he wrote. The only difficulty remaining will be, whether this vision being here placed after that other of chap. xx, concerning the *thousand years*, and the Turks' invasions of the church, it be here set to signify any new change after that, founded in the destruction of the Mahometans, chap. xx. 9, 10, or whether it may not more probably be a repetition of the same thing more largely which is there set down, ch. xx. 4, 6. And this latter may safely be pitched upon, notwithstanding the placing of it after. For that which hath been observed of Joseph concerning the king's dreams, Gen. xli. 32, that *the two dreams* being to one purpose, ver. 25, *it was doubled*, to shew it was *established by God*, so it hath been ordinary with the prophets in the Old Testament, and oft exemplified here, that two visions should belong to the same matter. And this here very pertinent to the one design of all these visions, to

fortify the seven churches of Asia, by foretelling largely the flourishing condition to which God should at last advance the Christian church, which being but briefly pointed at in the former chapter, (and that with a mixture of the contrary,) and only the space of it for *the thousand years* particularly and punctually insisted on, it was here fit to be more largely and rhetorically set down, being a thing of so great importance. That this is the meaning of *the new Jerusalem* may further appear by an eminent monument in the prophecy of old Tobit before his death, ch. xiv. 6, 7, where the third great period prophesied of by him is expressed by *the building up Jerusalem gloriously*, (of the former, see note [c] on Matt. xxiv, and the Premonition,) the beginning of which is the conversion of the Gentile world, and their *burying their idols*, ver. 6, (which was the sum of these former visions, ch. xviii,) and then follows, *all nations praising the Lord, all people confessing God, and the Lord's exalting his people, and all those that love the Lord our God in truth and justice shall rejoice, shewing mercy to our brethren*, a state of flourishing piety, *magnifying, blessing, praising God*, and of *charity and mercy* to all men, which is the sum of this ensuing vision, and (as that there, so here) the conclusion of all.

3. [c] *Behold, the tabernacle of God*] The meaning of this phrase, ἰδοὺ ἡ σκηνὴ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *behold the tabernacle of God with men*, will easily appear by remembering the affinity of the σκηνή, *tabernacle*, and the *shechinah*, *appearance or presence* of God, called here, ver. 11, *δόξα, glory*, and oft elsewhere. God is wont to be said in scripture to be *present* where his angels appear: accordingly the pictures of the cherubims in the tabernacle, and after in the temple, were notes of his peculiar presence there. And so both the Jewish temple and Christian church having the promise of *God's peculiar presence*, is fitly styled his *tabernacle* here and ch. xiii. 6, and elsewhere his *house*, both in the same sense, a tabernacle being but a moveable house. And then *behold the tabernacle of God with men*, is no more but an interpretation of that which was represented in this vision, viz. that hereby was noted the church of Christ, whose title is *Emmanuel, God with us, or God with men*, God incarnate; and the ἰδοὺ, *behold*, is a determination of it to what went immediately before, thus, the *bride adorned for the husband*, is the Christian church, (see ver. 9.) And then the promise that follows, *he will dwell with them, &c.*, is his marrying, and endowing, and living, and dwelling with this spouse, that is, continuing his favour and love and protection to the church as long as that continues faithful to him, performs the duties of a wife, obedience and fidelity to the husband. And then consequent to that mercy and protection is the cessation of persecutions that follows, καὶ ἐξαλείψει πᾶν δάκρυον, *and he shall wipe every tear from their eyes, &c.*, remove all cause of sorrow from the Christians.

8. [d] *fearful*] The δειλοί, *cowardly*, here, which are set in the front of all these sins, denote the renouncers of Christ in time of persecution, set opposite to *persevering Christians*, ver. 7, and here clearly signify the Gnostics, or such as they were, whose position it was, that it was an indifferent, and so a lawful thing to forswear Christ in time of persecution, and to sacrifice to idols, (here also noted by *idolatry*.) They are farther expressed by ἄπιστοι, *unfaithful*, that fall off from Christ;

and more especially by *ἑβδελυγμένοι*, *detested*, and *πόρνοι*, *fornicators*, and *φαρμακείς*, *sorcerers*, &c. (see note [b] on ch. ii. and note [c] on ch. ix. and note [a] on 1 John iv. So Tertullian interprets it in Scorp. contra Gnost. c. 12, *inter reprobos, imo ante omnes, timidus, inquit, particula in stagno ignis*, Ap. 21, "among the reprobates, yea before all them, the cowardly have their portion in the lake of fire."

10. [e] *city*] That the *city* is the church is most evident in this vision, being before called the *holy city*, the *new Jerusalem*, ver. 2. Now the *wall* is that which encompasseth the city, keeps all out which are not thought fit to be admitted, and guards and secures the city. And to this the Christian doctrine is perfectly answerable: none are to be admitted or continued there which do not acknowledge that; and so this likewise defends and fortifies the church from the invasion of heretics. And *he that teacheth any other doctrine, let him be anathema*. As for the *μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν*, *greatness* and *highness* of this *wall*, that signifies the excellence and even divinity of this doctrine, admirable precepts, divine and heavenly promises. And as this is a defensive to the city, so the foundations thereof are the several preachings of the apostles in all their travels, which being the same in all places, this one *wall* is said to have *twelve foundations*, ver. 14, and on them the names of the *twelve apostles of the Lamb*, to signify, those doctrines that are not thus founded on their preaching, either by word of mouth, or by writing deduced from them, not to be fit for reception in the church.

17. [f] *measure of a man*] That *μέτρον ἀνθρώπου*, *the measure of a man*, refers here to *the stature of a man*, appears most probable by the addition of *ὁ ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων*, *that is of an angel*. For as here the person seen in the vision was an *angel*, ver. 9, so Ezek. xl. 3, where there is mention of this *measuring reed*, it was shewed him by a *man whose appearance was like the appearance of brass*, that is, a man in a glorious appearance, such as angels used to appear in. And then the *μέτρον*, or *measure*, must refer, not to the *cubit*, immediately precedent, but to the *κάλαμος*, or *reed*, ver. 15, noting that *reed* by which he had *measured* the *city* to be about six foot long, and so the *measure* or *stature of a man*, or angel in human shape, as now he appeared unto him. That the *reed* or *pole* was of this size, that is, six foot long, may be concluded from Ezek. xl. 5. There, as here, was a man with a *measuring reed*, ver. 3, and that *reed* was *six cubits long*, but that cubit not, as it is ordinarily counted, a foot and a half, but as it is taken by the measure of that bone which gives the denomination; *πῆχυς διάστημα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠλεκράνου πρὸς τὸν καρπὸν*, *a cubit is the distance from the elbow to the wrist*, as Aristotle and the anatomists determine, which is in well-proportioned bodies the sixth part of a man's stature. And that this was the acceptance of *πῆχυς*, as among the Grecians so among the Hebrews, appears by the account of Josephus, de Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 17, where having made the wall to contain ninety turrets, each of them twenty cubits long, and the space betwixt each to be 200 cubits, (which must conclude the circuit of the wall to be 19,800 cubits,) he adds, *τῆς πόλεως δὲ ὁ πᾶς κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριάκοντα τριῶν*, *the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs*: which concludes the allotment of 600 cubits to every furlong; and that we know among the Greeks contained 600 foot. So that the cubit is no more than a foot, or the sixth part of a man's stature. So when Solinus saith of the

walls of Babylon, *"quorum altitudo ducentos pedes detinet,"* "that they were two hundred foot high;" and so ^xPliny, ^yOrosius saith they were "fifty cubits broad," *altitudine quater tanta*, "four times as high," that is, two hundred cubits; and so saith Herodotus, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων, *the height was two hundred cubits*. That all this *measuring of the city* is mystically to be understood, and not literally, there is no doubt; but what the mystery is will not be obvious to determine. This may perhaps be it; that the *considering* or *pondering*, that is measuring of *the church*, the duration, the extent, the flourishing of it, here described, as also of the walls thereof, the Christian faith, is the work, delight, desire of angels, one of the number of those things which the *angels desire to look into*, 1 Pet. i. 12, Eph. iii. 10, 18, 19.

CHAP. XXII.

1. [a] *a pure river*] The five first verses of this chapter belong to the business of the former chapter, the description of the Christian church in its flourishing condition, and ought not to have been divided from it. And this first verse hath a nearer connexion with that which immediately preceded. There in the beginning of it is mention of *entrance into the church*, and who they were that should not be admitted to it. Now this *entrance* we know was by baptism, and that is sure expressed here by the καθαρός ποταμός ὕδατος ζωῆς, *the pure river of water of life*. The place wherein they baptized was first any great pool of water, (typified, Ezek. xlvii. 5, by *waters to swim in*,) where they might go in, as Philip with the eunuch, and be put under water; from whence it is ordinarily by the ancients called κολυμβήθρα, *a pool*. In the times here referred to, that is, under Constantine, the font was in the court before the church, fountain-water running always into it. This fountain-water is in the New Testament called ζῶν ὕδωρ, *living water*, and here by analogy *water of life*, but that with the addition of a mystical sense, (as when, Ezek. xlvii. 9, it is said, *that every thing that moveth, wheresoever the waters come, shall live*; or when Christ speaks of ὕδωρ ἀλλόμενον εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, *water leaping, or springing, to eternal life*,) because baptism, as an initiation into the church, is an entrance into a Christian and eternal life. And the water in the baptistery or font, maintained from the spring, is called here ποταμός, *river*, a word by which any running water is called, and so that Ezek. xlvii. 5. And this river καθαρός, *pure*, because baptism is a federal sacramental undertaking of all purity of living, forsaking all sin, and engaging of the soul to purity; and in the same respect it is also said to be λαμπρός ὡς κρίσταλλος, *clear as crystal*, being an obligation to all purity in the baptized. Now that this pure river is said to *proceed*, not as Ezek. xlvii. 1, *from under the threshold of the house*, but *out of the throne of God and the Lamb*, hath some more difficulty in it, which, I conceive, may thus be resolved; the *throne* is a notation of power and judicature, as when God is introduced in the vision, ch. iv. 1, *sitting on a throne*; and so *the throne of the Lamb* is that power which is by Christ instated on the governors of the church, of which the power of baptizing being one special part, this *river*, by which baptism is expressed, is fitly said to *proceed out of the throne*. To which purpose it must be

^u Polyhist. c. 70.^x Lib. 6. 26.^y Lib. 2. c. 6.

observed, that the power of baptizing, though communicated to inferior priests and deacons, was at first in the apostles, and from them descended to the bishops, and never permitted to any but by appointment from the bishop. So saith Ignatius, οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστί χωρίς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, &c. in Ep. ad Smyrn. "it is not lawful to baptize without the bishop:" and Tertullian de Bapt., *dandi baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus, dein presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi autoritate*, "the chief priest, who is called the bishop, hath the power of giving baptism, after him the presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop." And St. Cyprian makes two parts of the power of the *keys*, (that ruling power, as of the *æconomus*, intrusted to the governors of the church, the successors of the apostles,) the one to admit as by the key in baptism, the other by absolution. And that most probably is the meaning of this place, where the baptismal water is in the vision said to *proceed from the throne of God, and of the Lamb*.

2. [b] *street*] What πλατεία, *the street*, denotes in this vision, may be easily resolved by observing that the streets or broad places of a city are places of concourse and resort, and so συναγωγαὶ and ῥύμαι, *assemblies and streets*, are used together in the same sense, Matt. vi. 5. Accordingly, the *street* or *broad place* here will be fit to denote the place of assembly in the church or city of God, where the prayers are offered up, and the sacrifice of the church in the eucharist, and where instruction is reached out to them.

[c] *on either side of the river*] That the *tree of life* here mentioned (instead of the *very many trees* in Ezekiel, ch. xlvii. 7.) looks back to Paradise, where that *tree* was set, Gen. ii. 9, doth seem most probable, and well accords also with the *river* here joined with it, as there, ver. 10, a *river went out of Eden to water the garden*. And therefore what is here meant by it in the prophetic notion, may be best learned from the allegorical interpretations which the ancient writers affix to it in the Old Testament; for those will be most agreeable to the prophetic style, which we know is made up of figures. Now of the *tree of life*, saith Philo, it signified θεοσέβειαν, *piety, or worship of God*. And so Clemens Alexandrinus, that *the tree of knowledge was ἐὰν παρανομώμεν, if we transgress*, that is, it signified sin, of which whosoever *tasted should die*, but the *tree of life* denoted *piety*, of which he that *eat should live eternally*. Other descants there are on it here, that it should signify the cross of Christ, or the enlivening grace of God: but this is the most agreeable to the context, and the other circumstances thereof. But it must here be inquired, what is the meaning of the phrase, ἐν μέσῳ πλατείας καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, which we render, *in the midst of the street of it, and on either side the river*; but the words bear not that, and a great inconvenience there must be in so rendering them, for the *tree of life*, which appears to be in Paradise and here but one, and not many, as in Ezekiel, nor set *on the bank of the river*, as there, must yet be supposed to be on both sides of the river, which is impossible. The best and most literal rendering will be this, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *in the midst of the street and the river, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν*, (or, as the king's MS. reads, καὶ ἐκείθεν,) *on this side and on that side*, that is, not as in Ezekiel, the *many trees*

on the one side and on the other side of the river, but so, as may be applicable to the one tree, and to the street, and river here named, one of them on one side, the other on the other side of the tree. That this is the meaning of the phrase may appear not only by the commodiousness of this sense, and the absurdities consequent to the other rendering, but also by comparing it with another passage in this writer, John xix. 18, where it is said, *they crucified Christ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους δύο, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, μέσον δὲ Ἰησοῦν*, and with him two others, on this side and on that side, and Jesus in the midst, (a phrase very near to this, ἐν μέσῳ here being all one with μέσον there.) There Jesus is in the midst of the two thieves, that is, between them, and that expressed by the ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, as here; that must signify there, one of them on this side of him, and the other on that, and therefore it must in all reason be so here also, the street on one side, and the river on the other side, and the tree of life in the midst, or betwixt them. This being thus far clear, for the literal understanding of it, and so the representation not absolutely the same with that in Ezekiel, but lightly varied from it in some few circumstances, the mystical or prophetic meaning of it will be clear also, that betwixt the place of assembling on one side, and the font or baptistery on the other side, stood piety in the midst, baptism being on purpose designed to initiate, and engage us to piety, and by God's grace to enable us to perform it, and the service of God in the assembly, the prayers and the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and Christian instruction designed so too, for the confirming our vows of new life, and to instruct us farther in our duty, and to bring down more grace for the performance of it. What is added of the δώδεκα καρποὶ, (not twelve manner of fruits, but) twelve fruits, is taken from Ezekiel also, ch. xlvii. 12, and is not to be applied to any set number of several virtues, as some would have it, but to the constant continual production of them, not at a few, but at all seasons; for so the year being the measure of all time, bearing fruit as oft as there be months in the year, must needs signify the continual, constant fruitfulness of it. And this was much for the honour of the tree, few trees bearing above once a year, few in the winter, but this every month in the year; and so the fitter to denote Christian piety, to which our baptism engageth us, and our living in the church confirms that engagement on us, and both to continue to serve God in holiness and righteousness all the days of our lives.

[d] *the leaves of the tree* The leaves of a tree that beareth fruit are of use to guard and preserve the fruit; and besides they are many of them medicinal; and so both in Ezekiel and here they are said to be εἰς ὀψανταίαν, for healing or medicine. That which is most probably here meant by these leaves of this tree of life, is the outward visible-ness and exemplariness of piety, which accompanies the fruits of it. This in single persons is only the shining of their light before men, which is of great use to attract others (even the ἔθνη, if that signify the Gentiles, unbelievers here) to Christianity, who see their good works; whereas the scandalous sins of Christians are apt to alien and deter others from that profession. But in a church these leaves may signify more also, the public and frequent assembling for the service and worship of God, and the canons and exercise of strict discipline, &c. And

that these latter, of the discipline and censures of the church, are meant by these *leaves*, may be collected not only by the usefulness of them to the preserving works of piety in a church, (as leaves are for preserving the fruit,) and secondly, by the propriety of them in order to curing of the diseases of men's souls, the reforming of lapsed sinners, which may here be expressed by *eis thepanteian, for healing*; but also by that which follows presently upon it, ver. 3, which most signally belongs to this matter of censures : see note [e].

3. [e] *shall be no more curse*] That ἀνάθεμα, a curse, or execration, is ordinarily taken for the person to whom that curse or second sort of excommunication belongs, appears by the use of it in other places of the New Testament. Thus Rom. ix. 3, *ἡχόμην ἀνάθεμα εἶναι, I could wish to be a curse*, that is, accursed, from Christ, separate or excommunicate from the body of Christ, the church. So 1 Cor. xvi. 22, *If any man love not—let him be anathema*; and Gal. i. 8, *If I or an angel shall teach any other doctrine, let him be anathema*. In all these places the word curse is clearly put for an excommunicate or accursed person, put under the censures or execration of the church; and accordingly here in any reason πᾶν καταράθεμα, every curse, must signify every wicked person fit for the censures of the church. And then the οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, shall be no longer, must signify the exercise of such discipline in the church, in excluding all such wicked persons out of it, and so to the mention of baptism, by the river, vv. 1, 2, and of the Christian assemblies, by the streets, v. 2, adds the use of excommunication in the Christian church, for which we know ecclesiastical judicatories were erected in Constantine's time, and so continued under the favour of Christian emperors and princes. By which appears also what is meant by the throne of God and the Lamb, in this verse, viz. Christian judicatories for the excommunicating of scandalous offenders, wherein the power exercised by the bishops is acknowledged to be the power of God, or Christ, and this throne here the same with that, ver. 1, the power of baptizing and of excommunicating, of admitting and excluding from the church, being branches of the same authority, by Christ communicated to the apostles.

18. [f] *If any man shall add—*] This form of speech here used to conclude this book is, first, a symbolical and prophetic form of expressing the certainty and immutability of this prophecy; and secondly, an expression of the absoluteness and perfection of it in order to public use, that it should be the one prophecy given to the Christian church, which should bring divine authority along with it, sent with a commission from heaven; and not only proceeding from a public spirit, but sent out with a public charge, that (as Josephus saith, contr. Apion. l. 1, that after the time of Artaxerxes, though many excellent things were written, yet they brought not divine authority with them, nor consequently were so received or believed, because there was not then a certain succession of prophets, and nobody durst add, or detract, or change any thing in the old canon after so long a time, so) though there might be some prophets after St. John, (as Justin Martyr tells us,

ὁ τοσούτου αἰῶνος ἤδη παρρηκός οὐτε προσθεῖναι τίς οὐδέν οὐτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν.

that the gift of prophecy remained in the church till his time,) yet this book should be the last, and so the close and seal of all public prophecy, and that therefore no new doctrine was now farther to be expected by the Christian church, and whosoever taught any as a rule of faith and life, and pretended revelation for it, should fall under the censure denounced against *false prophets*, Deut. xiii., and under St. Paul's *anathema*, Gal. i. 8, 9. That this should be only an *ἐφορκισμὸς*, or *adjuration*, of the scribe, as in the end of Irenæus in some copies there is an adjuration *not to add or diminish*, (and as it is said in Aristeas, that after the translation of the Septuagint, Demetrius persuaded the Jews to add an imprecation on any that should change, or add, or transpose, or take away any word from it,) was the conjecture of a learned man, Mr. Lively; and as it may very well be received, so need it not prejudice those other importances of it before mentioned.

THE END.

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OF THE

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